



Charles II hospitably received by Colonel Wyndham's Mother after his defeat at the battle of Worcester.

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Aylscough was at last forced to stand in for Plymouth; and leave De Ruyter an open passage for himself and convoy. The same day Van Gallen fell upon the English fleet in the Mediterranean, which he vanquished. He was killed during the engagement. Notwithstanding these disasters the English continued formidable at sea, and captured a great number of Dutch ships. On the 29th of November, Van Trump, seconded by De Ruyter, came up with the English fleet, under Blake, in the Channel, when a desperate engagement happened, in which the admirals and other officers behaved with the utmost skill and bravery on both sides. The English were worsted; Blake was wounded; and the covert of the night saved the English fleet from destruction. After this victory, Trump, by way of a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-mast; intimating, that he was resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels. In order to wipe off the disgrace of this action great naval preparations were made in England, and a fleet of eighty sail was fitted out. The command was given to Blake, and under him to Dean and Monk, who was sent for from Scotland. When the English lay off Portland, they descried, near break of day, on the 18th of February, 1653, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the Channel, with a convoy of three hundred merchant ships, which had received orders to wait at the Isle of Rhé, till the fleet should arrive to escort them. Van Trump, and under him De Ruyter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations. The combat was continued three days with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Van Trump, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant ships, except thirty. He lost, however, eleven ships of war, had two thousand men slain, and near fifteen hundred taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior to that of the enemy. The Dutch, being weary of the war now made overtures for peace, but the haughty parliament paid no attention to their solicitations.

During these transactions the Scots agreed to an union with England, in one commonwealth, without a king, or house of lords.

On the 10th of April, 1653, the officers of the army, by the direction of Cromwell, petitioned the parliament to dissolve itself; but the parliament absolutely refused compliance with this request. This so exasperated the ambitious Cromwell, that he entered into a conference with Harrison, one of the members, who told the council, "That the general only sought to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his saints." Major Streater, who was within hearing, sharply replied, "Jesus ought then to come quickly; for if he delays coming till after Christmas, he will find his place occupied by another." On account of their resolution not to dissolve themselves, Cromwell took with him, on the 20th of the same

month, a file of three hundred musketeers, and placed some at the entrance, others in the lobby, and some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, "That he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him: but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation." After a little interval, he arose from his seat, and stamping with his foot, the signal for the soldiers to enter, he exclaimed to the parliament, "For shame! get you gone! give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you; he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaimed against this proceeding; whereupon Cromwell said, "O! Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whore-master," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton." "And thou art an extortioner" to a fourth. He then cast his eye upon the mace, and said, "What shall we do with this bauble? Here! (to one of his soldiers,) take it away. It is you, said he to the parliament, that have forced me upon this. I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded his soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall. In this furious manner did Cromwell, without the least opposition, annihilate that famous assembly, which had filled all the courts of Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes, and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people than was its final dissolution.

In May following he made choice of one hundred and forty-four persons to be the representatives of the people, and to take care of the government*. On the 4th of July the new parliament met, and Cromwell delegated the supreme power to them. This parliament was, in derision, called *Praise-God Barebone's* parliament †, from a famous speaker in it of that name. In pursuance of an ordinance for uniting England and Scotland, the latter kingdom sent thirty representatives to this parliament; and soon after a similar ordinance was made for sending thirty members from Ireland. This parliament, not acting as Cromwell wished, they were dissolved on the 12th of December, and the sovereign power was resigned into the hands of Cromwell and the council of officers. General Harrison and about twenty more remained in the house; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up protests. They were soon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the

* The letter made use of by Oliver Cromwell for the summoning of this parliament, after a short preamble, was couched in the following terms: "I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raised or to be raised within this commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you, being one of the persons nominated personally to appear at the council chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the 4th of July next ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the trust unto which you are hereby called and appointed, to serve as a member of the county of —; and hereof you are not to fail."

"O. CROMWELL."

† *Given under my hand and seal the 8th of June, 1653.*

† Barebone was a leather-teller in London. This man was not singular in the seeming strangeness of his baptismal name: for the following are the names of a jury said to have been enclosed in Suffolk about the same time: "Accepted Trevor, of Northam, Redeemed Compton, of Battle; Faint not Hewit,

of Heathfield; Make-peace Heaton, of Hare; God Reward Smart, of Fivehurst; Stand fast on High Stringer, of Crowhurst; Earth Adams, of Warbleton; Called Lower, of the same; Kill Sin Pimple, of Witham; Return Spelman, of Watling; Be Faithful Joiner, of Britling; Fly Debate Roberts, of the same; Fight the good Fight of Faith White, of Emer; More Fruit Fowler, of East Hadley; Hope for Bending, of the same; Graceful Harding, of Lewes; Weep not Billing, of the same; Meek Brewer, of Okeham." See Brome's *Travels in England*, p. 279. "Cromwell," says Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster-master has no other list than the first chapter of St. Matthew." The brother of this Praise-God Barebone had for name, "If Christ had not died for you, you had been damned Barebone." But the people, tired of this long name retained only the last word, and commonly gave him the appellation of Damned Barebone.

Lord,"

Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he: "for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years."

During the parliamentary transactions, the English and Dutch fleets had another engagement near the Downs, in which, after a battle of two days the Dutch were much worsted. The Dutch fleet consisted of about a hundred sail, and the English was superior in number. This engagement happened on the 2d of June. The states now sent ambassadors to treat of peace; but as no cessation of hostilities was agreed to, the Dutch made a grand effort to recover the honour they had just lost. In a few weeks they fitted out a numerous fleet, which put to sea under the command of Van Trump, who, coming up with the enemy, impetuously rushed to the fight. Van Trump, gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musquet ball. This event alone decided the battle in favour of the English. Though near thirty ships belonging to the Dutch were sunk and taken, they little regarded this loss compared with that of their brave admiral. This battle was fought on the 29th of July.

OLIVER CROMWELL, PROTECTOR.

SOON after the dissolution of the last parliament, the council of officers, at the instigation of Lambert*, chose Oliver Cromwell Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Instrument of Government, which was signed by Cromwell, was drawn up by Lambert, was voted by the council, and was carried to Cromwell for acceptance. This instrument consisted of forty-two articles†, and a council was therein appointed for the assistance of the protector.

The first public business of importance entered on by Cromwell was the peace with the United Provinces, which was concluded on the 5th of April, 1654. Soon after several conspiracies were formed against the protector, particularly by John Gerard, and Mr. Vowel, for which they were both executed. On the 10th of July, Don Pantaleon Sa, the Portuguese ambassador's brother, was beheaded for a murder; but this, being construed into a breach of the faith of nations, occasioned a slight rupture between the powers of England and Portugal. This difference was, however, soon adjusted. About this time prince Maurice was lost in a hurricane in America. Prince Rupert arrived at Nantes with the squadron under his command, and king Charles sold the ships to the king of France. After this king Charles and prince Rupert retired to Cologne. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood was now made governor of Ireland, in the room of Henry Ireton, who died of the plague November 27, 1651‡.

Cromwell now thought it necessary to summon a parliament, which met on the 3d of September. The first thing they entered upon was, to discuss the right of that power which had summoned them to meet. This unexpected circumstance made Cromwell somewhat uneasy; but not to shew his uneasiness, he called all the members into the painted chamber to hear a speech prepared for the occasion. Here he spoke in an authoritative manner, assuming the tone of a master, not of a fellow citizen. At their return to the house, they found

a guard placed at the door, which denied entrance to all those who refused to sign an engagement to be faithful to the Lord Protector; and such were consequently excluded from the house§. Cromwell dissolved this parliament on the 22d of January, 1654, after they had voted him and his successors a revenue of two hundred thousand pounds a year.

A design was now laid for an insurrection of the royalists in concert with the king, and a day of general rising was appointed. Information of this design was conveyed to Cromwell. The protector's administration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies every where. Manning, who had access to the king's family, kept a regular correspondence with him; and it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, so generally diffused among a party who valued themselves more on zeal and courage, than on secrecy and sobriety. Many of the royalists were thrown into prison; others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conspiracy broke into action. Penruddoc, Jones, Groves, and other gentlemen of the west, entered Salisbury with about two hundred horse on the 11th of March, at the very time when the sheriff and judges were holding the assizes. There they made prisoners; and they proclaimed the king. Contrary to their expectations they received no assistance of force; so prevalent was the terror of the established government. Having in vain wandered about for some time, they were totally discouraged; and one troop of horse was able at last to suppress them. The leaders of the conspiracy, being taken prisoners, were capitally punished. The rest were sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes.

It would be unpardonable not to mention the situation of the queen of England and her son Charles. During these transactions, they passed most of their time at Paris; and notwithstanding their near connection of blood, they received but few civilities, and still less support from the court of France. Had the queen regent been ever so much inclined to assist the English prince, the disorders of her own affairs would, for a long time, have rendered such intentions impracticable. The banished queen had a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill paid, and her credit ran so low, that, one morning, when the cardinal de Retz waited on her, he informed him, "That her daughter, the princess Henrietta, was obliged to lie a-bed, for want of a fire to warm her." To such a condition was reduced, in the midst of Paris, a queen of England, and daughter of Henry IV. of France! The English parliament, however, having assumed the sovereignty of the state, resented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave to the unfortunate monarch. On pretence of injuries, of which the English merchants complained, they issued letters of reprisal upon the French; and Blake went so far as to attack and seize a whole squadron of ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk, then closely besieged by the Spaniards. The town, disappointed of these supplies, fell into the hands of the enemy. The French ministers soon found it necessary to change their measures. They treated Charles with such affected indifference, that he thought it more

* Lambert was a creature of Cromwell's.

† The following is the substance of this instrument: "I. A parliament to be called every three years by the protector. II. The first to assemble on the 3d of September, 1654. III. No parliament to be dissolved till it hath sat five months. IV. Such bills as are offered to the protector by the parliament, if he assent not in twenty days, to be laws without him. V. That his council shall not exceed the number of twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen. VI. That immediately after the death of Cromwell the council shall choose another protector before they rise. VII. That no protector after the present shall be general of the army. VIII. The protector shall have power to make war and peace. IX. That in the interval of parliament, the protector and his parliament may make some

laws, which shall be binding to the subject, till the succeeding parliament." Cromwell took an oath to observe the articles of the Instrument of Government, on the 16th of December, 1653.

‡ Fleetwood had married the widow Bridget, Cromwell's eldest daughter.

§ The form of the engagement run thus: "I A. B. do hereby promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament) propose to give any consent to alter the government as it is settled in one single person and parliament."

decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the kingdom. He retired to Cologne, as above said, where he lived two years on a small pension, about six thousand pounds a year, paid him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he discovered a disposition to order and economy; and his temper, cheerful, careless, and sociable, was more than a sufficient compensation for that empire, of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidants.

Owing to Cromwell's insolence he was much courted by foreign courts. Cardinal Mazarin, by whom all the councils of France were directed, complied with every demand made by the imperious usurper. Bourdeaux was sent over to England as minister; and all circumstances of respect were paid to him, who had embued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, a prince so nearly related to the royal family of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negotiation, which Cromwell seemed entirely to neglect; and though privateers, with English commissions, committed daily depredations on the French commerce, Mazarin was content, in hopes of a fortunate issue, still to submit to these indignities.

Cromwell now resolved to make war upon the Spaniards; and in April, 1655, the English under Penn and Venables made an attempt to seize Hispaniola, a very large island of the West Indies, belonging to Spain; failing of success, they made a descent on the island of Jamaica, which they conquered on the 7th of May; and the English have kept possession of it ever since.

On the 23d of October the ancient treaties between England and France were renewed; and on the 25th of the same month Cromwell divided England into eleven districts, and constituted major-generals over each. In 1656, he summoned a new parliament of the three kingdoms, which was well affected to his interests: they even offered to place the crown on his head; but he rejected the offer; not that he was averse to it, but owing to the persuasions of his friends*.

January 19, 1657, one Miles Sindercome, a leveler, laid a plan for the assassination of the protector; but being discovered by some of his accomplices, he was apprehended, tried, condemned, and was afterwards found dead in prison. On the 13th of March following, a league offensive and defensive was concluded between France and Cromwell, in which it was agreed, that

Dunkirk should be besieged. In pursuance of this league, James, duke of York, and the rest of the English, who were well affected to the king, were forced to leave France. The same year, several anabaptists engaged in a plot against the life of Cromwell; for which crime many were imprisoned. In the spring admiral Blake received information of a rich fleet of galleons having rendezvoused at the Canaries, whither he immediately bent his course. During an obstinate engagement on the 10th of April, he burned six of those rich vessels; and died, on his return to England, the 20th of the same month. On the 4th of September, king Charles retired to Bruges, in consequence of a league entered into between him and the king of Spain, who agreed to allow him and his brother Henry, duke of Gloucester, a handsome pension.

Cromwell having refused the crown as above-mentioned, the parliament confirmed him in his protectorship, by an act which they called the Humble Petition and Advice, on the 25th of May; and on the 26th of June he was solemnly inaugurated. He now prorogued the parliament. On the 23d of September he sent six thousand men into France to join the French army, and on the 23d of the month following, they took fort Mardyke near Dunkirk, which was delivered into the hands of the English. The English forces were commanded by Sir John Reynolds, who, being drowned in his return to England, was succeeded, in November, by Mr. Lockhart, the ambassador to France.

January 20, 1658, the parliament met again, with the addition of a new house, called the other house; it was framed by Cromwell to supply the place of the house of lords. All the elected members of the former parliament, who had refused to sign the engagement to be faithful to Cromwell, and who were therefore excluded, were admitted to this. They were made up of republicans and presbyterians, were above one hundred in number, gave Cromwell a great deal of trouble, and even formed designs against him. They called in question the authority of the other house, that it might not have a negative upon them; but the protector, for his own safety, found it expedient to support that authority. Nay, they proceeded to examine the validity of the Humble Petition and Advice. Cromwell, finding that they were not suited to his purpose, dissolved the parliament on the 4th of February. He accused some of the members of having enlisted men to serve against him under a commission from Charles Stuart; and as he suspected that Lambert was one of the principal conspirators, he dismissed him from his employment of lieute-

* Hume, speaking of the conference at Whitehall concerning the offer of the crown to Cromwell, says, "While the protector argued so much in contradiction both to his judgement and inclination, it is no wonder that his elocution, always confused, embarrassed, and unintelligible, should be involved in tenfold darkness, and discover no glimmering of common sense or reason. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curiosity. The members of the committee, in their reasonings, discover judgement, knowledge, and elocution: lord Broghill, in particular, exerts himself on this memorable occasion. But what a contrast, when we pass to the protector's replies! After so singular a manner does Nature distribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with sense and learning, a man who, by superior personal merit alone, had made his way to supreme dignity, and had even obliged the parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expressing himself on this occasion, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would most justly be ashamed of." As an instance of his incapacity, we shall produce, from the same author, a passage, which was taken at random: for his discourse is throughout inelegant. "I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say, I hope, I may be understood in this, for indeed I must be tender what I say to such an audience as this; I say, I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make parallel betwixt men of a different mind, and a parliament, which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon me, that my words have the least colour that way, because the parliament seems to give liberty to me to say any thing to you; as that, that is a tender

of my humble reasons, and judgement, and opinion to them; and if I think they are such, and will be such to them, and are faithful servants, and will be so to the supreme authority, and the legislative wheresoever it is: if, I say, I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report it to the parliament: I shall say something for myself, for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words or names of such things as I have not: but as I have the word of God, and I hope I shall ever have it, for the rule of my conscience, for my informations; so truly men that have been led in dark paths, through the providence and dispensation of God; why surely it is not to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in the dark? But Providence does so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence sinfully, yet it must be at my peril; the case may be that it is the Providence of God that doth lead men in darkness; I must need say, that I have had a great deal of experience of Providence, and though it is no rule without or against the word, yet it is a very good expositor of the word in many cases." *Conference at Whitehall.* The great defect in Oliver's speeches, says the same writer, consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The sagacity of his actions, and the absurdity of his discourse, form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. The collection of all his speeches, letters, and sermons, (for he also wrote sermons,) would make a great curiosity, and, with a few exceptions, might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world.

nant-general, and chose Fleetwood in his room. He then proceeded to abridge the power of the major-generals, whom he had before invested with great authority. In April, his second son, Henry Cromwell, was made lieutenant of Ireland. Conspiracies were now formed by the royalists against the authority of Cromwell, particularly by John Mordaunt, Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. John Hewit. The former made his escape on the 25th of May, but the two latter were executed on the 8th of July. In the mean time the French and English made an attempt to surprize Ostend, but were disappointed. Notwithstanding this miscarriage, they marched to Dunkirk, and laid siege to that important place, which they became masters of the 25th of June. Dunkirk was delivered into the hands of Cromwell.

Cromwell had for some time been agitated with great cares and fears for his own safety; he had received information from several quarters of the plans for insurrections, and of the designs laid to assassinate him, by the hands of those who had formerly been the most zealously devoted to his interests. The latter information so wrought upon his mind, that he never slept twice together in the same chamber: nor did he ever appear in public without a very strong guard to protect him. But his precautions to avoid a violent death, could not secure him from a natural one. In August he was seized with a fever at Hampton Court, which at first did not appear to have any dangerous symptoms; but as his distemper daily increased he was carried to Whitehall, where, after having nominated his eldest son Richard for his successor, he expired on the 3d of September, in the 59th year of his age*. The day, Sept. 3, on which he died, was regarded by him as a very particular day; for on that day he gained the battle of Dunbar in 1650, and that of Worcester in 1651. On the 24th of November, his funeral was solemnized. After the ceremonies usually paid to deceased sovereign princes, his body was deposited in Henry VIIIth's chapel, amongst those of the kings and queens of England†.

We shall now take a view of Oliver Cromwell and his family. Cromwell's family was originally of Glamorganshire in Wales, and called Williams, one of which marrying a sister of Cromwell, vicar-general, in the reign of Henry VIII. assumed the name of Cromwell, and transmitted it to his posterity. Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599. His education had nothing extraordinary, nor is it known how he spent his time before he arrived at the age of thirty-five years, when he began seriously to reform his manners, and lead a very regular life, without indulging himself in any indecent or ill action. Probably, he then, if not sooner, engaged in the presbyterian party. The reputation he had acquired of an honest man and good Christian, and doubtless his principles concerning the government, were the cause of his being returned for the town of Cambridge, to the parliament which met the 3d of November, 1640. He sat two hours without being distinguished, not having a genius for speaking to place him upon a level with some of the members of that parliament. His delivery was ungracefulness, and his speeches prolix and confused. It was probably in these two years that he was gained by the independents, and listed in their party, though concealed under the name of rigid presbyterians. Agreeably to the views and interests of that party, Cromwell affected an extraordinary zeal for presbyterianism, and the liberty

of the nation against the usurpations of the court, in which he followed the directions of the then leading members of the house. So, when the civil war began in 1642, he had a post in the army, as a man entirely devoted to the house of commons, of which he was a member. He was at first a major of the horse, and though he was two and forty years of age before he had drawn a sword, he was so distinguished by his valour in that office, that he had soon after a regiment given him. There was not an officer in the army that faced danger with more trepidity, or that more ardently fought occasion to signalize himself. His reputation increased to such a degree, that he became major-general, then lieutenant-general under Fairfax, and at last his successor. His great talents for war gave him occasion to shew that he had no less genius for civil affairs. He entered into the deepest deligns of his party, and at last became one of the principal leaders, advancing here with the same rapidity as in the army. It was he, who accusing the earl of Manchester of not having done his duty in the second battle of Newbury, broke the ice, and gave occasion to the new model of the army, which was the first step to the triumph of the independents. From that time, he was looked upon as the chief of the independent party, and properly as general of the army, Fairfax, acting only as directed by Cromwell. The troops believed themselves invincible under his command, because he was never once forced to turn his back. The victory gained over prince Rupert at Marston-moor, was chiefly ascribed to his valour. The reduction of Ireland, in less than a year, greatly increased his fame, and the battles of Dunbar, and Worcester carried it to the highest degree.

If his government after he was protector be compared with those of the two last kings, there will appear a very great disparity with regard to the glory and reputation of the English nation. James I. and Charles I. seemed to have studied the disgrace of the English name, whereas Cromwell in the space of four or five years carried the glory of his nation as far as possible, and in that respect was not inferior to Elizabeth. He made himself equally dreaded by France and Spain, and the United Provinces. Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, thought himself honoured in being his ally and particular friend. His greatest enemies cannot help praising him on this account.

As for his morals and conduct, as a private person, they may be said to have been very regular. He was guilty of none of the vices to which men are commonly addicted. Gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, luxury, and avarice, were vices with which he was never reproached. On the contrary, it is certain, he promoted virtuous men; as, on the other hand, he was inflexible in his punishments of vice and ill actions. It is true, his own preservation obliged him sometimes to employ men of ill principles, but this is not uncommon to those, who are at the head of a government. He was charged with several vices and imperfections; and the charge seems to turn upon three points. The first, that through a boundless ambition, he seized a government to which he had no right. The second, that he maintained himself in his post, by an excessive dissimulation. The third, that he put to death many of his private enemies, without any regard to laws immemorially practised in England. Upon the first says Rapin, it must be considered, that though the royalist authors traduce Cromwell's memory as much as possible, and though in par-

* During his illness he asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall or suffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the prelate. "Then am I safe," said the protector: "for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace." His physicians pronounced him in danger, but some of his preachers assured him of recovery, telling him, "That Heaven had heard their petitions, and would grant their requests." "I tell you," said Cromwell, with confidence to his physicians, "I tell you, I shall not die of this distemper: I am well as-

fured of my recovery. It is promised by the Lord not only to my supplications, but to those of men who hold a stricter commerce and more intimate correspondence with him. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world, and God is far above nature." Vide Bates. Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 355, 716. Hume, ch. 1. x1.

† See Rapin, book xxii. part ii.—Notwithstanding this funeral solemnity it is uncertain where the body of Cromwell was laid.

ticular, the action by which he was possessed of the government, is the principal foundation of all their complaints, it is certain, the king was no way interested in the change it produced. It was not Charles II. but a republican parliament, that was deprived of the supreme power by Cromwell. Though he had been subjected to this parliament; though he had miscarried, and himself being ruined by his ambition, the king's affairs would have received no advantage, since the parliament was not less his enemy than Cromwell. Of what therefore do they complain with respect to the king? It must be one of these two things either that Cromwell was too wise to suffer himself to be supplanted by all the efforts of the royalists; or that after seizing the supreme power, he did not restore it to the king, to whom it belonged; that is, that Cromwell did not at once turn royalist, and entirely change his principles. But this charge lies no more against Cromwell, than against all the independents and presbyterians, who were at least three parts in four of the kingdom, and who no more than Cromwell, thought it proper to declare for the king. The second charge against him, is, his extensive dissimulation; but here we are to distinguish. If it be true, as is pretended, though without proof, that he carried his dissimulation so far, as to mock God and religion, by expressing a piety and devotion which he had not, and by making long prayers, full of seeming zeal. If it be true, that his mouth uttered what his heart never meant, no man ought to endeavour to vindicate him. But his strong bias to enthusiasm is well known; and who can affirm, it was rather out of hypocrisy than real persuasion? We are not rashly to ascribe to men inward motives, which no mortal can know. His dissimulation practised for the better management of the several parties, all equally his enemies, has nothing very blamable in it, unless it was a crime, not to leave it in the power of his enemies to destroy him with ease. The third and last charge against Cromwell is, cruelty, for having, whilst protector, put some men to death, for conspiring against his person and government. That is, according to this reproach, he should have patiently suffered the plots against him, and when one failed, liberty should have been given for a second and a third, till some one had succeeded. This deserves no confutation. But to shew, that Cromwell was not for an unnecessary effusion of blood, we need only recite what is owned by the earl of Clarendon in his History, who assures us, that when it was proposed in a council of officers that there might be a general massacre of the royalists, Cromwell would never consent to it. Yet what can never be entirely excused in him, is the death of Charles I. to which he contributed to the utmost of his power, and which will be an indelible blot upon his memory. In general, we may assert, that Cromwell was one of the greatest men of his age, if it is considered, that without the advantages of birth or fortune, he rose so near a throne, that it was in his power to mount it. History furnishes very few instances of this kind. Cromwell's death was followed with so many alterations in the government, that the interval between that and the restoration, may be justly called a time of true anarchy.

Oliver Cromwell was of a robust frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Fauconberg, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. She could not be persuaded that his power or person was ever in safety. At every noise which she heard, she exclaimed, that her son was murdered; and was never satisfied that

he was alive, if she did not receive frequent visits from him. She was a decent woman; and, by her frugality and industry, had raised and educated a numerous family upon a small fortune. She had even been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntingdon, which she managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwell, in the invectives of that age, is often stigmatized with the name of the Brewer. Ludlow, by way of insult, mentions the great accession, which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who possessed a jointure of sixty pounds a year upon his estate. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the royal family.

C H A P. IV.

RICHARD CROMWELL, PROTECTOR.

RICHARD Cromwell, in pursuance of his father's will, was now called to the protectorship. He was a young man of no experience, educated in the country, accustomed to a retired life, unacquainted with the officers, and unknown to them, recommended by no military exploits, endeared by no familiarities; so that men began to imagine he could not long maintain that authority which his father had acquired by so many valorous achievements and such signal successes. When it was observed, that he possessed only the virtues of private life, which in his situation were so many vices; that indolence, incapacity, and irresolution, attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of some great event or revolution. For some time, however, the public were disappointed in this opinion. The council recognized the succession of Richard: Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, and who was much attached to the family of the Cromwells, immediately proclaimed the new protector. The army and the fleet acknowledged his title: above ninety addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, in the most dutiful terms: foreign ministers paid him the usual compliments: and Richard was tempted to accept of that rich inheritance which seemed to be tendered to him by the consent and approbation of all mankind.

Richard now found it expedient to summon a parliament, in order to obtain supplies whereby he might be enabled to defray the ordinary expences of the administration, and fulfil those engagements with foreign princes which his father, the late protector, had entered into*. In the beginning of 1659 Richard formed the project of rendering himself master of the council and army; but the principal officers of the army conspired against him. To break his measures, the great council of the army met at Fleetwood's apartments in London†. No sooner were they assembled than they voted a remonstrance. They there lamented that *the good old cause* was neglected; and they proposed, as a remedy, that the whole military power should be entrusted to some person in whom they might all put full confidence. The city militia, influenced by Tichbourn and Ireton, expressed the same resolution of adhering to *the good old cause*. In April the officers presented a petition to Richard, in which they requested that Charles Fleetwood might be appointed for their general; but the protector rejected their petition. The house of commons then voted that there should be no general meeting of officers during the session of parliament, without the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought

* In order to obtain a greater influence in elections, the ancient right was restored to all the small boroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their usual number of members. The house of peers, or the other house, consisted

of the same persons that had been appointed by Oliver.

† Fleetwood resided in Wallingford House; hence the party received the appellation of the Wallingford Cabal.

matters to an immediate rupture. On the 22d of the same month the officers hastened to Richard, and demanded of him the dissolution of parliament. His timidity forced him to comply; and the parliament was instantly dissolved. Richard now lost all his authority; the officers seized the government, and chose Fleetwood for their general. They then cashiered colonel Ingoldsby*, and reinstated J. Lambert. The officers then restored the long parliament, which had been dissolved by Oliver Cromwell, in 1653; which parliament was called by way of ridicule, The Rump Parliament: but such members as refused to sign the engagement in 1648 were excluded. The new parliament sent Thomas Clarges to George Monk in Scotland, who submitted to the authority of the parliament. In the middle of May, Richard Cromwell submitted to the stronger power, and the parliament, by way of compensation, voted him two thousand pounds, and requested him to remove from Whitehall.

The family of the Cromwells now fell, suddenly fell, from an enormous height, but by a rare fortune, without receiving any hurt or injury. Richard continued to possess a moderate estate, but which was burthened with a large debt contracted for the interment of his father.

* We should here take notice, that Richard had given disgust to several officers by some promotions he had made in the army. In a conversation on the subject he is represented to have said, "Would you have me prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I trust him before ye all." This imprudent speech did him great harm.

† In this petition the officers, after some compliments, requested, "1. That the liberty of the persons, and property of the estates of all free people of these nations, be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable according to law, under the government of a free state and commonwealth, without a single person, kingship, or house of peers. 2. That there be such a just and due regulation of law, and courts of justice and equity, as that they may be a protection, and not vexatious or oppressive to the people of these nations. 3. That by an act of oblivion, all and every person or persons, who have since the 19th of April, 1653, mediately or immediately advised, acted, or done any matter or thing whatsoever, in reference to the several changes or alterations in the government of these nations, since the said 19th of April, 1653, or in order to the public service, peace, or safety of these nations, be indemnified and saved harmless, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. 4. That all laws, ordinances, declarations, and establishments, made in the several changes and alterations of government that have been in these nations, since the 19th of April aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in law, until particularly repealed. 5. That such debts as have been contracted for the public service and affairs of this commonwealth, and for the charges of the government, since the 20th of April, 1653, be carefully paid and satisfied. 6. That all persons who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his Eternal Son and true God, and in the Holy Spirit, God co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be the revealed or written word or will of God, shall not be restrained from their profession, but have due encouragement, and equal protection in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion, whilst they abuse not their liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of worship: so that this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth licentiousness or profaneness under the profession of religion: and that all laws, statutes or ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null and void. 7. That a godly, faithful, and painful gospel-preaching ministry be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained. 8. That the universities and schools of learning be so countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the nurseries of piety and learning. 9. That such persons as have at any time since the 20th of May, 1642, aided, or assisted, or adhered to the late king, Charles Stuart, his son, or any other person or persons whatsoever of that party, against the parliament or commonwealth of England, and all other persons whatsoever that have made use of any authority or power under pretence of law, or otherwise, to deprive or abridge any of the good people of these nations of their Christian liberty, or have, or shall express themselves in any way mockers, scoffers, or revilers of godliness, or of the professors thereof, or are otherways scandalous or loose in their conversations, or have not given good

After the restoration, though he remained unmolested, he thought fit to travel during some years. He extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of queen Anne's reign. His social virtues, more valuable than the greatest capacity, met with a recompense, more precious and more suitable than noisy fame, contentment and tranquillity.

The LONG, or RUMP PARLIAMENT, being now restored, they passed a declaration touching their meeting, and "their purpose to secure the property and liberty of the people, both as men and as Christians, and that without a single person, kingship, or house of peers, and to uphold magistracy and ministry." They proceeded to recall Henry Cromwell from his government in Ireland, and appointed Edmund Ludlow commander of the forces in his stead. Four days after their meeting, Lambert, attended by several officers, presented a petition or address from the general council of the officers; which the parliament delayed to determine upon till the submission of Richard Cromwell was fully secured†. Soon after the parliament and general council became dissatisfied with each other's conduct.

The royalists now made an effort in favour of Charles

satisfaction of their affection and faithfulness to this cause, may be speedily removed out of all places of power or trust in the magistracy, or other management of the public affairs of these nations; and that no such persons may be admitted unto any such place of power or trust, for the future. 10. And forasmuch as no godly, or other good interest can be preserved, or maintained, unless the persons, who are chiefly entrusted with the management and exercise of the government, be of suitable spirits to those interests; that those who are or shall be entrusted therein, be such persons as shall be found to be the most eminent for godliness, faithfulness, and constancy to the good cause and interests of these nations. 11. That to the end the legislative authority of this commonwealth may not, by their long sitting, become burthensome or inconvenient, there may be effectual provision made for a due succession thereof. 12. And for the better satisfaction, and more firm union of the forces of this commonwealth, in this juncture of affairs, for preserving and maintaining the principles and other matters thereunto subservient, we do unanimously acknowledge and own the lord Charles Fleetwood, lieutenant-general of the army, to be commander in chief of the land forces of this commonwealth. 13. That in order to the establishing and securing the peace, welfare, and freedom of the people of these nations, for the ends before expressed, the legislative power thereof may be in a house, successively chosen by the people, in such a way and manner as this parliament shall judge meet, and of a select senate, co-ordinate in power, of able and faithful persons, eminent for godliness, and such as continue adhering to this cause. 14. That the administration of all executive power of government, may be in a council of state, consisting of a convenient number of persons qualified in all respects as aforesaid. 15. That all debts contracted by his late highness or his father, since the 12th of December, 1653, may be satisfied, and that an honourable revenue of ten thousand pounds *per annum*, with a convenient house, may be settled upon him and his heirs for ever; and ten thousand pounds *per annum* more upon him during life; and upon his honourable mother eight thousand pounds *per annum* during her life, to the end a mark of the high esteem this nation hath of the good service done by his father, an ever-renowned general, may remain to posterity."

The latter clause gave the parliament some disgust, and they deputed commissioners to wait on Richard Cromwell, and acquaint him with the resolutions of the house, and to require his full and unequivocal submission. Accordingly Richard returned the following answer on the next day:

"I have perused the resolve and declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other night, and for the information touching what is mentioned in the said resolve, I have caused a true state of my debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

"As to that part of the resolve, whereby the committee are to inform themselves, how far I do acquiesce in the government of this commonwealth as it is declared by this parliament:

"I trust my past carriage hitherto hath manifested my acquiescence in the will and disposition of God, and that I love and value the peace of this commonwealth much above my own concerns; and I desire that by this, a measure of my future deportment may be taken, which through the assistance of God shall be such as shall bear the same witness, having, I hope,

Charles II. Mordaunt, who had narrowly escaped on his trial before the high-court of justice, seemed rather animated than daunted by past danger: and having, by his resolute behaviour, obtained the highest confidence of the royal party, he was now become the center of all their conspiracies. In many counties, a resolution was taken to rise in arms. Lord Willoughby, of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townshend, undertook to secure Lynne; general Massey engaged to seize Gloucester: lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen, conspired to take possession of Shrewsbury; Sir George Booth, of Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton, of North Wales; Arundel, Pollar, Granville, and Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day was appointed for the execution of all these enterprizes: and the king, attended by the duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with a resolution of putting himself at the head of his loyal subjects. The French court had promised to supply him with a small body of forces, in order to countenance the insurrections of the English. This combination was disconcerted by the infidelity of Sir Richard Willis. That traitor continued with the parliament the same correspondence which he had begun with Cromwell. He had engaged to reveal all conspiracies, so far as to destroy their effect; but reserved to himself, if he pleased, the power of concealing the conspirators. He took care never to name any of the old, genuine cavaliers, who had zealously adhered, and were resolved still to adhere, to the royal cause in every fortune. These men he esteemed; these he even loved. He betrayed only the new converts among the presbyterians, or such lukewarm royalists, as, discouraged with their disappointments, were resolved to expose themselves to no more hazards. The conduct of this man may be considered as a lively proof how impossible it is, even for the most corrupted minds, to divest themselves of all regard to morality and social duty!

Sir George Booth, one of those royalists that rose, seized Chester, and published a manifesto against the parliament. He was joined by Sir Thomas Middleton: but, like an inexperienced officer, he ventured without the walls of the town, and exposed his raw undisciplined troops in the open field, against a strong band of hardy veterans under the command of Lambert. Booth's army was soon routed and dispersed, and himself was taken prisoner. About the same time the army in Scotland was reformed. This step so much disgusted Monk, that he requested, in strong terms, his own dismissal. In September the king crossed France *incognito*, in his way to Fontarabia, where he was going with a view to be present at the treaty of peace then negotiating at St. Jean de Luz.

The officers of the army under Lambert's command soon after met at Derby, and drew up a petition to the parliament, which they sent to the great council of officers at London. This petition not being agreeable to the intentions of parliament, they voted against it. In the beginning of October the great council of officers presented a petition to the parliament, to which they returned a more mild answer. The officers, however, suspecting the parliament of some sinister design against the army, requested a more explicit answer. Hereupon Monk promised to stand by the parliament; and they returned an answer couched in very haughty terms. They declared it high-treason to levy any money without consent of parliament: they cashiered Lambert*, Desborow, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelsey, and Cobbet:

hope, in some degree, learned rather to submit to, and reverence the hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. And, (as to the late providences that have fallen out among us,) however, in respect of particular engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the government of the nation; yet, through the goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in it being made; and do hold myself obliged, as (with other men) I expect protection from the present government, so to demean myself with all peaceableness under it, and

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they vacated Fleetwood's commission; and they vested the command of the army in seven persons, of whom that general was one. But the votes of the parliament were feeble weapons in opposition to the swords of the soldiery. Lambert drew together some forces with a view to determine the controversy. Some regiments of soldiers were placed in Palace Yard in order to oppose him; but Lambert, having no inclination to shed blood, disposed of his troops in the streets leading to Westminster Hall. When the speaker came in his coach, he ordered his horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were intercepted in a similar manner. The two regiments which had been placed in Palace Yard to oppose Lambert, finding themselves exposed to ridicule, peaceably retired to their quarters.

The officers found themselves again invested with supreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the substance, however they might bestow on others the empty shadow or appearance. They elected on the 26th of October, a Committee of Safety, consisting of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. To these they committed the administration of the government. General Monk, hearing of these transactions, resolved to march into England, in order to facilitate the restoration of the king. With a view to gain that general to their party, the committee of safety sent Thomas Clarges to him, with proposals for an accommodation. Monk, dissimbling his intentions in order to amuse them, accepted of their proposals, and sent commissioners to London to treat with the committee. On the 15th of November Monk's commissioners, contrary to his inclinations, who sought evasions to hinder the ratification of it, concluded and signed a treaty with the committee of safety. Nine days after the council of state sent Monk a commission, by which he was constituted general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland. In December the members of the parliament were very busy in endeavouring to restore themselves. Colonel Whetham, governor of Portsmouth, and vice-admiral Lawson, declared for the parliament in opposition to the army. Desborow's regiment being sent by Lambert to support his friends, no sooner arrived at St. Alban's than it declared for the same assembly. The authority of Fleetwood and his junto now declined apace. On the 26th of the same month Lenthall the speaker was invited by the officers to assume his authority once more, and to summon again that parliament which had been twice expelled with so much reproach and ignominy. As soon as they were assembled they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; they appointed commissioners for assigning quarters to the army; and without taking the least notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the forces under his command, immediately to repair to those quarters which were appointed them. Lambert himself was soon after arrested, and sent to the Tower.

The 2d of January, 1660, Monk entered England at the head of six thousand men; but as he had not declared his intentions, and advanced towards London, the parliament entertained some suspicions respecting his motive; and therefore requested him to stop his march. Having reached York, he was admitted into that town by lord Fairfax, who had assembled some troops in order to prevent the committee of safety from taking possession of it. A council of state was now formed†, into which Monk was admitted: every member of it

was

to procure, to the utmost of my power, that all in whom I have any interest do the same.

RICHARD CROMWELL."

* Sir Arthur Hazelrig proposed the impeachment of Lambert for high-treason.

† The names of the intended council were, Sir Arthur Hazelrig, colonel Morley, Mr Wallop, Mr. Scot, Mr. Love, Mr. Weaver, colonel White, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Robert Roll, Sir James Harrington, colonel Thompson,

8 M

Sir

was obliged to abjure Charles II. and the whole royal family*. The parliament sent two people, Scot and Robinson, to act as spies on the general's conduct. Monk, using great dissimulation, requested that the regiments which were quartered in the city might be ordered to retire to a distance, that he with his forces might occupy their places. This request was instantly granted. On the 3d of February, general Monk entered London, and repairing to the council of state, refused to take the abjuration oath. On the 6th he repaired to the parliament; and, being introduced to the house, he received the compliments and thanks of Lenthall the speaker, for the eminent services which he had done his country. The city of London refused to pay the taxes laid upon them by the parliament, and Monk was ordered to repair to the citizens and chastize them. Hereupon he led his army into the city, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of his officers and friends, where he took down the gates, and broke the chains and portcullises belonging to it. He likewise seized some of the principal citizens, whom he sent to the Tower, and then returned to Whitehall. But repenting of his precipitation in obeying the orders of the parliament, he wrote a letter to them full of complaints and reproaches. He then returned to the city, where he reconciled himself to the citizens and magistrates; after which he repaired to Whitehall with the secluded members, whom he desired to introduce themselves again into parliament, and to forward their project he provided them with a guard. This occasioned several members to withdraw from the house.

In March the Rump Parliament summoned a free parliament, composed of a house of peers and a house of commons, after which it dissolved itself. It should be noticed, that before their dissolution, they released Sir George Booth, and all the imprisoned friends of the king, to whom they restored their estates: they also repealed the abjuration oath of Charles Stuart and all the royal family; they appointed a new council of state; they made great changes in the militia of London; and they abrogated the engagement to be true and faithful to the commonwealth; without a king or house of peers, &c. Soon after Lambert made his escape from the Tower, and put himself at the head of a body of troops. He was, however, quickly defeated by colonels Ingoldsby and Streater, and taken prisoner.

The parliament met on the 25th of April, and chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker, a man, who, though he had for some time concurred with the late parliament, had long been esteemed affectionate to the king's service. The great dangers incurred during former usurpations, joined to the extreme caution of the general, kept every one in awe; and none dared for some days, to make any mention of the king. The members exerted their spirit chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of their late sovereign. At last, on the 1st of May, the general, having sufficiently founded their inclinations, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council to inform them, that Sir John Granville †, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door, with a letter to the commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: the letter, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read: without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer: and,

in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published. The people, freed from the state of suspense in which they had so long been held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixed effusions of joy; and displayed a social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity, even the greatest, is ever able fully to inspire. Traditions remain of men, particularly of Oughtred, the mathematician, who died of pleasure, when informed of this happy and surprising event. The king's declaration was well calculated to uphold the satisfaction inspired by the prospect of public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by parliament: it promised liberty of conscience; and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, should be offered, for ensuring that indulgence: it submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly the enquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations: and it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them for the future, the same pay which they then enjoyed. The lords, perceiving the spirit by which the kingdom, as well as the commons, was animated, hastened to restate themselves in their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. They found the doors of their house open; and all were admitted; even such as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

The two houses attended on the 8th of May; while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace-Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-Bar. The commons voted five hundred pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the king's gracious messages: a present of fifty thousand pounds was conferred on the king, ten thousand pounds on the duke of York, and five thousand pounds on the duke of Gloucester. A committee of lords and commons was dispatched to invite his majesty to return and take possession of the government. The rapidity with which all these events were conducted, was marvellous, and discovered the passionate zeal and entire unanimity of the nation. Such an impatience appeared, and such an emulation, in lords and commons, and city, who should make the most lively expressions of their joy and duty; that, as the noble historian expresses it, a man could not but wonder where these people dwelt, who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects. The king himself said, that it must surely have been his own fault that he had not sooner taken possession of the throne; since he found every body so zealous in promoting his happy restoration. The respect of foreign powers soon followed the submission of the king's subjects. Spain invited him to return to the Low-Countries, and embark in some of her maritime towns. France made protestations of affection and regard, and offered Calais for the same purpose. The states-general sent deputies with a like friendly invitation. The king resolved to accept of this last offer. The people of the republic bore him a cordial affection; and politics no longer restrained their magistrates from promoting and expressing that sentiment. As he passed from Breda to the Hague, he was attended by numerous crowds, and was received with loudest acclamations; as if themselves, not their rivals in power and commerce, were now restored to peace and security.

Sir Thomas Widdrington, colonel Dixwell, Mr. Henry Nevil, colonel Fagg, Mr. John Corbet, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, Mr. Say, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, general Monk, lord Fairfax, vice-admiral Lawson, Josias Barners, serjeant Tyrrel, Slingsby Bethel, alderman Foot, and alderman Love.

* The following is a copy of the abjuration oath: "I do hereby swear, that I do renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and the whole line of the late king James, and of every other person, as a single person, pretending, or which shall pretend to the crown or government of these nations of Eng-

land, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of them, and the dominions and territories belonging to them or any of them: and that I will, by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to the parliament and commonwealth, and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up, any single person, or house of lords, and every of them in this commonwealth."

† By the hand of Sir John Granville, general Monk received a commission from the king constituting him general of the forces of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The

The states-general in a body, and afterwards the states of Holland apart, performed their compliments with the greatest solemnity: every person of distinction was ambitious of being introduced to his majesty; all ambassadors and public ministers of kings, princes, or states, repaired to him, and professed the joy of their masters in his behalf: so that one would have thought, that from the united efforts of Christendom, had been derived this revolution, which diffused every where such universal satisfaction. The English fleet came in sight of Scheveling. Montague had not waited for orders from the parliament; but had persuaded the officers, of themselves, to render their duty to his majesty. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command of the fleet as high admiral. When the king disembarked at Dover, he was met by the general, whom he cordially embraced. *Never subject in fact, probably in his intentions, had deserved better of his king and country. In the space of a few months, without effusion of blood, by his cautious and disinterested conduct alone, he had bestowed settlement on three kingdoms, which had long been torn with the most violent convulsions: and having obstinately refused the most inviting conditions, offered him by the king as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely restored his injured master to the vacant throne. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birth-day. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such jovial periods.

THE chief taxes in England, during the time of the commonwealth, were the monthly assessments, the excise, and the customs. The assessments were levied on personal estates as well as on land; and commissioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The highest assessment amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month in England; the lowest was thirty-five thousand. The assessments in Scotland were sometimes ten thousand pounds a month; commonly six thousand. Those on Ireland, nine thousand. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a year. The excise, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, flesh-meat as well as beer, ale, strong-waters, and many other commodities. After the king was subdued, bread and flesh-meat were exempted from excise. The customs on exportation were lowered in 1656. In 1650, commissioners were appointed to levy both customs and excises. Cromwell in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thousand pounds were then offered, both for customs and excise, a greater sum than had ever been levied by the commissioners: the whole of the taxes during that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a year; a sum which though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king. Sequestrations, compositions, sale of crown and church-lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded also considerable sums, but very difficult to be estimated. Church lands are said to have sold for a million. None of these were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchase. The estates of delinquents amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds a year. Cromwell died more than two millions in debt, though the parliament had left him in the treasury above five hundred thousand pounds; and in stores, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds. The committee of danger in April, 1648, voted to raise the army to forty thousand men. The same year, the pay of the army was estimated at eighty thousand pounds a month. The establishment of the army in 1652, was in Scotland fifteen thousand foot, two thousand five hundred and eighty horse, and five hundred and sixty dragoons; in England, four thousand seven hundred foot, two thousand five hundred and twenty horse, garrison six thousand one hundred and fifty-four. In all, thirty-one thousand five hundred and

nineteen, besides officers. The army in Scotland was afterwards considerably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much short of twenty thousand men; so that upon the whole, the commonwealth maintained in 1652 a standing army of more than fifty thousand men. Its pay amounted to a yearly sum of one million forty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifteen pounds. Afterwards the protector reduced the establishment to thirty thousand men, as appears by the Instrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice. His frequent enterprises obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of thirteen thousand two hundred and fifty-eight men, in Scotland nine thousand five hundred and six, in Ireland about ten thousand men. The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling a day: the horse had two shillings and sixpence; so that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family enlisted in the protector's cavalry. No wonder that such men were averse from the re-establishment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they must be deprived of so gainful a profession.

At the time of the battle at Worcester, the parliament had on foot about eighty thousand men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigour of the commonwealth, and the great capacity of those members who had assumed the government, never at any time appeared so conspicuous.

The whole revenue of the public, during the protectorship of Richard, was estimated at one million eight hundred and sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds: his annual expences at two million two hundred and one thousand five hundred and forty pounds. An additional revenue was demanded from parliament.

The commerce and industry of England increased extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: the trade to the East-Indies and to Guinea became considerable. The English possessed almost the sole trade with Spain. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulsions which afterwards prevailed; though it soon recovered after the establishment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by distressing the commerce of so formidable a rival, served to encourage trade in England: the Spanish war was to an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the English merchants, to an immense value, were confiscated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants; and commerce has ever since been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. The exclusive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expressly abolished by any ordinance of parliament during the commonwealth; but as men paid no regard to the prerogative whence the charters of these companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increased by the increase of liberty. Interest in 1650 was reduced to six *per cent*.

The customs in England, before the civil wars, are said to have amounted to five hundred thousand pounds a year: a sum ten times greater than during the best period in queen Elizabeth's reign: but there is probably some exaggeration in this matter.

The post-house in 1653, was farmed at ten thousand pounds a year, which was deemed a considerable sum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid only about half their present postage.

From 1619 to 1638, there had been coined six million nine hundred thousand and forty-two pounds. From 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted to seven million seven hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and twenty-one pounds. Dr. Davenant has told us, from the registers of the mint, that between 1558 and 1659, there had been coined nineteen million eight hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and seventy-six pounds in gold and silver.

The first mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about

about 1660. Asparagus, artichokes, cauliflowers, and a variety of fallads, were about the same time introduced into England.

CHAP. V.

CHARLES II.

WE are now arrived at one of the most extraordinary epochs in English history, in which we see the people tossed into opposite factions, and, as the sea after a storm, still continuing those violent motions by which they were first impelled. We see them at one period of the following reign, with unbounded adulation, soliciting the shackles of arbitrary power; at another, with equal animosity, banishing all the emissaries of unbounded power from the throne; now courting the monarch, and then threatening those on whom he most depended. There seems a clue that can unravel all these inconsistencies. While the people thought the king a protestant, they were willing to entrust him with their lives and fortunes; but when they supposed that he was inclining to popery, all their confidence vanished, and they were even willing to punish papists, as the properest method of shewing their resentment against himself.

When Charles came to the throne he was thirty years of age, possessed of an agreeable person, an elegant address, and an engaging manner. His whole demeanor and behaviour was well calculated to support and increase popularity. Accustomed, during his exile, to live cheerfully among his courtiers, he carried the same endearing familiarities to the throne; and from the levity of his temper no injuries were dreaded from his former resentments. But it was soon found, that all these advantages were merely superficial. His indolence and love of pleasure made him averse to all kind of business; his familiarities were prostituted to the worst as well as the best of his subjects; and he took no care to reward his former friends, as he had taken no steps to be avenged of his former enemies. It required some time before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could come into proper form; a council was composed, in which church of England-men and presbyterians indiscriminately were admitted; and the king's choice of his principal ministers was universally pleasing to the people. Sir Edward Hyde, who had attended him in his exile, was now created a peer by the title of lord Clarendon, and appointed lord chancellor, and first minister of state*. The marquis, afterwards created duke of Ormond, was appointed lord-steward of the household, the earl of Southampton high-treasurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas secretary of state†.

Notwithstanding the joy of the people was unbounded, yet something was thought to be due to justice, and some vengeance was necessary to be taken upon those who had lately involved the nation in its calamities. Though an

act of indemnity was passed, those who had an immediate hand in the king's death, were excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, now dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment; their bodies were dug from their graves, dragged to the place of execution, and, after hanging some time, buried under the gallows‡. Of the rest who sat in judgement on the late monarch's trial, some were dead, and some were thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of fourscore, were devoted to immediate destruction. These were enthusiasts, who had all along acted from principle, and who, in the general spirit of rage excited against them, shewed a fortitude that might do honour to a better cause.

General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial, pleaded his cause with that undaunted firmness which he had shewn through life. What he had done, he said, was from the impulses of the Spirit of God. He would not, for any benefit to himself, hurt a hair of the poorest man or woman upon earth; and during the usurpation of Cromwell, when all the rest of the world acknowledged the right, or bowed down to his power, he had boldly upbraided the usurper to his face; and all the terrors of imprisonment, and all the allurements of ambition, had not been able to bind him to a compliance to that deceitful tyrant§. Carew||, Coke, Peters, Scot**, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtell, shared the same fate. They bore the scorn of the multitude, and the cruelty of the executioner, not simply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty††. This was all the blood that was shed in so great a restoration. The rest of the king's judges were reprieved, and afterwards dispersed into several prisons. Charles being directed in all things by Clarendon, gave almost an universal satisfaction to his subjects. The army was disbanded that had for so many years governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were restored; at the same time that the king pretended to preserve an air of moderation and neutrality‡‡. In fact, with regard to religion, Charles, in his gayer hours, was a professed deist, and attached to none; but in the latter part of his life, when he began to think more seriously, he shewed an inclination to the catholic persuasion, which he had strongly imbibed in his exile. But this toleration, in which all were equally included, was not able to remove the fears, or quell the enthusiasm of a few determined men, who, by an unexampled combination, were impelled by one common phrenzy. One Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, and had as often been pardoned, had by this time persuaded his followers, that if they would take arms, Jesus would come to put himself at their head. With these expectations, to the number of sixty persons, they issued forth into the streets of London in complete armour, and proclaimed king Jesus wherever they went. They believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and expected the same for-

* This excellent man is better known now by his merits as an historian than as a statesman; but his integrity and wisdom were equally excellent in both.

† These men, combined by private friendship, and pursuing one common aim, laboured only for the public, and supported its interest with their own.

‡ See Goldsmith's History of England, ch. xxxv.

§ Harrison's death was marked with the same admirable constancy which he shewed at his trial; so that the greatness of some virtues which he possessed, in some measure counterbalanced the greatness of his guilt.

|| Carew, a millenarian, submitted to his trial, "saying to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms."

** This man, who was more a republican than a fanatic, had said in the house of commons, a little before the restoration, that he desired no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb-stone than this; "Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the king to death." He supported the same spirit upon his trial.

†† Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their execution. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown into the fire before he expired. His head was fixed on the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner having mangled Coke, approached Peters besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked how he liked that work. Peters, viewing him with an air of scorn, said, "You have butchered a servant of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty."

‡‡ In this declaration, the king promised that he would provide suffragan bishops for the larger dioceses; that the prelates should, all of them, be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of presbyteries, chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; that, in the mean time, the use of that mode of worship should be imposed on such as were unwilling to receive it; and that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and hewing at the name of Jesus, should not be rigidly insisted on.



CHARLES II.



JAMES II.

tune which had attended Gideon, and the other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them; one unhappy man being asked who he was for, answering that he was for God and the king, they slew him on the spot. In this manner they went from street to street, and made a desperate resistance against a body of the train bands that they sent to attack them. After killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane-wood, near Hampstead. Being dislodged from thence, the next morning they returned to London, and took possession of an house, in which they defended themselves against a body of troops, until the majority were killed. At last the troops, who had untiled the house, and were tired of slaughter, rushed in, and seized the few that were left alive. They were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they declared, that if they were deceived, it was the Lord himself that was their deceiver*.

In England, the civil distinctions seemed to be abolished by the lenity and equality of Charles's administration. Cavalier and Round-head were heard of no more: all men seemed to concur in submitting to the king's lawful prerogatives, and in cherishing the just privileges of the people and of parliament. Theological controversy alone still subsisted, and kept alive some sparks of that flame which had thrown the nation into combustion. While catholics, independents, and other sectaries, were content with entertaining some prospect of toleration; prelacy and presbytery struggled for the superiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. A conference was held in the Savoy between twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the presbyterian ministers, with an intention, at least on pretence, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the bowing at the name of Jesus, were anew canvassed; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes that so many men of gravity and learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree in all points of controversy: they were surprized to see them separate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their several prejudices. To enter into particulars would be superfluous.

The king's parliaments, both of England and Scotland, seemed willing to make reparation for their former disobedience, by their present concessions. In the English house, in 1661, monarchy and episcopacy were carried to as great splendour, as they had suffered misery and depression. The bishops were permitted to resume their seats in the house of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be vested in the king; and he was empowered to appoint commissioners for regulating corporations, and expelling such members as had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution. An act of uniformity in religion was passed, by which it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; that he should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and should take the oath of canonical obedience. In consequence of this law, above two thousand of the presbyterian clergy relinquished their cures in one day, to the great astonishment of the nation; thus sacrificing their interests to their religion. But the Scotch parliament went still greater lengths in their prostrations to the king. It was there that his divine, indefeasible,

and hereditary right, was asserted in the fullest and most positive terms. His right was extended to their lives and possessions; and from his original grant was said to come, all that his subjects might be said to enjoy. They voted an additional revenue of forty thousand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with the utmost detestation.

This was the time for the king to have made himself independent of all parliaments; and it is said, that Southampton, one of his ministers, had thought of procuring his master from the commons the grant of a revenue of two millions a year, which would effectually render him absolute; but in this his views were obstructed by the great Clarendon, who, though attached to the king, was still more the friend of liberty and the laws. Charles, however, was no way interested in these opposite views of his ministers; he only desired money, in order to prosecute his pleasures; and provided he had that, he little regarded the manner in which it was obtained. It was this careless and expensive disposition that first tended to disgust his subjects, and to dispel that intoxication of loyalty, which had taken place at his restoration. Though the people were pleased with the mirth and pleasantries of their monarch, yet they could not help murmuring at his indolence, his debaucheries, and profusion. They could not help remembering the strict frugality and active diligence that marked the usurper's administration; they called to mind the victories they had gained under him, and the vast projects he had undertaken. But they now saw an opposite picture; a court sunk in debauchery, and the taxes of the nation only employed in extending vice, and corrupting the morals of the people. The ejected clergy did not fail to inflame these just resentments in the minds of the audience; but particularly when the nation saw Dunkirk, which had been acquired during the late vigorous administration, now basely sold to the French, for a small sum to supply the king's extravagance, they could put no bounds to their complaints. From this time he found the wheels of government clogged with continual obstructions, and his parliaments reluctantly granting those supplies, which he as meanly condescended to implore. His continual exigencies drove him constantly to measures no way suited to his inclination. Among others, was his marriage, celebrated in 1662, with Catharine, the Infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princess, possessed, as it should seem, but few personal attractions. It was the portion of this princess that the needy monarch was enamoured of, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies. The chancellor Clarendon, the dukes of Ormond and Southampton, urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children: the king disregarded their advice, and the inauspicious marriage was celebrated accordingly. But still his necessities were greater than his supplies. He never much loved the steady virtue of lord Clarendon, and imputed to him some of those necessities to which he was reduced. It is said also, that this great minister prevented him from repudiating the queen, which he had thoughts of doing, in order to marry one Mrs. Stuart, on whom he had placed his affections, by procuring that lady to be privately married to the duke of Richmond. However this be, he was not willing to give him up to the resent-

* The absurdity, and even ridicule which attended the professions and expectations of these poor deluded men, struck the people very strongly: and from the moroseness of enthusiasm, they now went over into the opposite extreme of riot and debauchery. The court itself set the example; nothing but scenes of gallantry and festivity were to be seen; the horrors of the late war were become the subject of ridicule; the folly and ignorance of the sectaries were displayed upon the stage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. But while the king was thus noted, the old faithful friends and followers of his family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought

for him and his father, and had lost their whole fortunes in his service, still continued to pine in want and oblivion; while, in the mean time, their persecutors, who had profited by the times, had acquired fortunes during the civil war, and were still permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The sufferers petitioned in vain: the family of the Stuarts were never remarkable for their gratitude; and the amusers, the flatterers, and the concubines of this monarch, enjoyed all his consideration. The wretched royalists murmured without redress; he fled from their gloomy expostulations to scenes of mirth, riot, and festivity.

ment of the parliament, to whom he was become noxious, in order to obtain some farther supplies. For this purpose he assembled the commons in the Banqueting-House; and, in the close of a flattering speech, replete with professions of eternal gratitude, and the warmest affection, he begged a supply for his present occasions, which, he said, were extremely pressing. They could not resist his humble supplications; they granted him four subsidies; and the clergy, in convocation, followed their example. On this occasion lord Bristol ventured to impeach the chancellor in the house of peers; but not supporting his charge for this time, the affair dropped, only in order to be revived again the next sessions with greater animosity.

It was probably with a view of recruiting the supply for his pleasures, that he was induced to declare war against the Dutch, as the money appointed for that purpose would go through his hands. A vote, by his contrivance, was procured in the house of commons, alledging that the wrongs, affronts, and indignities offered by the Dutch in several quarters of the globe, had in a great measure obstructed the trade of the nation. As his prodigality always kept him necessitous, he foresaw that he should be able to convert a part of the supplies to his private amusements. His brother also, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of signaling his courage and conduct, as high admiral, against a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but also as being one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant religion. This war began on each side with mutual depredations. The English, under the command of Sir Robert Holmes, not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse Castle, on the coast of Africa, but likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde, and the Isle of Goree. Sailing from thence to America, the admiral possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York, which continued annexed to the English government, till 1783, when its independence was acknowledged by the crown of Great-Britain, and it is now one of the Thirteen United Independent States of North America. On the other hand, De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, sailed to Guinea, dispossessed the English of all their settlements there except Cape Corse. He then sailed to America, attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed hostilities on Long Island. Soon after, the two most considerable fleets of each nation met, the one under the duke of York, to the number of one hundred and fourteen sail; the other commanded by Opdam, admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the engagement, and behaved with great spirit and composure, while his lords and attendants were killed beside him. In the heat of the action, when engaged in close fight with the duke, the Dutch admiral's ship blew up; this accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled to their own coast. They had nineteen ships sunk and taken, the victors lost only one*. This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation; and De Wit, their great minister, whose genius and wisdom

were admirable, was obliged to take the command of the fleet upon himself†.

The success of the English naturally excited the jealousy of the neighbouring states, particularly France and Denmark, who resolved to protect the Dutch against the superior power of their opposers. The Dutch being thus strengthened by so powerful an alliance, resolved to face their conquerors once more. De Ruyter their great admiral, was returned from his expedition to Guinea, and was appointed at the head of seventy-six sail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who, it was supposed, was then entering the British Channel from Toulon. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert now commanded the English fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who from his successes under Cromwell had learned too much to despise the enemy, proposed to dispatch prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscough, well acquainted with the force of his enemies, protested against the temerity of this resolution; but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The English and Dutch, thus engaging upon unequal terms, a battle ensued, the most memorable in the annals of the ocean. The conflict began with incredible fury: the Dutch admiral, Evertzen, was killed by a cannon ball, and one vessel of their fleet was blown up, while one of the English ships was taken: darkness parted the combatants for the first day. The second day they renewed the combat with increased animosity; sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight. Upon retreating towards their own coast, the Dutch followed them, where another dreadful conflict was beginning, but parted by the darkness of the night, as before. The morning of the third day, the English were obliged to continue their retreat, and the Dutch persisted in pursuing. Albemarle, who still kept in the rear, and presented a dreadful front to the enemy, made a desperate resolution to blow up his ship rather than submit to the enemy; when he happily found himself reinforced by prince Rupert with sixteen ships of the line. By this time it was night; and the next morning, after a distant cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued with great violence, till they were parted by a mist. Sir George Ayscough, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galloper Sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The English retired first into their harbours: both sides claimed the victory; but the Dutch certainly obtained the advantage, though not the glory of the combat. A second engagement, equally bloody, followed soon after, with larger fleets on both sides, commanded by the same admirals; and in this the Dutch were obliged to own themselves vanquished, and retreat into their own harbours. But they were soon in a capacity to outnumber the English fleet, by the junction of Beaufort the French admiral. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames, conducted by their great admiral; and threw the English into the utmost consternation: a chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to the forts along the banks, but all these

* It is affirmed, and with an appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, one of the duke's bed-chamber, who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was sufficiently punished for his temerity. King James, in his Memoirs, gives an account of this affair different from what we meet with in any historian. He says, that while he was asleep, Brounker brought orders to Sir John Harman, captain of the ship, to slacken sail. Sir John remonstrated, but obeyed. After some time, finding that his falling back was likely to produce confusion in the fleet, he hoisted the sails as before: so that the prince coming soon after on the quarter-deck, and finding all things as he left them, knew nothing of what had passed during his repose. Nobody gave him the least intimation of it. It was long after, that he heard of it by a kind of accident, and he intended to have punished Brounker by martial law; but just about that time, the house of commons took

up the question and impeached him, which made it impossible for the duke to punish him otherwise than by dismissing him his service. Brounker, before the house, never pretended that he had received any orders from the duke. It is allowed, however, that the duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickest of the fire. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that, in a pursuit, where even persons of inferior station, and of the most cowardly disposition, acquire courage, a commander should feel his spirits to flag, and should turn from the back of an enemy, whose face he had not been afraid to encounter.

† This extraordinary man quickly became as much master of naval affairs, as if he had been from his infancy educated in them. He even improved some part of the naval arts beyond what expert mariners had ever expected to attain.

were unequal to present force; Sheerness was soon taken, the Dutch passed forward, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships sunk there by Albemarle's orders. Destroying the shipping in their passage, they advanced still onward, with six men of war, and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore Castle, where they burned three men of war. The whole city of London was in consternation; it was expected that the Dutch might sail up next tide to London Bridge, and destroy, not only the shipping, but even the buildings of the metropolis. But the Dutch were unable to prosecute that project, from the failure of the French, who had promised to give them assistance; spreading, therefore, an alarm along the coast, they returned to their own ports, to boast of their success against their formidable enemies.

While the war continued without any decisive success on either side, two calamities happened in London which threw the people into the greatest consternation. In October, 1665, a plague broke out, which raged with such violence as to cut off in a year ninety thousand inhabitants. On account of this disaster, the king was obliged to summon the parliament at Oxford. On the 2d of September, the year following, a fire broke out in a baker's house near London Bridge, which spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to provide effectually for their relief, were reduced to be spectators of their own ruin; and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The king and duke used their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the flames; but all their industry was unsuccessful. This fire destroyed in the space of four days, eighty-nine churches, among which were the cathedral of St. Paul's, the city gates, the Exchange, Custom-House, Guildhall, Sion College, and many public structures, hospitals, schools, and libraries, a vast number of stately edifices, thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, and four hundred streets. The ruins of the city covered four hundred and thirty-six acres, extending from the Tower along the Thames side to the Temple Church, and from the north-east gate, along the city walls to Holborn Bridge. The causes of this calamity were evident. The narrow streets of London, the houses built entirely of wood, the dry season, and a violent east wind which blew; these were so many concurring circumstances, which rendered it easy to assign the reason of the destruction that ensued. But the people were not satisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, some ascribed the guilt to the republicans, others to the catholics; though it is not easy to conceive how the burning of London could serve the purposes of either

party. As the papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumour, which threw the guilt on them, was more favourably received by the people. No proof, however, or even presumption, after the strictest enquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription, engraved by authority on the monument, ascribed this calamity to that hated sect*. This clause was erased by order of king James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people, in believing every thing which flatters their prevailing passions†.

The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has proved in the issue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little time; and care was taken to make the streets wider and more regular than before. A discretionary power was assumed by the king to regulate the distribution of the buildings, and to forbid the use of lath and timber, the materials of which the houses were formerly composed. The necessity was so urgent, and the occasion so extraordinary, that no exceptions were taken to an exercise of authority, which otherwise might have been illegal. Had the king been enabled to carry his power still farther, and made the houses be rebuilt with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one plan; he had much contributed to the convenience, as well as embellishment, of the city. Great advantages, however, have resulted from the alterations; though not carried to the full length. London became much more healthy after the fire. The plague, which used to break out with great fury twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in some corner or other of the city, has scarcely ever appeared since that calamity.

The war against the Dutch was now vehemently exclaimed against, as unsuccessful and unnecessary; as being an attempt to humble that nation, who were equal enemies of popery with themselves. Charles himself also began to be sensible that all the ends for which he had undertaken the Dutch war, were likely to prove entirely ineffectual. Whatever projects he might have formed for secreting the money granted him by parliament for his own use, he had hitherto failed in his intention; and instead of laying up, he found himself considerably in debt. Proposals were, therefore, thrown out for an accommodation, which after some negotiation the Dutch consented to accept. A treaty was concluded at Breda, July 10, 1667, by which the colony of New York was ceded by the Dutch to the English, and has continued a most valuable acquisition to them till the Americans obtained their independence as before-mentioned.

Upon the whole of this treaty, it was considered as inglorious to the English, as they failed in gaining any redress against the complaints which gave rise to it. Lord

* The following inscription was placed on the monument:

"In the year of Christ, 1666, the second day of September, at the distance of 202 feet, (the height of this column,) a terrible fire broke out about midnight, which, driven on by a high wind, not only wasted the adjacent parts, but also very remote places with incredible noise and fury. It consumed eighty-nine churches, the city gates Guildhall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries, a vast number of stately edifices, thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, four hundred streets. Of the six and twenty wards it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and half burned. The ruins of the city were four hundred thirty-six acres from the Tower by Thames side to the Temple Church, and from the north-east gate along the city wall to Holborn-Bridge. To the estates and fortunes of the citizens it was merciless, but to their lives very favourable, that it might in all things resemble the last conflagration of the world. The destruction was sudden, for in a small space of time the same city was seen most flourishing and reduced to nothing. Three days after, when the fatal fire had baffled all human counsels and endeavours, in the opinion of all, it stopped as it were, by a command from Heaven, and was on every side extinguished.

† Notwithstanding the above account, we cannot withhold from our readers a remarkable passage in Dr. Burnet's

History relative to this fire. The celebrated Dr. Lloyd, afterwards bishop of Worcester, told that prelate, "That one Grant a papist had sometime before applied himself to the said Lloyd, who had great credit with the countess of Clarendon, (proprietor of a great share in the revenue which arises from the New River,) and said he could raise that estate considerably, if she would make him a trustee for her. His schemes were probable, and he was made one of the board that governed that matter: and by that he had a right to come as oft as he pleased to view their works at Islington. He went thither the Saturday before the fire broke out, and called for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then open, and stopped the water, and went away, and carried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out next morning, they opened the pipes in the streets to find water, but there was none. And some hours were lost in sending to Islington, where the door was to be broke open and the cocks turned; and it was long before the water got to London. Grant indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But the officer of the works affirmed that he had according to order, set them all a running, and that no person had got the keys from him but Grant; who confessed he had carried away the keys, but pretended he did it without design."

Clarendon,

Clarendon, therefore, gained a share of blame, both for having first advised an unnecessary war, and then for concluding a disgraceful peace. He had been long declining in the king's favour, and he was no less displeasing to the majority of the people. His severe virtue, his uncomplying temper, and his detestation of factious measures, were unlikely to gain him many partizans in such a court as that of Charles, that had been taught to regard every thing serious as somewhat criminal. There were many accusations now, therefore, brought up against him; the sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, and disgrace at Chatham, were all added to the accumulation of his guilt. But particularly his imputed ambition was urged among his crimes. His daughter had, while yet in Paris, commenced an amour with the duke of York; and had permitted his gallantries to transgress the bounds of virtue. Charles, who then loved Clarendon, and who was unwilling that he should suffer the mortification of a parent, obliged the duke to marry his daughter; and this marriage, which was just in itself, became culpable in the minister. A building likewise of more expence than his slender fortune could afford, had been undertaken by him; and this was regarded as a structure raised by the plunder of the public. Fewer accusations than those would have been sufficient to disgrace him with Charles; he ordered the seals to be taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgman. This seemed the signal for Clarendon's enemies to step in, and effect his entire overthrow. The house of commons, in their address to the king gave him thanks for his dismissal of that nobleman: and immediately a charge was opened against him in the house, by Mr. Seymour, consisting of seventeen articles*. These, which were only a catalogue of the popular rumours before-mentioned, appeared at first light false or frivolous. However, Clarendon finding the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, running with impetuosity against him, thought proper

to withdraw to France. The legislature then passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, while Clarendon continued to reside in a private manner at Paris, where he employed his leisure in reducing his history of the civil war into form, for which he had before collected materials.

A confederacy of great importance, which goes by the name of the Triple Alliance, was formed by Charles, soon after the fall of this great statesman, as if to shew that he could still supply his place. It was conducted by Sir William Temple, one of the great ornaments of English literature; who united the philosopher and the statesman, who was equally great in both †. This alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from completing his conquests in the Netherlands. That monarch had already subdued the greater part of that delightful country; when he was unexpectedly stopped in the midst of his career by this league; in which it was agreed by the contracting powers, that they would constitute themselves arbiters of the differences between France and Spain, and check the inordinate pretensions of either.

To this foreign confederacy succeeded one, in 1670, of a domestic nature, that did not promise such beneficial effects as the former. The king had long been fluctuating between his pride and his pleasures; the one urged him to extend his prerogative, the other to enjoy the good things that fortune threw in his way. He therefore would be likely to find the greatest satisfaction in those ministers who could flatter both his wishes at once. He was excited, by the active spirit of his brother, to rise above humble solicitations to his parliament; and was beset by some desperate counsellors, who importuned and encouraged him to assert his own independence. Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the appellation of the CABAL, a word containing the initial letters of their names. Never was there a more dangerous ministry

* The following contains the substance of these articles:

" I. That the earl of Clarendon hath designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the kingdom thereby; and advised the king to dissolve this parliament, and to lay aside all thoughts of parliaments for the future; to govern by a military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution.

" II. That he hath, in the hearing of the king's subjects, falsely and seditiously said, that the king was in his heart a papist, or popishly affected, or words to that effect.

" III. That he hath received great sums of money for the procuring of the Canary Patent, and other illegal patents; and granted illegal injunctions to stop proceedings at law against them, and other illegal patents formerly granted.

" IV. That he hath advised and procured divers of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law, in remote islands, garnisons, and other places, thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the law, and to produce precedents for the imprisoning any other of his majesty's subjects in the same manner.

" V. That he procured his majesty's customs to be farmed at under-rate, knowing the same; and great pretended debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment of which his majesty was not strictly bound, and afterwards received great sums of money for procuring the same.

" VI. That he received great sums of money from the company of vintners, or some of them or their agents, for enhancing the price of wines, and for freeing them from the payment of legal penalties, which they had incurred.

" VII. That he hath in a short time gained to himself a greater estate than can be imagined to be gained lawfully in so short a space; and, contrary to his oath, he hath procured several grants under the seal, from his majesty to himself and relations, of several of his majesty's lands, hereditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of his majesty.

" VIII. That he had introduced an arbitrary government in his majesty's foreign plantations; and hath caused such as complained thereof before his majesty and council, to be imprisoned for so doing.

" IX. That he did reject and frustrate a proposal and undertaking approved by his majesty, for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher's, and reducing the French plantations to his majesty's obedience, after the commissions were drawn for that purpose, which was the occasion of our great losses and damages in those parts.

" X. That he held correspondence with Cromwell and his accomplices, when he was in parts beyond the seas, attended his majesty, and thereby adhered to the king's enemies.

" XI. That he advised and effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French king, being part of his majesty's dominions; together with the ammunition, artillery, and all sorts of stores there, and for no greater value than the said ammunition, artillery, and stores were worth.

" XII. That the said earl did unduly cause his majesty's letters-patent, under the great seal of England, to one Dr. Crowther, to be altered, and the enrolment thereof to be unduly raised.

" XIII. That he hath in an arbitrary way examined and brought unto question divers of his majesty's subjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods, chattels, and properties, determined thereof at the council-table, and stopped proceedings at law by order of the council-table, and threatened some that pleaded the statute of the 17th of Car. I.

" XIV. That he hath caused *quo warranto's* to be issued out against most of the corporations of England, immediately after the charters were confirmed by an act of parliament, to the intent he might require great sums of money of them for renewing their charters; which when they complied withal, he caused the said *quo warranto's* to be discharged, and prosecutions therein to cease.

" XV. That he procured the bills of settlement of Ireland, and received great sums of money for the same in a most corrupt and unlawful manner.

" XVI. That he hath deluded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in all foreign treaties, and negotiations relating to the war, and betrayed and discovered his majesty's most secret counsels to his enemies.

" XVII. That he was the principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the fleet about 1666."

† The triple alliance was concluded in five days; it was an event that was received with equal surprize and approbation by the world. Notwithstanding the unfortunate conclusion of the last war, England now appeared in her proper station, and by this wise conduct, had recovered all her influence and credit in Europe. Temple likewise received great applause; but to all the compliments made him on the occasion, he modestly replied, that to remove things from their center, or proper element, required force and labour; but that of themselves they easily returned to it.

in England, nor one more fitted to destroy all that liberty had been establishing for ages*. A secret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland; were the first consequences of their advice. The duke of York had the confidence boldly to declare himself a catholic; and to alarm the fears of the nation still more, a liberty of conscience was allowed to all sectaries; whether dissenters or papists. These measures were considered by the people as destructive, not only of their liberties, but of their religion, which they valued more. A proclamation was issued, containing very rigorous clauses in favour of pressing; another full of menaces against those who ventured to speak undutifully of his majesty's measures; and even against those who heard such discourses, unless they informed in due time against the offenders. These measures, though still within bounds, were yet no way suitable to that administration, which upon his restoration he had promised to establish.

The commons passed a bill, for laying a duty on tobacco, Scotch salt, glasses, and some other commodities. Against this bill the merchants of London appeared by petition before the house of lords. The lords entered into their reasons, and began to make amendments on the bill sent up by the commons. This attempt was highly resented by the lower house, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to possess alone, of granting money to the crown. Many remonstrances passed between the two houses; and by their altercations the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament on the 22d of April, 1671; and he thereby lost the money which was intended him. This is the last time that the peers have revived any pretensions of that nature. Ever since, the privilege of the commons, in all other places, except in the house of peers, has passed for uncontroverted.

There was a private affair, which, during this session, disgusted the house of commons, and required some pains to accommodate it. The usual method of those who opposed the court in the money bills was, if they failed in the main vote, as to the extent of the supply, to levy the money upon such funds as they expected would be unexceptionable, or would prove deficient. It was proposed to lay an imposition upon playhouses: the courtiers objected, that the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, asked, "Whether the king's pleasure lay among the male or the female players." This stroke of satire was aimed at Charles, who, besides his mistresses of higher quality, entertained at that time two actresses, Davis and Nell Gwin. The king received not the raillery with the good humour which might have been expected. It was said, that this being the first time that respect to majesty had been publicly violated, it was necessary, by some severe chastisement, to make Coventry an example to all who might incline to tread in his footsteps. Sandys, Obrian, and some other officers of the guards, were ordered to way-

lay him; and to set a mark upon him. He defended himself with bravery, and after wounding several of the assailants, was disarmed with some difficulty. They cut his nose to the bone, in order, as they said, to teach him what respect he owed to the king. The commons were inflamed by this indignity offered to any one of their members, on account of words spoken in the house. They passed a law, which made it capital to maim any person; and they enacted, that those criminals, who had assaulted Coventry, should be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

There was another private affair transacted about this time, by which the king was as much exposed to the imputation of a capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for unnecessary severity. Blood, a disbanded officer of the protector's, had been engaged in the conspiracy for raising an insurrection in Ireland, and on account of this crime he himself had been attainted, and some of his accomplices capitally punished. The daring villain meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the king's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night time, as it drove along St. James's-street, in London; and he made himself master of his person. He might here have finished the crime, had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance: he was resolved to hang the duke at Tyburn; and for that purpose bound him, and mounted him on horseback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields; when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himself to the ground, and brought down with him the assassin to whom he was fastened. They were struggling together in the mire, when Ormond's servants, whom the alarm had reached, came and saved him. Blood and his companions, firing their pistols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and saved themselves by means of the darkness†. A little after Blood formed a design of carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower; a design to which he was prompted, as well by the surprising boldness of the enterprize, as by the views of profit. He was near succeeding. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, and had gotten out of the Tower with his booty; but was overtaken and seized, with some of his associates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ring-leader. When questioned, he frankly avowed the enterprize; but refused to tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he said, "should never engage him, either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." All these extraordinary circumstances made him the general subject of conversation; and the king was moved, by an idle curiosity, to see and speak with a person so noted for his courage, and his crimes. Blood might now esteem himself secure of pardon; and he wanted not address to improve the opportunity. He told Charles, that he had been engaged, with others, in a design to

* Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of a daring and impetuous spirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence and intrigue. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of lord Shaftesbury, was the most extraordinary man of his age; he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the presbyterians: he was a favourite of Cromwell, and afterwards had a considerable hand in the restoration; he was turbulent, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising; well acquainted with the blind attachment of parties, he surmounted all shame; and while he had the character of never betraying any of his friends, yet he changed his party as it suited his convenience. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, of some wit, and great vivacity, well fitted to unite and harmonize the graver tempers of which this junto was composed. Arlington was a man but of very moderate capacity; his intentions were good, but he wanted courage to persevere in them. Lastly, the duke of Lauderdale, who was not defective in natural, and still less in acquired talents, but neither was his address graceful, nor his understanding just; he was ambitious, obstinate, insolent, and sullen. These were the men to whom Charles No. LXX.

gave up the conduct of his affairs; and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties which produced the most dangerous symptoms.

† Buckingham was at first, with some appearances of reason, suspected to be the author of this attempt. His profligate character, and his enmity against Ormond, exposed him to that imputation. Ossory soon after came to court; and seeing Buckingham stand by the king, his colour rose, and he could not forbear expressing himself to this purpose: "My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father: but I give you warning; if by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author: I shall consider you as the assassin: I shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you, I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance." If there was here any indecorum, it was easily excused in a generous youth, when his father's life was exposed to danger. Hume.

kill him with a carabine about Battersea; where his majesty often went to bathe: that the cause of this resolution was the severity exercised over the consciences of the godly, in restraining the liberty of their religious assemblies: that when he had taken his stand among the reeds, full of these bloody resolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of majesty; and he not only relented himself, but diverted his associates from their purpose: that he had long ago brought himself to an entire indifference about life, which he now gave for lost; yet could he not forbear warning the king of the danger which might attend his execution: that his associates had bound themselves by the strictest oaths to revenge the death of any of the confederacy; and that no precaution or power could secure any one from the effects of their desperate resolutions.

Whether these considerations excited fear or admiration in the king, they confirmed his resolution of granting a pardon to Blood; but he thought it a point of decency first to obtain the duke of Ormond's consent. Arlington came to Ormond in the king's name, and desired that he would not prosecute Blood, for reasons which he was commanded to give him. The duke replied, that his majesty's commands were the only reason that could be given; and being sufficient, he might therefore spare the rest. Charles carried his kindness to Blood still farther: he granted him an estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his person; he shewed him great countenance, and many applied to him for promoting their pretensions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deserved only to be stared at, and detested as a monster, became a kind of favourite.

Errors of this nature in private life have often as bad an influence as miscarriages, in which the public is more immediately concerned. Another incident happened this year, which infused a general displeasure, and still greater apprehensions, into all men. The duchess of York died, and in her last sickness, she made open profession of the Romish religion, and finished her life in that communion. This put an end to that thin disguise which the duke had hitherto worn; and he now openly declared his conversion to the church of Rome. Unaccountable terrors of popery, ever since the accession of the house of Stuart, had prevailed throughout the nation; but these had formerly been found so groundless, and had been employed to so many bad purposes, that promises of this nature were likely to meet with the less credit among all men of sense, and nothing but the duke's imprudent bigotry could have convinced the whole nation of his change of religion. Popery, which had hitherto been only a hideous spectre, was now become a real ground of terror; being openly and zealously embraced by the heir to the crown, a prince of industry and enterprize; while the king himself was not entirely free from like suspicions.

The English now saw themselves engaged in a league with France against the Dutch; and consequently, whether victorious or vanquished, their efforts were like to be equally unsuccessful. The French had for some years been growing into power; and now, under the conduct of their ambitious monarch, Lewis XIV. they began to threaten the liberties of Europe, and particularly the protestant religion, of which Lewis had shewn himself a determined enemy. It gave the people, therefore, a gloomy prospect to see an union formed, which, if successful, must totally subvert that balance of power which the protestants aimed at preserving; nor were they less apprehensive of their own sovereign, who, though he pretended to turn all religion to ridicule in his gayer hours, yet was secretly attached to the catholics, or was very much suspected of being so. The first events of this war were very correspondent to their fears of French treachery. The English and French com-

bined fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the mareschal d'Estrées, met the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety sail, commanded by admiral de Ruyter, and a furious battle ensued. In this engagement, the gallant Sandwich, who commanded the English van, drove his ship into the midst of the enemy, beat off the admiral that ventured to attack him, sunk another ship that attempted to board him, and sunk three fire ships that endeavoured to grapple with him. Though his vessel was torn with shot, and out of a thousand men there only remained four hundred, he still continued to thunder in the midst of the engagement. At last a fireship, more fortunate than the former, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Sandwich, however, refused to quit his ship, though warned by Sir Edward Haddock his captain; he perished in the flames, while the engagement continued to rage all around him. The loss sustained by the two maritime powers were nearly equal; but the French suffered very little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was even supposed that they had orders for this conduct, and to spare their own ships, while the Dutch and English should grow weak by their mutual animosities. The combined powers were much more successful against the Dutch by land. Lewis conquered all before him, crossed the Rhine, took all the frontier towns of the enemy, and threatened the new republic with a final dissolution. Terms were proposed to them by the two conquerors. Lewis offered them such as would have deprived them of all power of resisting an invasion from France by land. Those of Charles exposed them equally to every invasion from sea. At last, the murmurs of the English at seeing this brave and industrious people, the supporters of the protestant cause, totally sunk, and on the brink of destruction, were too loud not to impress the king. In the beginning of February, 1673, he was obliged to call a parliament, to take the sense of the nation upon his conduct; and he soon saw how his subjects stood affected.

The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed upon this new parliament, which, after many prorogations, continued sitting for near two years. Before the commons entered upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a constant practice in the house for many years, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections; but, by Shaftesbury's advice, several members had taken their seats upon more irregular writs issued by the chancellor; so that the whole house in time might be filled with members clandestinely called up by the court. The house was no sooner assembled, and the speaker placed in the chair, than a motion was made against this method of election: and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw. Their election was declared null, and new writs in the usual form, were issued by the speaker. The king's late declaration of indulgence to all sectaries was next taken into consideration, and a remonstrance drawn up against that exercise of the prerogative. The commons persisted in their opposition to it; and represented that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and the two houses. Charles, therefore, found himself obliged reluctantly to retract his declaration; but that he might do it with a better grace, he asked the opinion of the house of peers, who advised him to comply. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, and the most entire duty to the king. He, on his part, assured them, that he would willingly pass any law which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances. Having abridged the king's stretches of power in these points, they went still farther, and resolved to make the conformity of national principles still more general. A law was passed, entitled the Test Act, imposing an oath of

all who should enjoy any public office *. Besides the taking the oaths of allegiance, and the king's supremacy, they were obliged to receive the sacrament once a year in the established church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the dissenters had also seconded the efforts of the commons against the king's declaration for indulgence, a bill was passed for their ease and relief, which, however, went with some difficulty through the house of peers. But still the great object of their meeting was to be enquired into, for the war against the Dutch continued to rage with great animosity. Several sea-engagements succeeded each other very rapidly, which brought on no decisive action; both nations claiming the victory after every battle. The commons, therefore, weary of the war, and distrustful even of success, resolved that the standing army was a grievance. They next declared, that they would grant no more supplies to carry on the Dutch war, unless it appeared that the enemy continued so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions. To cut short these disagreeable altercations, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and, with that intention, he went unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher of the black-rod to summon the house of commons to attend. It happened that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, "To the chair!" Upon which the following motions were instantly made in a tumultuous manner: "That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors of the king was a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance; and then the house rose in great confusion. The king soon saw that he could

expect no supply from the commons for carrying on the war, which was so odious to them; he resolved, therefore, to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. For form sake, he asked the advice of the parliament, who concurring heartily in his intentions, a peace was concluded accordingly. The peace was proclaimed the 28th of February, 1674, in the city of London, with much greater demonstrations of joy and satisfaction from the people, than the war had been two years before †.

This turn in the system of the king's politics was very pleasing to the nation in general; but the cabal quickly saw that it would be the destruction of all their future attempts and power. Shaftesbury, therefore, was the first to desert them, and to go over to the country party, who received him with open arms, and trusted him with unbounded reserve. Clifford was dead. Buckingham was desirous of imitating Shaftesbury's example. Lauderdale and Arlington were exposed to all the effects of national resentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the former, which, however, were never prosecuted; and as for the other, he every day grew more and more out of favour with the king, and contemptible to the people. This was an end of the power of a junto that had laid a settled plan for overturning the constitution, and fixing unlimited monarchy upon its ruins ‡.

In the mean time, the war between the Dutch and French went on with great vigour; and although the latter were repressed for a while, they still continued making encroachments upon the enemies' territories. The Dutch forces were possessed of courage, activity,

* The following is a copy of the test: "I do solemnly from my heart, and in the presence of Almighty God profess, testify, and declare, that I do not believe in my conscience that the church of Rome is the only catholic and universal church of Christ, out of which there is no salvation; or that the pope hath any jurisdiction or supremacy over the catholic church in general, or over myself in particular; or that it belongs to the said church of Rome alone to judge the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; or that in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is made a perfect change of the whole substance of the bread into Christ's body, or of the whole substance of the wine into Christ's blood, which change the said church of Rome calleth *transubstantiation*; or that the Virgin Mary, or any other saint ought to be worshipped or prayed unto; and all these aforesaid doctrines and positions, I do renounce and disclaim, as false and erroneous, and contrary to God's word, and the Christian religion."

† The sole difference between this peace and that of Breda was, that the states obliged themselves to make their ships, whether single or in fleets, strike the flags and lower their top-sails to those of England, whether single or in fleets, provided they carried the king's flag. Moreover the states obliged themselves to pay the king eight hundred thousand patacoons at four payments, that is to say, two hundred thousand on the exchange of the ratifications, and the rest at three payments, within the space of three years. Thus the people of England discharged the expence of the war, and the king alone reaped the benefit.

‡ Some authors have doubted the existence of a plan for the subversion of the constitution of this country; but there is now the most direct and positive evidence of its reality. From the humanity and candour of the principal of the Scotch College at Paris, Mr. Hume tells us, he was admitted to peruse James the Second's Memoirs, kept there. They amount to several volumes of small folio, all writ with that prince's own hand, and comprehending the remarkable incidents of his life, from his early youth till near the time of his death. His account of the French alliance is as follows: the intention of the king and duke was chiefly to change the religion of England, which they deemed an easy undertaking, because of the great propensity as they imagined, of the cavaliers and church party to popery: the treaty with Lewis was concluded at Versailles in the end of 1669, or beginning of 1670, by lord Arundel, of Wardour, whom no historian mentions as having had any hand in these transactions. The purport of it was, that Lewis was to give Charles two hundred thousand pounds a year in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to settle the catholic religion in England; and he was also to supply him with an army of six thousand men in case of any insurrection. When

that work was finished, England was to join with France in making war upon Holland. In case of success, Lewis was to have the inland provinces, the prince of Orange Holland in sovereignty, and Charles, Sluice, the Brille, Walkeren, with the rest of the sea-ports as far as Mazeland Sluice. The king's project was first to effect the change of religion in England; but the duchess of Orleans, in the interview at Dover, persuaded him to begin with the Dutch war, contrary to the remonstrances of the duke of York, who insisted that Lewis, after serving his own purposes, would no longer trouble himself about England. The duke makes no mention of any design to render the king absolute; but that was, no doubt, implied in the other project, which was to be effected entirely by royal authority. The king was so zealous a papist, that he wept for joy when he saw the prospect of re-uniting his kingdom to the catholic church.

Sir John Dalrymple has since published some other curious particulars with regard to this treaty. We find, that it was concerted and signed with the privacy alone of four popish counsellors of the king's, Arlington, Arundel, Clifford, and Sir Richard Bealing. The secret was kept from Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. In order to engage them to take part in it, a very refined and a very mean artifice was fallen upon by the king. After the secret conclusion and signature of the treaty, the king pretended to these three ministers, that he wished to have a treaty and alliance with France for mutual support, and for a Dutch war; and when various pretended obstacles and difficulties were surmounted, a sham treaty was concluded with their consent and approbation, containing every article of the former real treaty, except that of the king's change of religion. However, there was virtually involved even in this treaty, the assuming of absolute government in England: for the support of French troops, and a war with Holland, so contrary to the interests and inclinations of his people, could mean nothing else. One cannot sufficiently admire the absolute want of common sense, which appears throughout the whole of this criminal transaction. For it popery was so much the object of national horror, that even the king's three ministers, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, and such profligate ones too, either would not, or durst not receive it, what hopes could he entertain of forcing the nation into that communion? Considering the state of the kingdom, full of veteran and zealous soldiers, bred during the civil wars; it is probable, that he had not kept the crown two months after a declaration so wild and extravagant. This was probably the reason why the king of France and the French ministers always dissuaded him from taking off the mask, till the successes of the Dutch war should render that measure prudent and practicable. See Hume, ch. lxxvi.

vigilance,

vigilance, and patience; but he was inferior in genius to those consummate generals opposed to him. He was, therefore, always unsuccessful; but still found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against his victorious enemies. These ineffectual struggles for the preservation of his country's freedom, interested the English strongly in his favour; so that from being his opposers, they now wished to lend him assistance. They considered their alliance with France as threatening a subversion to the protestant religion; and they longed for an union with him, as the only means of security. The commons therefore addressed the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the growing greatness of France; and they assured him, in case of a war, that they would not be backward in their supplies. Charles was not displeased with the latter part of their address, as money war necessary for his pleasures. He, therefore, told them, that unless they granted him six hundred thousand pounds, it would be impossible for him to give them a satisfactory answer. The commons refused to trust to his majesty's professions; his well-known profusion was before their eyes. The king reproved them for their diffidence, and immediately ordered them to adjourn. The marriage of the duke of York's eldest daughter, the princess Mary, heir apparent to the crown, with the prince of Orange, was a measure that gave great satisfaction in these general disquietudes about religion. The negociation was brought about by the king's own desire: and the protestants now saw an happy prospect before them of a succession that would be favourable to their much-loved reformation. A negociation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed soon after, which was rather favourable to the latter. But the mutual animosities of these states not being as yet sufficiently quelled, the war was continued for some time longer. The king, therefore, to satisfy his parliament, who declared loudly against the French, sent over an army of three thousand men to the continent, under the command of the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. A fleet also was fitted out with great diligence; and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the emperor. These vigorous measures brought about the famous treaty of Nimeguen, which gave a general peace to Europe. But though peace was secured abroad, the discontents of the people still continued at home.

During the above transactions there happened several important affairs, which may be worth recording. In April, 1675, the king summoned the parliament to meet, and opened the session with a speech to both houses, fraught with flattery and vain professions. The commons thanked the king for his speech and his promises with regard to religion and their liberties: but as he had given them only bare words and insignificant proclamations for a proof of his intentions, they believed something more was wanted, and accordingly proceeded to a new bill against the growth of popery, and particularly popish priests, that is to say, such as had received orders from the see of Rome.

Towards the end of 1675 the commons took into consideration the sums which had been granted to the king for the last war, together with all the expence of the same, and found that the charges fell one million

short of what had been received, without being able to discover to what uses the money had been applied. In the report made of this affair, it was said that the parliament was not obliged to pay the king's private debts by a tax, which should they admit, nothing hindered but that within one year they might be obliged to pay as much more, and so authorize the king to demand yearly a million and a half, as he had hitherto done: that since the end of the war, the whole charge of the government, both by sea and land, amounted not to above seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the clear income of the revenue came at least to sixteen hundred thousand, and consequently there ought to have been a yearly remainder of near a million: and yet the king had anticipated his revenues near a million more, and that it was contrary to the interest of the kingdom to encourage such anticipations, which would be entailed upon the nation to their utter ruin and desolation: the parliament therefore resolved to grant the king nothing for this anticipation: nevertheless, a few days after they voted a sum of three hundred thousand pounds sterling for the building of twenty large ships of war*, but at the same time passed another vote for the appropriation of tonnage and poundage to the maintenance of the fleet, which could not but be very disagreeable to the king. The next thing the commons went upon was, the examination of the commerce between France and England; by which they found that the French imported yearly into England commodities to the amount of a million of money more than they exported, upon which they ordered a bill to be prepared. Lastly, the commons being informed of a public report that a great many of their members were pensioners to the court, came to a resolution of obliging all their members to take an oath, by which they were to protest that they had never received any thing from the court since the 1st of January, 1672; but we know not whether ever this resolution was executed †.

The debates of the commons were a little interrupted by a report made to the house of the insolence of a French jesuit named St. Germain: this jesuit being informed that a French priest called Luzancy had embraced the protestant religion, and afterwards preached publicly to justify his conversion, went to him, and threatening either to assassinate him, or have him carried away by force into France, he extorted from him a recantation in writing of his conversion and sermon. This was done while the parliament was sitting. A complaint of it was laid before the secretaries of state, and then before the commons, attested by Luzancy with the following particulars; of which he offered to make oath, "That father St. Germain in several conferences which he had with him, said: 1. That the king was a Roman catholic in his heart; 2. That the court were endeavouring to get a liberty of conscience in England for the Roman catholics, and that granted, in two years, most of the English would acknowledge the pope; 3. That he knew the king's intentions concerning religion, and that he was sure his majesty would approve of all he should do in that matter; 4. That he laughed at the parliament, as being only a wave that had but a little time; and said, that no body was better welcome at court, and had greater intrigues with any of the nobility than he; 5. That it was good sometimes to force people

* One first rate of fourteen hundred tons, eight second rates of eleven hundred tons, and eleven third rates of seven hundred tons.

† The words of this oath or test ran thus: "I, A. B. do protest before God and this house of parliament, that directly, or indirectly, neither I, nor any for my use to my knowledge, have since the 1st day of January, 1672, had or received any sum or sums of money by ways of imprest, gift, loan, or otherwise from the king's majesty, or any other person by his majesty's order, direction, or knowledge, or by authority derived from his said majesty, or any pardon, discharge, or respite of any money due to his said majesty, upon account, or any grant, pension, gratuity, or reward, or any promise of any such office,

place, or command, of or from his majesty, or out of any sum of money, treasure, or estate, of or belonging to his majesty, or of, from, or by any foreign ambassador or minister, or of, or from any person in the name, or by the appointment, or with the knowledge of, his majesty or any of them; otherwise than what I have now in writing faithfully discovered and delivered to this house, which I have subscribed with my name: neither do I know of any such gift, grant, or promise so given, or made since the same time to any other member of this house, but what I have also inserted in the said writing; nor have I given my vote in parliament for any reward or promise whatsoever. So help me God, &c."

to Heaven; and that there were an infinite number of priests and jesuits in London, that did God very great service." Luzancy added farther, "that many persons of good credit and repute, were ready to justify upon oath, that several of the Roman catholics had spoken things quite as bad or worse. In a word, that they were grown so bold and insolent, that a profelyte could not walk the streets without being threatened and insulted. This affair threw the house into a great consternation, and obliged the king to put forth a proclamation, with an offer of two hundred pounds for the apprehending of St. Germain; but that jesuit had already withdrawn into France, from whence he kept a constant correspondence with Coleman, the duke of York's secretary. From this correspondence it appeared that the duke laboured for the advancement of popery with all his might; and nothing pleased him so well as to hear of the success of the jesuit.

The affair of Luzancy and St. Germain gave birth to another bill in the house of commons; but they were prevented by the lords. The duke of Buckingham having before the lords in a speech for that purpose, laid open the mischiefs which arose from the persecution of the protestant dissenters, desired leave to bring in a bill for their ease, which was granted immediately. But this bill and all the rest prepared by the commons, were unhappily stifled in their birth by the revival of a contest between the two houses. This dispute about privileges was managed with such heat on both sides, that it was moved, in the house of lords, to present an address, praying the king to dissolve this parliament, and the negative carried it only by two voices. At last, the king seeing that no expedient could be found to reconcile the two houses, prorogued the parliament from the 22d of November, 1675, to the 15th of February, 1677, which was almost fifteen months.

The parliament met again, according to appointment, on the 15th of February, 1677, and after a short interval they voted the king a supply of five hundred and eighty thousand pounds to build thirty ships, without appropriating tonnage and poundage. Besides, they continued for three years the additional tax upon beer, which was to have expired the 24th of June.

It appeared soon after, that their main project was to put a stop to the rapid progress of France in the Netherlands, and engage the king in a war with that kingdom, for which purpose they presented the following address: "We your majesty's most loyal subjects, do most humbly offer to your majesty's consideration, that the minds of your people are much disquieted with the manifest dangers arising to your majesty by the growth and power of the French king, especially by the acquisitions already made, and the farther progress like to be made by him in the Spanish Netherlands, in the preservation and security whereof we humbly conceive the interest of your majesty, and the safety of your people are highly concerned; and therefore we humbly beseech your majesty to take the same into your royal care, and to strengthen yourself with such stricter alliances, as may secure your majesty's kingdoms, and secure and preserve the said Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the minds of your majesty's people." To which his majesty answered, "That he was of the opinion of his two houses of parliament, that the preservation of Flanders was of great consequence; and that he would use all means in his power for the safety of his kingdom." This answer not being satisfactory, as it said nothing positive, the house presented a second address on the same subject, the 30th of March. It was in substance much the same as the first, excepting this addition made to it, "That in case his majesty should happen, in pursuance of such alliances, to be engaged in

a war with France, they should always be ready to assist him with such supplies as might enable him to prosecute the same with success." The king gave no answer to this address till twelve days after, when he sent a message, importing, "That the only way to prevent the dangers which might arise in these kingdoms, would be to put him timely in a condition to make such fitting preparations as might enable him to do what should be most for their security." This drew from the commons a third address to the king, in which they informed him that they were preparing a bill to enable him immediately to borrow two hundred thousand pounds, with promises of new marks of zeal after the adjournment which the approaching Easter would oblige them to for a few days. The king not satisfied with so small a sum, told them plainly, that without the sum of six hundred thousand pounds, it would not be possible for him to answer the ends of the several addresses. As a great many members were absent on account of the expected adjournment, the commons durst not enter upon any other money bills: but they desired his majesty's leave to adjourn, promising that afterwards they would give him full satisfaction.

This reign presents the most amazing contrasts of levity and cruelty, of mirth and gloomy suspicion. Ever since the fatal league with France, the people had entertained violent jealousies against the court. The fears and discontents of the nation were vented without restraint; the apprehensions of a popish successor, an abandoned court, and a parliament, which, though sometimes assertors of liberty, yet continuing for seventeen years without change; these naturally rendered the minds of mankind timid and suspicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreak their ill humours. When the spirit of the English is once roused, they either find objects of suspicion or make them. On the 12th of August, one Kirby, a chymist, accosted the king as he was walking in the Park. "Sir, said he, keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk." Being questioned, in consequence of this strange intimation, he offered to produce one doctor Tongue, a weak credulous clergyman, who had told him that two persons, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to murder the king; and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken the same task by poison. Tongue was introduced to the king, with a bundle of papers relating to this pretended conspiracy, and was referred to the lord-treasurer Danby. He there declared, that the papers were thrust under his door; and he afterwards declared, that he knew the author of them, who desired that his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the resentment of the jesuits. This information appeared so vague and unsatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. However, Tongue was not to be repressed in the ardour of his loyalty; he went again to the lord-treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, written by Jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to one Bedingfield, a jesuit, who was confessor to the duke of York, and who resided there. These letters had actually been received a few hours before by the duke; but he had shewn them to the king as a forgery, of which he neither knew the drift nor the meaning. This incident still further confirmed the king in his incredulity. He desired, however, that it might be concealed, as it might raise a flame in the nation; but the duke, solicitous to prove his innocence, insisted upon a nicer discussion, which turned out very different from his expectations. Titus Oates*, who was the fountain of all this dreadful intelligence, was produced soon after, who,

with

* Titus Oates was the son of a ribband-weaver, who afterwards turning anabaptist-preacher, and being chaplain to a regiment of Cromwell's forces in Scotland, was there clapped up in prison upon Overton's plot against that usurper; but

having the fortune to escape upon the king's restoration, he conformed to the church, and got the living of Hattings in Suffex; where he continued till he thought fit to return again to his former anabaptistical station. This son of his had his

with seeming reluctance, came to give his intelligence. This man affirmed that he had fallen under the suspicion of the jesuits, and that he had concealed himself, in order to avoid their resentment. This Titus Oates was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain on board a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained in the English seminary of that city. The fathers of that college sent him with some dispatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue among them; so that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his support*. At a time when he was supposed to have been entrusted with a secret involving the fate of kings, he was allowed to remain in such necessity, that Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread. He had two methods to proceed, either to ingratiate himself by this information with the ministry, or to alarm the people; and thus turn their fears to his advantage. He chose the latter method. He went, therefore, with his two companions to Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and before him deposed to a narrative, dressed up in terrors fit to make impression on the vulgar. The pope, he said, considered himself as entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms. This, which was Peter's patrimony, he had delivered up to the jesuits; and Oliva, the general of that order, was his delegate. Several English catholic lords, whose names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of state; lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, Sir William Godolphin privy-seal, Coleman, the duke's secretary, was made secretary of state, Langhorne attorney-general, and lord Stafford paymaster. The king, whom the jesuits called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried by them, and condemned as an heretic. He asserted that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confessor La Chaife, had offered ten thousand pounds to any man who should kill the king. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman to poison him; but he was mercenary, and demanded fifteen thousand, which demand was complied with. Lest these means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been employed by the jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a piece, to stab the king at Windsor. Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was deeply involved in the plot, and had given a guinea to the messenger, who carried them orders for the assassination. Grove and Pickering, to make sure work, were employed to shoot the king, and that too with silver bullets. The former was to receive fifteen hundred pounds for his pains; and the latter, being a pious man, thirty thousand masses. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint dropped out of his

first education in Merchant Taylor's school in London, and next in the university of Cambridge, where he was student in two colleges, Caius's and St. John's, and where he left no reputation behind him for his parts or learning; though he seemed distinguished for a tenacious memory, a plodding industry, and an unparalleled assurance, besides a particular canting way that appeared in his academical exercises. Removing from thence he slipped into orders, and for a while officiated as curate for his father; after which he enjoyed a small vicarage in Kent, from whence he removed to another in Sussex, and after that for some time got into the duke of Norfolk's family, when he particularly sided with the Socinians at London; so that he became very uncertain as to his principles and religion, and infamous as to his morals. In the last year, 1677, being abandoned and destitute of common necessities, he fell into the acquaintance of Dr. Ezrael Tongue, a city divine, a man of letters, and a prolific head, filled with all the Romish plots and conspiracies since the reformation. This man was remarkable for his parts, and great readings, but of a

pistol at one time, and at another the priming. Oates went on to say that he himself was chiefly employed in carrying notes and letters among the jesuits, all tending to the same end of murdering the king. A wager of a hundred pounds was made, and the money deposited, that the king should eat no more Christmas pyes. The great fire of London had been the work of the jesuits; several other fires were resolved on, and a paper model was already framed for firing the city anew. Fire balls were called among them Tewkesbury mustard-pills. Twenty thousand catholics in London were prepared to rise; and Coleman had remitted two hundred thousand pounds to assist the rebels in Ireland. The duke of York was to be offered the crown, in consequence of the success of these probable schemes, on condition of extirpating the protestant religion. Upon his refusal, "To pot James must go," as the jesuits were said to express it.

In consequence of this dreadful information, sufficiently marked with absurdity, vulgarity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people, notwithstanding, during his examination before the council, he so betrayed the grossness of his impostures, that he contradicted himself in every step of his narration. While in Spain he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the catholic designs. The king asked him what sort of a man his old acquaintance Don John was? Oates replied, that he was a tall lean man; which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. Though he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, yet he knew him not when placed very near him, and had no other excuse, but that his sight was bad by candle-light. He was guilty of the same mistake to Sir George Wakeman. But these improbabilities had no weight against the general wish, if I may so express it, that they should be true. The violent animosity which had been excited against the catholics in general, made the people find a gloomy pleasure in hoping for an opportunity of satiating their hatred. The more improbable any account seemed, the more unlikely it was that any impostor should invent improbabilities, and therefore appeared more like truth. A great number of the jesuits mentioned by Oates were immediately taken into custody. Coleman, who was said to have acted so strenuous a part in the conspiracy, at first retired; but next surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and some of his papers, by Oates's directions, were secured. These papers, which were such as might be naturally expected from a zealous catholic in his situation, were converted into very dangerous evidence against him. He had, without any doubt, maintained a close correspondence with the French king's confessor, with the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and with many other catholics abroad, in which there was a distant project on foot for bringing in popery, upon the accession of the duke of York. But these letters contained nothing that served as proof in the present information; and their very silence in that respect, though they appeared impru-

restless and humorous temper, full of variety of projects, and scarce ever without a pen in his hand, and a plot in his head. At first he seemed to entertain Oates out of charity, who then went by the name of Ambrose; and complaining that he knew not where to get bread, the doctor took him to his home, gave him cloaths, lodging, and diet, and told him he would put him in a way. After which, finding him a bold undertaker, he persuaded him to insinuate himself among the papists, and get particular acquaintance with them: which being effected, he let him understand, that there had been several plots in England to bring in popery, and if he would go beyond sea among the jesuits, and strictly observe their ways, it was possible there might be one at present; and if he could make that out, it would be preferment for ever: but, however, if he could get their names, and some information from the papists, it would be easy to rouse people with the fears of popery. See Ray's book xxiii.

* Vide Goldsmith, ch. xxvii.

dent enough in others, was a proof against Oates's pretended discovery. However, when the contents of those letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic which the former narrative had begun. The two plots were brought to strengthen each other, and confounded into one. Coleman's letters shewed there had actually been designs on foot, and Oates's narrative was supposed to give the particulars.

In this fluctuation of passions, an accident served to confirm the prejudices of the people, and to put it beyond a doubt that Oates's narrative was nothing but the truth. Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, who had been so active in unravelling the whole mystery of the popish machinations, after having been missing some days, was found dead in a ditch by Primrose-Hill, in the way to Hampstead. His own sword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound; so that it appeared he was dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets, and there was a broad livid mark quite round the neck, which was dislocated. The cause of his death remains, and must still continue, a secret; but the people, already enraged against the papists, did not hesitate a moment to ascribe it to them. No farther doubt remained of Oates's veracity; the voice of the whole nation united against them; and the populace were exasperated to such a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of that unhappy sect. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession; and every one who saw it made no doubt that his death could be only caused by the papists. Even the better sort of people were infected with this vulgar prejudice; and such was the general conviction of popish guilt, that no person, with any regard to personal safety, could express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey. It only remained for the parliament to repress these delusions, and to bring back the people to calm and deliberate enquiry. But the parliament testified greater credulity than even the vulgar. The cry of plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other; the country party would not let slip such an opportunity of managing the passions of the people; the courtiers were afraid of being thought disloyal, if they should doubt the innocence of the pretended assassins of their king. Danby, the prime minister, entered into it very furiously; and though the king told him that he had thus given the houses a handle to ruin himself, and to disturb the affairs of government, yet this minister persevered, till he found the king's prognostic but too true. The king himself, whose safety was thus threatened and defended, was the only person who treated the plot with becoming contempt. He made several efforts for stilling an enquiry, which was likely to involve the kingdom in confusion, and must at any rate hurt his brother, who had more than once professed his resolution to defend the catholic religion. In order to continue and propagate the alarm, an address was voted for a solemn fast. It was requested that all papers tending to throw light upon so horrible a conspiracy might be laid before the house; that all papists should remove from London; that access should be denied at court to all unknown and suspicious persons; and that the train-bands in London and Westminster should be in readiness to march. They voted, after hearing Oates's evidence, that there was a damnable and hellish plot contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, and for rooting out the protestant religion. Oates, who had acknowledged the accusations against his morals, to be true, was, however, recommended by parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged by a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year to proceed in forging new informations!

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to bring in others also who hoped to profit by the delusion of the times. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage.

He was, like the former, of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently passed himself for a man of quality. This man, at his own desire, was arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London, where he declared before the council that he had seen the body of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey at Somerset-house, where the queen lived. He said that a servant of lord Bellasis offered to give him four thousand pounds if he would carry it off. He was questioned about the plot, but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, he thought it would be better to share the emoluments of the plot, and he gave an ample account of it. This narrative he made to tally as well as he could with the information of Oates, which had been published; but to render it the more acceptable, he added some circumstances of his own, still more tremendous, and still more absurd, than those of Oates. He said, that ten thousand men were immediately to seize Hull. He affirmed, that the lords Powis and Peters had undertaken to raise an army in Radnorshire; that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London; that he himself had been tampered with to murder a man, and was to receive four thousand pounds for that service, besides the pope's blessing; that the king was to be assassinated, the protestants butchered, and the kingdom offered to One, if he would consent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope should continue to govern without him. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenell, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. But the most terrible part of all was, that Spain was to invade England with forty thousand men, who were ready at St. Jago in the character of pilgrims, though at this time Spain was actually unable to raise ten thousand men to supply her own garrisons in Flanders.

These narrations, says Goldsmith, carry their own contradiction in their testimony, the improbability of it, the low vulgarity of the information, unlike what men trusted with great affairs would be apt to form, all these serve to raise our horror against these base villains, and our pity at the delusion of the times that could credit such reports. In order to give a confident air to the discovery, Bedloe, published a pamphlet, with this title, "A Narrative and impartial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot carried on for burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster, with their Suburbs, &c. by Captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid Design, and one of the Popish Committees for carrying on such Fires." The papists were thus become so noxious, that vote after vote passed against them in the house of commons. A bill was introduced for a new test, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and all members, who refused this test, were excluded from both houses. The bill passed the commons without much opposition; but in the upper house the duke moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favour. With great earnestness, and even tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was now to cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern which he could have in the world; but he protested, that whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and never should appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding this strong effort, in so important a point, he prevailed only in two voices; a sufficient indication of the general disposition of the people. "I would not have," said a noble peer, in the debate on this bill, "so much as a popish man or woman to remain here, not so much as a popish dog, or a popish bitch, not so much as a popish cat to mew, or pur about our king." This was wretched eloquence; but it was admirably suited to the times. Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witnesses, who all along had enlarged their narratives, in proportion as they were greedily received, went a step farther, and ventured to accuse the queen. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous

lous accusation: the lords rejected it with becoming disdain. The king received the news of it with his usual good humour. "They think, said he, that I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that I will not suffer an innocent woman to be abused." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants. But his favour with parliament soon procured him a release.

During this agitation of men's minds, the parliament gave new attention to the militia. They passed a bill, by which it was enacted, that a regular militia should be kept in arms, during six weeks of the year, and a third part of them do duty every fortnight of that time. The popular leaders probably intended to make use of the general prejudices, and even to turn the arms of the people against the prince. But Charles refused his assent to the bill, and told the parliament, that he would not, were it for half an hour, part so far with the power of the sword: but if they would contrive any other bill for ordering the militia, and still leave it in his power to assemble or dismiss them as he thought proper, he would willingly give it the royal assent. The commons, dissatisfied with this negative, though the king had never before employed that prerogative, immediately voted that all the new levied forces should be disbanded. They passed a bill, granting money for that purpose, but to shew their extreme jealousy of the crown, besides appropriating the money by the strictest clauses, they ordered it to be paid not into the exchequer, but into the chamber of London. The lords demurred with regard to so extraordinary a clause, which threw a violent reflection on the king's ministers, and even on himself; and by that means the act remained in suspense.

It was no wonder, that the present ferment and credulity of the nation engaged men of infamous character and indigent circumstances to become informers; when persons of rank and condition could be tempted to give into that scandalous practice. Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower house; and without obtaining or asking the king's leave, he suddenly came over to England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague, who foresaw this measure, had taken care to secrete one paper, which he immediately laid before the house of commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby, written in the beginning of the year, during the negotiations at Nimeguen for the general peace. Montague was there directed to make a demand of money from France; or in other words, the king was willing secretly to sell his good offices to Lewis, contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even to those of his own kingdoms. The letter, among other particulars, contains these words: "In case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king expects to have six millions of livres a year for three years, from the time that this agreement shall be signed between his majesty and the king of France; because it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in humour to give him any supplies after making any peace with France; and the ambassador here has always agreed to that sum; but not for so long a time." Danby was so unwilling to engage in this negotiation, that the king, to satisfy him, subjoined with his own hand these words: "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." Montague, who revealed this secret correspondence, had even the baseness to sell his treachery at a high price to the French monarch. The commons were inflamed with this intelligence against Danby; and carrying their suspicions farther than the truth, they concluded, that

the king had all along acted in concert with the French court; and that every step, which he had taken in conjunction with his allies, had been illusory and deceitful. Desirous of getting to the bottom of so important a secret, and being pushed by Danby's numerous enemies, they immediately voted an impeachment of high-treason against that minister, and sent up six articles to the house of peers*. The treasurer, in giving instructions to the ambassador, without doubt exceeded the bounds of his office; and as the genius of a monarchy, strictly limited, requires that the proper minister should be answerable for every abuse of power, the commons, though they here advanced a new pretension, might justify themselves by the utility, and even necessity of it. But in other respects their charge against Danby was very ill grounded. That minister made it appear to the house of lords, not only that Montague the informer against him, had all along promoted the money-negotiation with France, but that he himself was ever extremely averse to the interests of that crown, which he esteemed pernicious to his master and to his country. The French nation, he said, had always entertained, as he was certainly informed, the highest contempt both of the king's person and government. His diligence, he added, in tracing and discovering the popish plot, was generally known, and if he had common sense, not to say common honesty, he would surely be anxious to preserve the life of a master, by whom he was so much favoured. He had wasted no treasure, because there was no treasure to waste. And though he had reason to be grateful for the king's bounty, he had made more moderate acquisitions than were generally imagined, and than others in his office had often done, even during a shorter administration. The house of peers plainly saw, that, allowing all the charge of the commons to be true, Danby's crime fell not under the statute of Edward III. and though the words, treason and traiterously, had been carefully inserted in several articles, this appellation could not change the nature of things, or subject him to the penalties annexed to that crime. They refused, therefore, to commit Danby upon this irregular charge; the commons insisted on their demand; and a great contest was likely to arise, when the king who had already seen sufficient instances of the ill humour of the parliament, thought proper to prorogue them. This prorogation was soon after followed by a dissolution, on the 30th of December, 1678; a desperate remedy in the present disposition of the nation. But the disease, it must be owned, the king had reason to esteem desperate. The utmost rage had been discovered by the commons, on account of the popish plot; and their fury began already to point against the royal family, if not against the throne itself. The duke had been struck at in several motions; the treasurer had been impeached; all supply had been refused, except on the most disagreeable conditions; fears, jealousies, and antipathies were every day multiplying in parliament; and though the people were strongly infected with the same prejudices, the king hoped, that, by dissolving the present cabals, a set of men might be chosen more moderate in their pursuits, and less tainted with the virulence of faction.

Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was the first who was brought to trial, as being most noxious to those who pretended to fear the introduction of popery. His letters were produced against him. They plainly testified a violent zeal for the catholic cause, and that alone at present was sufficient to convict him. But Oates and Bedloe came in to make his condemnation sure. The former swore that he had sent

* These articles were, That he had treacherously engrossed to himself regal power, by giving instructions to his majesty's ambassadors, without the participation of the secretaries of state, or the privy-council; that he had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power; and to that end, had levied and continued an army, contrary to act of parliament; that he had traiterously endeavoured to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects, by

negotiating a disadvantageous peace with France, and procuring money for that purpose; that he was popishly affected, and had traiterously concealed, after he had notice, the late horrid and bloody plot, contrived by the papists against his majesty's person and government; that he had wasted the king's treasure; and that he had, by indirect means, obtained several exorbitant grants from the crown.

four score guineas to a ruffian who undertook to kill the king. The date of the transaction he fixed in the month of August, but would not assign the particular day. Coleman could have proved that he was in the country the greater part of the month, and therefore the witness would not be particular. Bedloe swore that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the jesuits, appointing him papal secretary of state, and that he had consented to the king's assassination. After this unfortunate man's sentence, thus procured by these vipers, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession; but as he was, in reality, possessed of no treasonable secrets, he would not procure his life by falsehood and imposture. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence*. The trial of Coleman was succeeded by Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ireland, a jesuit, was accused by Oates and Bedloe, the only witnesses against him, that he was one of the fifty jesuits who had signed the great resolve against the king. Ireland affirmed, and proved, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August, a time when Oates asserted he was in London. The jury brought him in guilty, and

the judge commended their verdict. It was in the same manner sworn that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath to assassinate the king; that they had provided themselves with screwed pistols and silver bullets. They both protested their innocence; but were found guilty. All these unhappy men went to execution protesting their innocence, a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators; their being jesuits banished even the smallest pity from their sufferings.

The animosities of the people seemed a little appeased by the execution of these four; but a new train of evidence was now discovered, that kindled the flame once more. One Miles Prance, a goldsmith, and a professed Roman catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey's murder†; and upon his denial, had been loaded with heavy irons, and thrown into the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and noisome. There the poor wretch lay groaning and exclaiming that he was not guilty; but being next day carried before lord Shaftesbury, and there threatened with severe punishment in case of obstinacy, he demanded if a confession would procure his pardon. Being assured of that, he had no longer courage to resist,

* Coleman, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the duke, had been engaged in a correspondence with Father la Chaife, with the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and with other catholics abroad; and being himself a fiery zealot, busy and sanguine, the expressions in his letters often betrayed great violence and incivility. His correspondence during the years 1674, 1675, and part of 1676 was seized, and contained many extraordinary passages. In particular he said to la Chaife, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long time domineered over a great part of this northern world. There were never such hopes of success, since the days of queen Mary, as now in our days. "God has given us a prince," meaning the duke, "who is become (may I say a miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work; but the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great: so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can." In another letter he said, "I can scarce believe myself awake, or the thing real, when I think of a prince in such an age as we live in, converted to such a degree of zeal and piety, as not to regard any thing in the world in comparison of God Almighty's Glory, the salvation of his own soul, and the conversion of our poor kingdom." In other passages the interests of the crown of England, those of the French king, and those of the catholic religion, are spoken of as inseparable. The duke is also said to have connected his interests unalterably with those of Lewis. The king himself, he affirms, is always inclined to favour the catholics, when he may do it without hazard. "Money," Coleman adds, "cannot fail of persuading the king to any thing. There is nothing it cannot make him do, were it ever so much to his prejudice. It has such an absolute power over him, that he cannot resist it. Logic, built upon money, has in our court more powerful charms than any other sort of argument." For these reasons, he proposed to Father la Chaife, that the French king should remit the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, on condition, that the parliament be dissolved; a measure to which, he affirmed, the king was, of himself, sufficiently inclined, were it not for his hopes of obtaining money from that assembly. The parliament, he said, had already constrained the king to make peace with Holland, contrary to the interests of the catholic religion, and of his most Christian majesty; and if they should meet again, they would surely engage him farther, even to the making of war against France. It appears also from the same letters, that the assembling of the parliament so late as April in the year 1675, had been procured by the intrigues of the catholic and French party, who thereby intended to shew the Dutch and their confederates, that they could expect no assistance from England. When the contents of these letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic, with which the nation began already to be seized on account of the popish plot. Men trembled more from their fears and their passions than from the evidence before them. It is certain, that the restless and enterprising spirit of the catholic church, particularly of the jesuits, merits attention, and is, in some degree, dangerous to every other communion. Such zeal of proselytism actuates that sect, that its missionaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe; and, in one sense, there is a popish plot perpetually carrying on against all states, protestant, pagan, and

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mahometan. It is likewise very probable, that the conversion of the duke, and the favour of the king, had inspired the catholic priests with new hopes of recovering in these islands their lost dominion, and gave fresh vigour to that intemperate zeal by which they are commonly actuated. The first aim was to obtain a toleration; and such was the evidence they believed, of their theological tenets, that, could they but procure entire liberty, they must infallibly in time open the eyes of the people. After they had converted considerable numbers, they might be enabled, they hoped, to reinstate themselves in full authority, and entirely to suppress that heresy, with which the kingdom had so long been afflicted. Though these dangers to the protestant religion were distant, it was justly the object of great concern to find that the heir of the crown was so blinded with bigotry, and so deeply engaged in foreign interests; and that the king himself had been prevailed on, from low interest, to hearken to his dangerous insinuations. Very bad consequences might ensue from such perverse habits and attachments; nor could the nation and parliament guard against them with too anxious a precaution. But that the Roman pontiff could hope to assume the sovereignty of these kingdoms; a project which, even during the darkness of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, would have appeared chimerical: that he should delegate this authority to the jesuits; that order in the Romish church, which was the most hated; that a massacre could be attempted of the protestants, who surpassed the catholics a hundred fold, and were invested with the whole authority of the state: that the king himself was to be assassinated, and even the duke, the only support of their party: these were such absurdities as no human testimony was sufficient to prove; much less the evidence of one man, who was noted for infamy, and who could not keep himself every moment from falling into the grossest inconsistencies. Did such intelligence deserve even so much attention as to be refuted, it would appear, that Coleman's letters were sufficient alone to destroy all its credit. For how could so long a train of correspondence be carried on, by a man so much trusted by the party, and yet no traces of insurrections, if really intended, of fires, massacres, assassinations, invasions, be ever discovered in any single passage of these letters? But all such reflections, and many more, equally obvious, were vainly employed against that general prepossession with which the nation was seized. Oates's plot and Coleman's were universally confounded together: and the evidence of the latter being unquestionable, the belief of the former, aided by the passions of hatred and of terror, took possession of the whole people. Hume, ch. LXVII.

† The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vast multitudes. It was publicly exposed in the streets, as we have before observed, and viewed by all ranks of men; and every one, who saw it, went away inflamed, as well by the mutual contagion of sentiments as by the dismal spectacle itself. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. The corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city; seventy-two clergymen marched before; above a thousand persons of distinction followed after; and at the funeral sermon, two able-bodied divines mounted the pulpit and stood on each side of the preacher, lest, in paying the last duties to this unhappy magistrate, he should, before the whole people, be murdered by the papists. North, p. 205.

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but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. Among other absurd circumstances, he said, that one Le Fevre bought a second hand sword of him; because he knew not, as he said, what times were at hand: and Prance expressing some concern for poor tradesmen, if such times came; Le Fevre replied, that it would be better for tradesmen, if the catholic religion were restored; and particularly, that there would be more church work for silversmiths. He soon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king; but the same rigours being employed against him, he was induced once more to confirm his first information. The murder he said was committed in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerrard and Kelly, two Irish priests. That Laurence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green, cushion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of the palace, followed Sir Edmondsbury at a distance, from ten in the morning till seven in the evening; but that passing by Somerset-house, Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, he was soon strangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerset-house, from whence it was removed to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe. Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence; though Bedloe's narrative, and Prance's information, were totally irreconcilable, and though their testimony was invalidated by contrary evidence, all was in vain, the prisoners were condemned on the 21st of February, 1679, and executed on the 28th of the same month. They all denied their guilt at execution; and as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable. But instead of stopping the current of credulity, it only increased the people's animosity against a protestant, who could at once be guilty of a popish plot, of murder, and of denying it in his last moments.

This frightful persecution continued for some time; and the king, contrary to his own judgement, was obliged to give way to the popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were brought to their trial: Langhorne soon after. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man spread the alarm still farther, and even asserted, that two hundred thousand papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omer's*, that Oates was in that seminary at the time he swore he was in London. But as they were papists, their testimony could gain no manner of credit. All pleas availed them nothing; the jesuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, with their latest breath denying the crimes for which they died. The informers had less success on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who, though they swore with their usual animosity, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt; and it is probable the judge and jury were afraid of venturing so far.

The earl of Stafford, near two years after, was the last man that fell a sacrifice to these bloody-minded wretches; the witnesses against him were Oates, Dugdale, and Tuberville. Oates swore that he saw Fenwick, the jesuit, deliver Stafford a commission from the general of the jesuits, constituting him pay-master of the papal army. Dugdale gave testimony that the prisoner,

at Tixal, a feat of lord Aston's, had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the king; and had promised him, besides the honour of being sainted by the church, a reward of five hundred pounds for that service. Tuberville deposed, that the prisoner, in his own house at Paris, had made him a like proposal. To offer money for murdering a king, without laying down any scheme by which the assassin may insure some probability or possibility of escape, is so incredible in itself, and may so easily be maintained by any prostitute evidence, that an accusation of that nature, not accompanied with circumstances, ought very little to be attended to by any court of judicature. But notwithstanding the small hold which the witnesses afforded, the prisoner was able, in many material particulars, to discredit their testimony. It was sworn by Dugdale, that Stafford had assisted in a great consult of the catholics held at Tixal; but Stafford proved by undoubted testimony, that at the time assigned he was in Bath, and in that neighbourhood†. Stafford proved, by the evidence of his gentlemen and his page, that Tuberville had never, either at Paris or at London, been seen in his company; and it might justly appear strange, that a person, who had so important a secret in his keeping, was so long entirely neglected by him. The clamour and outrage of the populace, during the trial, were extreme: great abilities and eloquence were displayed by the managers, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, and serjeant Maynard: yet did the prisoner, under all these disadvantages, make a better defence than was expected, either by his friends or his enemies: the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was a plentiful source of compassion to every mind, seasoned with humanity. He represented that, during a course of forty years, from the very commencement of the civil wars, he had, through many dangers, difficulties, and losses, still maintained his loyalty: and was it credible, that now, in his old age, easy in his circumstances, but dispirited by infirmities, he would belye the whole course of his life, and engage against his royal master, from whom he had ever received kind treatment, in the most desperate and most bloody of all conspiracies? He remarked the infamy of the witnesses; the contradictions and absurdities of their testimony; the extreme indigence in which they had lived, though engaged, as they pretended, in a conspiracy with kings, princes, and nobles; the credit and opulence to which they were at present raised. With a simplicity and tenderness more persuasive than the greatest oratory, he still made protestations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expressing the most lively surprize and indignation at the audacious impudence of the witnesses. It will appear astonishing to us, as it did to Stafford himself, that the peers, after a solemn trial of six days, should, by a majority of twenty-four voices, give sentence against him. He received, however, with resignation, the fatal verdict. "God's holy name be praised!" was the only exclamation which he uttered. When the high-steward told him that the peers would intercede with the king for remitting the more cruel and ignominious parts of the sentence, hanging and quartering, he burst into tears: but he told the lords that he was moved to this weakness, by his sense of their goodness, not by any terror of that fate which he was doomed to suffer‡. In the interval between the sentence and

* Let it be observed, that St. Omer's is a town of Artois, in France, and that it is one hundred and thirty-five miles N. of Paris, and one hundred and five S. E. of London.

† Tuberville, it should be remarked, had served a noviciate among the Dominicans; but having deserted the convent, he had enlisted as a trooper in the French army; and being dismissed that service, he now lived in London, abandoned by all his relations, and exposed to great poverty.

‡ It is remarkable, that, after Charles, as is usual in such cases, had remitted to Stafford the hanging and quartering, the two sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, indulging their own republican humour, and complying with the prevalent spirit of their party, ever jealous of monarchy, started a doubt with re-

gard to the king's power of exercising even this small degree of lenity. "Since he cannot pardon the whole," said they, "how can he have power to remit any part of the sentence?" They proposed the doubt to both houses: the peers pronounced it superfluous; and even the commons, apprehensive lest a question of this nature might make way for Stafford's escape, gave this singular answer: "This house is content, that the sheriffs do execute William, late viscount Stafford, by severing his head from his body only." Nothing can be a stronger proof of the fury of the times, than that lord Russell, notwithstanding the virtue and humanity of his character, seconded in the house this barbarous scruple of the sheriffs.

execution, many efforts were made to shake the resolution of the infirm and aged prisoner, and to bring him to some confession of the treason for which he was condemned. It was even rumoured, that he had confessed; and the zealous party men, who, no doubt, had secretly, notwithstanding their credulity, entertained some doubts with regard to the reality of the popish conspiracy, expressed great triumph on the occasion. But Stafford, when again called before the house of peers, discovered many schemes, which had been laid by himself and others for procuring a toleration to the catholics, at least a mitigation of the penal laws enacted against them: and he protested that this was the sole treason of which he had ever been guilty. Stafford now prepared himself for death with the intrepidity which became his birth and station, and which was the natural result of the innocence and integrity which, during the course of a long life, he had ever maintained: his mind seemed even to collect new force from the violence and oppression under which he laboured. When going to execution, on the 29th of December, he called for a cloak to defend him against the rigour of the season: "Perhaps," said he, "I may shake with cold; but, I trust in God, not for fear." On the scaffold, he continued, with reiterated and earnest asseverations, to make protestations of his innocence: all his fervour was exercised on that point: when he mentioned the witnesses, whose perjuries had bereaved him of life, his expressions were full of mildness and of charity. He solemnly disavowed all those immoral principles, which over-zealous protestants had ascribed without distinction to the church of Rome: and he hoped, he said, that the time was now approaching, when the present delusion would be dissipated; and when the force of truth, though late, would engage the whole world to make reparation to his injured honour.

The populace, who had exulted at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were now melted into tears at the sight of that tender fortitude which shone forth in each feature, and motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound silence was only interrupted by sighs and groans: with difficulty they found speech to assent to those protestations of innocence, which he frequently repeated: "We believe you, my lord! God bless you, my lord!" These expressions with a faltering accent flowed from their lips. The executioner himself was touched with sympathy. Twice he lifted up the axe, with an intent to strike the fatal blow; and twice he let the horrid instrument drop from his trembling hand. A deep sigh was heard to accompany his last effort, which laid Stafford for ever at rest. All the spectators seemed to feel the blow. And when the head was held up to them with the usual cry, "This is the head of a traitor," no clamour of assent was uttered. Pity, remorse, and astonishment, had taken possession of every heart, and displayed itself in lively colours on the countenances of every by-stander. This is the last blood, as we have before-mentioned, which was shed on account of the popish plot: an incident which, for the credit of the nation, it were better to bury in eternal oblivion; but which it is necessary to perpetuate, as well to maintain the truth of history, as to warn, if possible, their posterity, and all mankind, never again to fall into so shameful, so barbarous a delusion!

During these shameful transactions the celebrated statute, called the Habeas Corpus act, was passed, which confirms the subject in an absolute security from oppressive power. By this act, it was prohibited to send any one to prisons beyond the sea: no judge, under severe penalties, was to refuse to any prisoner his writ of Habeas Corpus; by which the jailer was to produce in court the body of the prisoner, whence the writ had its name, and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the jail lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances. Every prisoner must be

indicted the first term of his commitment, and brought to trial the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by court, can be recommitted for the same offence. This law alone would have been sufficient to endear the parliament that made it to posterity; and it would have been well if they had rested there. The duke of York had retired to Brussels during these troubles; but an indisposition of the king led him back to England, to be ready, in case of any sinister accident, to assert his right to the throne. After prevailing upon his brother to disgrace the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the king's, by Lucy Walters, and now become very popular, he himself retired to Scotland, under pretence of still quieting the apprehensions of the English nation; but, in reality, to strengthen his interests there. This session served still more to enflame the country party, who were strongly attached to the duke of Monmouth, and were resolved to support him against the duke of York. Mobs, petitions, pope-burnings, were artifices employed to keep up the terrors of popery, and alarm the court. The parliament had shewn favour to the various tribes of informers, and that served to increase the number of these miscreants; but plots themselves also become more numerous. Plot was set up against plot; and the people kept still suspended in dreadful apprehension.

The Meal-Tub Plot, as it was called, was brought forward to the public on this occasion. One Dangerfield, more infamous, if possible, than Oates and Bedloe, a wretch who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported for felony and coining, hatched a plot in conjunction with a midwife, whose name was Collier, a Roman catholic, of abandoned character. Dangerfield began by declaring, that there was a design on foot to set up a new form of government, and remove the king and the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodging of one colonel Mansel; and then brought the Custom-House officers to his apartment, to search for smuggled merchandize. The papers were found: and the council having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be searched; and, in the house of Cellier, the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, from whence the plot had its name. Dangerfield being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which, though probably entirely of his own contrivance, he ascribed to the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. He said the design was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates, to assassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax, and others, of having been concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brother. Upon this information, the earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were sent to the Tower, and the king himself was suspected of encouraging this imposture. It was not, however, by the plots alone the adverse parties endeavoured to supplant each other. Tumultuous petitions, on the one hand, and flattering addresses on the other, were sent up from all quarters. Wherever the country party prevailed, petitions, filled with grievances and apprehensions, were sent to the king with an air of humble insolence. Wherever the church, or the court-party prevailed, addresses were framed containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, and the deepest abhorrence of those who endeavoured to disturb the public tranquillity. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into Petitioners and Abhorrrers. *Whig* and *Tory* also were first used as terms of mutual reproach at this time*.

As this parliament seemed even to surpass the former

whose usual manner of bidding people deliver, was by the Irish word *Torec*, or *give me*.

* The Whigs were so denominated from a cant name to the four conventicles, (*Whig* being *milk turned sour*.) The Tories were denominated from the Irish banditti so called,

in jealousy and resentment, the king was induced to dissolve it; and would willingly have never applied to another: but his necessities, caused by his want of œconomy, and his numberless needy dependents, obliged him to call another on the 21st of October, 1680. The king on their meeting addressed himself to them in very pathetic terms. Among other things he said, "That which I value above all the treasure in the world, and which I am sure will give us greater strength and reputation both at home and abroad than any treasure can do, is a perfect union among ourselves. Nothing but this can restore the kingdom to that strength and vigour which it seems to have lost, and raise us again to that consideration which England has usually possessed. All Europe have their eyes upon this assembly, and think their own happiness and misery, as well as ours, will depend upon it. If we should be so unhappy as to fall into misunderstandings among ourselves to that degree as would render our friendship unsafe to trust to, it will not be wondered at, if our neighbours should begin to take new resolutions, and perhaps such as may be fatal to us. Let us, therefore, take care that we do not gratify our enemies, and discourage our friends, by any unseasonable disputes. If any such do happen, the world will see that it is no fault of mine: for I have done all that it was possible for me to do, to keep you in peace while I live, and to leave you so when I die. But from so great prudence and so good affection as yours, I can fear nothing of this kind; but do rely upon you all, that you will do your best endeavours to bring this parliament to a good and happy conclusion." However, every change seemed only to inflame the evil; and his new parliament seemed willing to out-do even their predecessors. Every step they took betrayed that zeal with which they were animated. They voted the legality of petitioning to the king; they fell with extreme violence on the abhorers, who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. Great numbers of those were seized by their order, from all parts of England, and committed to close custody: the liberty of the subject, which had been so carefully guarded by their own recent law, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. One Stowel of Exeter, was the person that put a stop to their proceedings; he refused to obey the serjeant at arms, who was sent to apprehend him; he stood upon his defence, and said he knew no law by which they pretended to commit him. The house, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evasion. They inserted in their votes, that Stowel was indisposed; and a month's time was allowed for his recovery. It is happy for the nation, that should the commons at any time overleap the bounds of their authority, and order men capriciously to be committed to prison, there is no power in case of resistance, that can compel the prisoner to submit to their decrees.

The principal violence of the house of commons appeared in all their transactions with regard to the plot, which they prosecuted with the same zeal and the same credulity as their predecessors. About this time died Bedloe, whose death they greatly lamented, whom they called a material witness, and on whose testimony they much depended. He had been seized with a fever at Bristol, and sent for chief justice North; confirmed all his former evidence, except that with regard to the duke and the queen; and desired North to apply to the king for some money to relieve him in his necessities. A few days after he expired, and the whole party triumphed extremely in these circumstances of his death: as if such a testimony could be deemed the affirmation of a dying man, as if his confession of perjury in some instances could assure his veracity in the rest, and as if the perseverance of one profligate could outweigh the last words of so many men, guilty of no crime but that

of popery. The commons even endeavoured, by their countenance and protection, to remove the extreme infamy with which Dangerfield was loaded, and to restore him to the capacity of being an evidence. The whole tribe of informers they applauded and rewarded: Jenkinson, Tuberville, Dugdale, Smith, la Faria, appeared before them; and their testimony, however frivolous or absurd, met with a favourable reception: the king was applied to in their behalf for pensions and pardons: their narratives were printed with that sanction which arose from the approbation of the house: Dr. Tongue was recommended for the first considerable church preferment which should become vacant. Considering men's determined resolution to believe, instead of admiring that a palpable falsehood should be maintained by witnesses, it may justly appear wonderful, that no better evidence was ever produced against the catholics.

But the chief point which the commons laboured to obtain, was the Exclusion Bill, which, though the former house had voted, was never passed into a law. Shaftesbury, and many considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves so noxious to the duke of York, that they could find safety in no measure but his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of James would make room for their own patron. The duke of York's professed bigotry to the catholic superstition influenced numbers; and his tyrannies, which were practised without control, while he continued in Scotland, rendered his name odious to thousands. In a week, therefore, after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose*. The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides; the bill was defended by lord Russell, who had now resigned his office of attorney-general, by Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pultney, colonel Titus, Treby, Manden, and Montague. It was opposed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state; Sir John Emley, chancellor of the exchequer, by Hyde, Seymour, and Temple; the bill passed by a great majority in the house of commons, but was opposed in the house of peers with better success. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex, argued for it. Halifax, chiefly conducted the arguments against it. The king was present during the whole debate; and had the pleasure of seeing the bill thrown out by a very great majority. All the bishops, except three, voted against it; for they were of opinion that the church of England was in much greater danger from the prevalence of presbyterianism than of popery. The commons were extremely mortified and enraged at the rejection of their favourite bill; and to shew how strongly they resented the indulgence which was shewn to popery, they passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters, and for repealing such acts as tended to their persecution. They proceeded to bring in bills, which, though contributing to secure the liberty of the subject, yet probably at that period only calculated to excite them to insurrection. They had thoughts of renewing the triennial act; of continuing the judges in their offices during good behaviour; of ordering an attestation for the defence of his majesty's person, and the security of the protestant religion. They voted, that till the exclusion bill was passed, they could not, consistent with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any manner of supply, and to prevent his taking other methods to get money, they voted that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon any branches of the king's revenue, should be responsible to parliament for his conduct. The finding that there were no hopes of extorting either money or obedience from the commons, came to a resolution of once more dissolving the parliament. The usher of the black-rod accordingly came to

* The bill was to be read to the people twice a year in all the churches of the kingdom, and every one who should sup-

port the duke's title was rendered incapable of receiving a pardon but by act of parliament.

dissolve them, while they were voting that the dissenters should be encouraged, and that the papists had burned the city of London.

The parliament thus dissolved, it was considered as a doubt, whether the king would ever call another; however, the desire he had of being supplied with money, surmounted his fears from every violence a parliament might offer. But it had always been supposed that the neighbourhood of London, at once both potent and factious, was an improper place for assembling a parliament that would be steadfast in the king's interests; he therefore resolved at once to punish the Londoners, by shewing his suspicions of their loyalty; and to reward the inhabitants of Oxford, by bringing down his parliament to that city. Accordingly a parliament was ordered to assemble at Oxford, in the beginning of 1681, and measures taken on both sides to engage the partisans to be strenuous in their resolutions. In this, as in all former parliaments, the country party predominated; the parliamentary leaders came to that city, attended not only by their servants, but with numerous bands of their retainers. The four London members were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven these words: "No Popery! No Slavery!" The king was not behind them in the number and formidable appearance of his guards; so that the parliament rather bore the appearance of a military congress, than of a civil assembly. This parliament trod exactly in the steps of the former. The commons having chosen the same speaker who filled the chair last parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subjects of their deliberations. The bill of exclusion was more fiercely urged than ever†.

Each party had now for some time reviled and ridiculed each other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice, at last, was attended with an incident that deserves particular notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, who had insinuated himself into the duchess of Portsmouth's acquaintance, and had been very busy in conveying to her, intelligence of any libel written by the country party, or of any designs entertained against her or against the court. For services of this kind, and perhaps too, from a regard to his father, Sir Edward Fitzharris, who had been an eminent royalist, he had received from the king a present of two hundred and fifty pounds. This man met with Everard, a Scotchman, a spy of the exclusionists, and an informer concerning the popish plot; and he engaged him to write a libel against the king, the duke, and the whole administration. What Fitzharris's intentions were, cannot well be ascertained: it is probable, as he afterwards asserted, that he meant to carry this libel to his patron the duchess, and to make a merit of the discovery. Everard, who suspected some other design, and who was well pleased on his side to have the merit of a discovery with his patron, resolved to betray his friend: he posted Sir William Waller, a noted justice of peace, and two persons more, behind the hangings, and gave them an opportunity of seeing and hearing the whole transaction. The libel, sketched out by Fitzharris, and executed partly by him, partly by Everard, was the most furious, indecent, and outrageous performance imaginable; and such as was fitter to hurt than serve any party, which should be so imprudent as to adopt it. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened, at that very time, to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Finding himself now delivered over to the

law, he resolved to pay court to the popular party, who were alone able to protect him, and by whom he observed almost all trials to be governed and directed. He affirmed, that he had been employed by the court to write the libel, in order to throw the odium of it on the exclusionists: but this account, which was within the bounds of credibility, he disgraced by circumstances which are altogether absurd and improbable. The intention of the ministers, he said, was to send copies to all the heads of the country party; and the moment they received them, they were to be arrested, and a conspiracy to be imputed to them. That he might merit favour by still more important intelligence, he commenced a discoverer of the great popish plot; and he failed not to confirm all the tremendous circumstances insisted on by his predecessors. He said, that the second Dutch war was entered into with a view of extirpating the protestant religion, both abroad and at home; that father Parry, a jesuit, on the disappointment by the peace, told him, that the catholics resolved to murder the king, and had even engaged the queen in that design; that the envoy of Modena offered him ten thousand pounds to kill the king; and upon his refusal the envoy said, that the duchess of Mazarine, who was as expert at poisoning as her sister, the countess of Soissons, would, with a little phial, execute that design; that upon the king's death the army in Flanders was to come over, and massacre the protestants; that money was raised in Italy for recruits and supplies, and there should be no more parliaments; and that the duke was privy to this whole plan, and had even entered into the design of Godfrey's murder, which was executed in the manner related above. The popular leaders had, all along, been very desirous of having an accusation against the duke; and though Oates and Bedloe, in their first evidence, had not dared to go so far, both Dugdale and Dangerfield had afterwards been encouraged to supply so material a defect, by comprehending him in the conspiracy. The commons, therefore, finding that Fitzharris was also willing to serve this purpose, were not ashamed to adopt his evidence, and resolved for that end to save him from the destruction with which he was at present threatened. The king had removed him from the city-prison, where he was exposed to be tampered with by the exclusionists; had sent him to the Tower; and had ordered him to be protected by an indictment at common law. In order to prevent his trial and execution, an impeachment was voted by the commons against him, and sent up to the lords. That they might shew the greater contempt of the court, they ordered, by way of derision, that the impeachment should be carried by secretary Jenkins; who was so provoked by the intended affront, that he at first refused obedience; though afterwards being threatened with commitment, he was induced to comply. The lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of justice, before whom, as the attorney-general informed them, it was already determined to try Fitzharris. The commons maintained, that the peers were obliged to receive every impeachment from the commons; and this indeed seems to have been the first instance of their refusal: they therefore voted, that the lords, in rejecting their impeachment, had denied justice, and had violated the constitution of parliament. They also declared, that whatever inferior court should proceed against Fitzharris, or any one that lay under impeachment, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege. Great heats were likely to ensue; and as the king saw no appearance of any better temper in the commons, he gladly

* Monmouth, with fifteen peers, presented a petition against assembling the parliament at Oxford, "Where the two houses," they said, "could not be in safety; but would be easily exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents, of whom too many had crept into his majesty's guards." These insinuations, which pointed so evidently at the king himself, were not calculated to persuade him, but to inflame the people.

† Ernley, one of the king's ministers, proposed, that the duke should be banished during life, five hundred miles from England; and that upon the king's death, the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power. Yet even this expedient, which left the duke the bare title of king, could not obtain the attention of the house. Nothing but a total exclusion could satisfy them.

laid hold of the opportunity, afforded by a quarrel between the two houses; and he proceeded to a dissolution of the parliament. The secret was so well kept, that the commons had no intimation of it, till the black-rod came to their doors, and summoned them to attend the king at the house of peers.

This vigorous measure was a blow that the parliament had never expected; and nothing but the necessity of the times could have justified the king's manner of proceeding. From that moment, which ended the parliamentary commotions, Charles seemed to rule with despotic power; and he was resolved to leave the succession to his brother, but clogged with all faults and misfortunes of his own administration. His temper, which had always been easy and merciful, now became arbitrary, and even cruel; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs. He resolved to humble the presbyterians; these were divested of their employments and their places; and their offices given to such as held with the court, and approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy began to testify their zeal and their principles by their writings and their sermons; but though among these, the partizans of the king were the most numerous, those of the opposite faction were the most enterprising. The king openly espoused the cause of the former; and thus placing himself at the head of a faction, he deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party, of their charter. It was not till after an abject submission that he restored it to them, having previously subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority. Terrors also were not wanting to confirm this new species of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to his trial before a jury: doubts were raised by the jury with regard to their power of trying him, after the concluding vote of the commons: but the judges took upon them to decide the question in the affirmative; and the jury were obliged to proceed. The writing of the libel was clearly proved upon Fitzharris: the only question was with regard to his intentions. He asserted, that he was a spy of the court, and had accordingly carried the libel to the duchess of Portsmouth, and he was desirous that the jury should, in this transaction, consider him as a cheat, not as a traitor. He failed, however, somewhat in the proof; and was brought in guilty of treason by the jury. Finding himself entirely in the hands of the king, he now retracted all his former impostures with regard to the popish plot, and even endeavoured to atone for them by new impostures against the country party. He affirmed, that these fictions had been extorted from him by the suggestions and artifices of Treby the recorder, and of Bethel and Cornish, the two sheriffs: this account he persisted in even at his execution; and though men knew, that nothing could be depended on, which came from one so corrupt, and so lost to all sense of honour; yet were they inclined, from his perseverance, to rely somewhat more on his veracity in these last asseverations. But it appears, that his wife had some connections with Mrs. Wall, the favourite maid of the duchess of Portsmouth; and Fitzharris hoped, if he persisted in a story agreeable to the court, that some favour might, on that account, be shewn to his family. It is amusing to reflect on the several lights, in which this story has been represented by the opposite factions. The country party affirmed, that Fitzharris had been employed by the court, in order to throw the odium of the libel on the exclusionists, and thereby give rise to the protestant plot: the court party maintained, that the exclusionists had found out Fitzharris, a spy of the ministers, and had set him upon this undertaking, from an intention of loading the court with the imputation of such a design upon the exclusionists. Rather than acquit their antagonists, both sides were willing to adopt an account the most intricate and incredible. It was a strange situation, in which the people, at this time, were placed; to be every day tortured with these

perplexed stories, and inflamed with such dark suspicions against their fellow citizens. This was no less than the fifteenth false plot, or sham-plot, as they were then called, with which the court, it was imagined, had endeavoured to load their adversaries. The country party had intended to make use of Fitzharris's evidence against the duke and the catholics, and his execution was therefore a great mortification to them. But the king and his ministers were resolved not to be contented with so slender an advantage. They were determined to pursue the victory, and to employ against the exclusionists those very offensive arms, however unfair, which that party had laid up in store against their antagonists. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, and suborners, who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their old patrons, and offered their service to the ministers. To this disgrace of the court and of the age, they were received with hearty welcome; and their testimony, or rather perjury, made use of, in order to commit legal murder upon the opposite party. With an air of triumph and derision it was asked, "Are not these men good witnesses, who have established the popish plot, upon whose testimony Stafford and so many catholics have been executed, and whom you yourselves have so long celebrated as men of credit and veracity? You have admitted them into your bosom: they are best acquainted with your treasons: they are determined in another shape to serve their king and country: and you cannot complain, that the same measure, which you meted to others, should now, by a righteous doom or vengeance, be measured out to you."

The first person that fell under the displeasure of the ministry, was Stephen College, a London joiner, who had become so noted for his zeal against popery, that he went by the name of the protestant joiner. He had attended the city-members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol; he had sometimes been heard to speak irreverently of the king, and was now presented by the grand jury of London as guilty of sedition. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court; and the grand jury, named by them, rejected the bill against College. However, the court was not to be foiled so; they sent the prisoner to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed, and there caused him to be tried before a partial judge, and a packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Tuberville, and others, who had already given evidence against the catholics; and the nation saw themselves reduced to a ridiculous dilemma upon their testimony. The jury, who were royalists, could not accept their evidence, as they believed them to be abandoned liars; nor yet could they reject it, as they were taught by their opponent to think them sufficient evidence for conviction. College defended himself with great presence of mind, and invalidated their testimonies: but all was in vain. The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, brought him in guilty, and the spectators testified their inhuman pleasure with a shout of applause. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude; and at the place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

Higher vengeance, however, was demanded by the king, whose resentment was chiefly levelled against the earl of Shaftesbury, and not without reason. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses against this intriguing and formidable man. A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, witnesses were examined, who swore to such incredible circumstances as must have invalidated their testimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers, indeed, a draught of an association was found, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the earl's hand-writing, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any body, or assigned his approbation of any such project. The sheriffs had summoned a jury, ^{whole}

whose principles coincided with those of the earl, and that probably, more than any want of proof, procured his safety*.

In 1683, the power of the crown became irresistible; the city of London having been deprived of their charter, which was restored only upon terms of submission †, and the giving up the nomination of their own magistrates, was so mortifying a circumstance, that all the other corporations in England soon began to fear the same treatment, and were successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring these charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown. Resistance now, however justifiable, could not be safe; and all prudent men saw no other expedient, but peaceably submitting to the present grievances.

Notwithstanding this arbitrary method of proceeding, there was a party in England that still cherished their former ideas of freedom, and were resolved to hazard every danger in its defence. This, like all other combinations, was made up of men, some guided by principle to the subversion of the present despotic power, some by interest, and still many more by revenge. Some time before, in the year 1681, the king had been seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, which gave a great alarm to the public. Shaftesbury had even then attempted to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and united with the duke of Monmouth, lord Russell, and lord Grey: in case of the king's death, they conspired to rise in arms, and vindicate their opinions by the sword. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial for some time put a stop to these designs; but they soon revived with his release. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire. Lord Russell fixed a correspondence with Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rowles, and Sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the West. Shaftesbury, with Ferguson, an independent clergyman, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. It was now that this turbulent man found his schemes most likely to take effect. After the disappointment and destruction of a hundred plots, he at last began to be sure of the present. But this scheme, like all the former, was disappointed. The caution of lord Russell, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprize, saved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; while Shaftesbury was so struck with a sense of his impending danger, that he left his house, and lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open insurrection. At last, enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened to begin with his friends alone. However,

after a long struggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of success, and fled out of the kingdom to Amsterdam, where he ended his life soon after, without giving sorrow to his friends, or joy to his enemies ‡.

The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded the views of the conspirators, did not suppress them. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Russell, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hamden, grandson to the great man of that name, so frequently mentioned under the reign of Charles I. These corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents in Scotland, and resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection, though they widely differed in principles from each other. Monmouth aspired at the crown; Russell and Hamden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the republic, and Essex joined in the same wish. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who, having no principles, sought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private interest in the confusion. Such were the leaders of this conspiracy, and such their motives. But there was also a set of subordinate conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these men was colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer, together with lieutenant colonel Walcot, of the same stamp, Goodenough, under sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man, Ferguson, an independent minister, and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen of London. But Rumsey and Ferguson were the only persons that had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. These men in their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions. They proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket §, whither he went commonly once a year on account of the races. Rumbold, one of the party, who was a maltster, possessed a farm upon that road called the Rye-House, and from thence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye-House Plot. They deliberated upon a scheme of stopping the king's coach, by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and shooting him through the hedges. The house in which the king lived at Newmarket took fire accidentally, and he was obliged to leave Newmarket eight days sooner than was expected, to which circumstance his safety was ascribed.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who finding himself in danger of a prosecution for arresting the lord-mayor of London, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, no sooner understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidence, and they surrendered themselves accordingly. Shephard, another conspirator, being apprehended, confessed all he knew,

* As far as swearing could go, the treason was clearly proved against Shaftesbury; or rather so clearly as to merit no kind of credit or attention. That veteran leader of the party, enured from his early youth to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conspiracies, was represented as opening without reserve, his treasonable intentions to these obscure banditti, and throwing out such violent and outrageous reproaches upon the king, as none but men of low education, like themselves, could be supposed to employ. Hume.

† The terms offered by the king, and accepted by the citizens, were, "1. That no lord-mayor, nor any officer of the corporation, or steward of the borough of Southwark, should be capable of, or admitted to the exercise of their respective offices, before his majesty should have approved them under his sign manual. 2. That if his majesty should disapprove the choice of any person to be lord-mayor, &c. the citizens should, within one week, proceed to a new choice: and if his majesty should in a like manner disapprove the second choice, his majesty should, if he pleased, nominate a person to be lord-mayor for the ensuing year. 3. The same with regard to the sheriffs. 4. The lord-mayor and court of aldermen might also, with the leave of his majesty, displace any alderman, recorder, &c. 5. Upon the election of an alderman, if the court of aldermen should judge and declare the person presented to be unfit, the

ward should choose again; and upon a disapproval of a second choice, the court might appoint another in his room. 6. The justices of the peace were to be by the king's commission; and the settling of these matters to be left to his majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, and council learned in the law."

‡ His furious temper, notwithstanding his capacity, had done great injury to the cause in which he was engaged. The violences and iniquities which he suggested and encouraged, were greater than even faction itself could endure; and men could not forbear sometimes recollecting, that the same person, who had become so zealous a patriot, was once a most prostitute courtier. It is remarkable, that this man, whose principles and conduct were, in all other respects, so exceptionable, proved an excellent chancellor; and that all his decrees, while he possessed that high office, were equally remarkable for justice and integrity. So difficult is it to find in history a character either wholly bad or perfectly good; though the prejudices of party make writers run easy into the extremes both of panegyric and of satire!

§ Whenever they had occasion to mention the assassination of the king or the duke, they always made use of the appellation of *lopping*; and it is said, by Hume, chap. LXIX. that they even went so far as to have thought of a scheme for that purpose.

and general orders were soon issued out for apprehending the rest of the leaders of the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded; Russel was sent to the Tower; Grey escaped; Howard was taken concealed in a chimney; Essex, Sidney, and Hamden, were soon after arrested, and had the mortification to find lord Howard an evidence against them.

Lieutenant-colonel Walcot was first brought to his trial. This man, who was once noted for bravery, had been so far overcome by the love of life, that he had written to secretary Jenkins, and had offered, upon promise of pardon, to turn evidence: but no sooner had he taken this mean step, than he felt more generous sentiments arise in his breast: and he endeavoured, though in vain, to conceal himself. The witnesses against him were Rumsey, West, and Shephard, together with Bourne, a brewer. His own letter to the secretary was produced, and rendered the testimony of the witnesses unquestionable. Hone and Rouse were also condemned. These two men as well as Walcot, acknowledged, at their execution, the justice of the sentence; and from their trial and confession, it is sufficiently apparent, that the plan of an insurrection had been regularly formed; and that even the assassination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conspirators. The condemnation of these criminals was probably intended as a preparative to the trial of lord Russel, and served to impress the public with a thorough belief of the conspiracy, as well as a horror against it. The witnesses produced against the noble prisoner, were Rumsey, Shephard, and lord Howard. Rumsey swore, that he himself had been introduced at the cabal at Shephard's, where Russel was present; and had delivered them a message from Shaftesbury, urging them to hasten the intended insurrection: but had received for answer, that it was found necessary to delay that design, and that Shaftesbury must, therefore, for some time, rest contented. This answer, he said, was delivered by Ferguson; but was assented to by the prisoner. He added, that some discourse had been entered into about taking a survey of the guards; and he thought that Monmouth, Grey, and Armstrong, undertook to view them. Shephard deposed, that his house had beforehand been bespoken by Ferguson for the secret meeting of the conspirators, and that he had been careful to keep all his servants from approaching them, and had served them himself. This discourse, he said, ran chiefly upon the means of surprizing the guards; and it was agreed, that Monmouth and his two friends should take a survey of them. The report, which they brought next meeting was, that the guards were remiss, and that the design was practicable: but he did not affirm that any resolution was taken of executing it. The prisoner, he thought, was present at both these meetings; but he was sure that at least he was present at one of them. A declaration, he added, had been read by Ferguson in Russel's presence: the reasons of the intended insurrection were there set forth, and all the public grievances fully displayed. Lord Howard had been one of the cabal of six, established after Shaftesbury's flight; and two meetings had been held by the conspirators, one at Hamden's, another at Russel's. Howard deposed, that, at the first meeting, it was agreed to begin the insurrection in the country before the city; the places were fixed, the proper quantity and kind of arms agreed on, and the whole plan of operations concerted: that at the second meeting, the conversation chiefly turned upon their correspondence with Argyle and the discontented Scots, and that the principal management of that affair was entrusted to Sidney, who had sent one Aaron Smith into Scotland with proper instructions. He added, that in these deliberations no question was put, or votes collected; but there was no contradiction; and, as he took it, all of them, and the prisoner among the rest, gave their consent. Rumsey and Shephard were very unwilling witnesses against lord Russel; and it appears from Gray's Secret History, that, if they had pleased, they could have given a more explicit testimony

against him. This reluctance, together with the difficulty in recollecting circumstances of a conversation, which had passed above eight months before, and which the persons had not at any time an intention to reveal, may beget some slight objection to their evidence. But on the whole, it was undoubtedly proved, that the insurrection had been deliberated on by the prisoner, and fully resolved; the surprisal of the guards deliberated on, but not fully resolved; and that an assassination had never once been mentioned nor imagined by him. So far the matter of fact seems certain; but still, with regard to law, there remained a difficulty, and that of an important nature. The English laws of treason, both in the matter of defining that crime, and in the proof required, are the most mild and most indulgent, and consequently the most equitable, that are any where to be found. The two chief species of treason, contained in the statute of Edward III. are the compassing and intending of the king's death, and the actually levying of war against him; and by the law of Mary, the crime must be proved by the concurring testimony of two witnesses, to some overt act, tending to these purposes. But the lawyers, partly desirous of paying court to the sovereign, and partly convinced of ill consequences which might attend such narrow limitations, had introduced a greater latitude, both in the proof and definition of the crime. It was not required that the two witnesses should testify the same precise overt act: it was sufficient, that they both testified some overt act of the same treason; and though this invasion may seem a subtilty, it had long prevailed in the courts of judicature, and had at last been solemnly fixed by parliament at the trial of lord Stafford. The lawyers had used the same freedom with the law of Edward III. They had observed, that, by that statute, if a man should enter into a conspiracy for a rebellion, should even fix a correspondence with foreign powers for that purpose, should provide arms and money, yet, if he were detected and no rebellion ensued, he could not be tried for treason. To prevent this inconvenience, which it had been better to remedy by a new law, they had commonly laid their indictment for intending the death of the king, and had produced the intention of rebellion as a proof of that other intention. But though this form of indictment and trial was very frequent, and many criminals had received sentence upon it, it was still considered as somewhat irregular, and was plainly confounding, by a sophism, two species of treason, which the statute had accurately distinguished. What made this refinement still more exceptionable was, that a law had passed soon after the restoration; in which the consulting or the intending of a rebellion was, during Charles's life-time, declared treason; and it was required, that the prosecution should be commenced within six months after the crime was committed: but notwithstanding this statute, the lawyers had persevered, as they still do persevere, in the old form of indictment; and both Sir Harry Vane, and Oliver Plunket, titular primate of Ireland, had been tried by it. Such was the general horror, entertained against the old republicans and the popish conspirators, that no one had murmured against this interpretation of the statute; and the lawyers thought that they might follow the precedent, even in the case of the popular and beloved lord Russel. Russel's crime fell plainly within the statute of Charles II.; but the facts sworn to by Rumsey and Shephard were beyond the six months required by law, and to the other facts Howard was a single witness. To make the indictment, therefore, more extensive, the intention of murdering the king was comprehended in it; and for proof of this intention the conspiracy for raising a rebellion was assigned; and what seemed to bring the matter still nearer, the design of attacking the king's guards. Russel perceived this irregularity, and desired to have the point argued by counsel: the chief justice told him, that this favour could not be granted, unless he previously confessed the facts charged upon him. The artificial confounding of the two species of treason, though a practice supported by many precedents, is the chief

but not the only hardship, of which Russel had reason to complain on his trial. His defence was feeble; and he contented himself with protesting, that he never had entertained any design against the life of the king: his veracity would not allow him to deny the conspiracy for an insurrection. The jury were men of fair and reputable characters, but zealous royalists: after a short deliberation, they brought in the prisoner guilty*. The scaffold was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, a place distant from the Tower; and it was probably intended, by conducting Russel through so many streets, to shew the mutinous city their beloved leader, once the object of all their confidence, now exposed to the utmost rigours of the law. As he was the most popular among his own party; so was he ever the least noxious to the opposite faction: and his melancholy fate united every heart, sensible of humanity, in a tender compassion for him. Without the least change of countenance, he laid his head on the block: and at two strokes it was severed from his body, on the 21st of July, 1683.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. This gallant person had entered deeply into the war against the late king; and though no wise tainted with enthusiasm, he had so far shared in all the counsels of the independent republican party, as to have been named on the high court of justice, which tried and condemned that monarch: he thought not proper, however, to take his seat among the judges. He ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation with zeal and courage; and after making all efforts against the restoration, he resolved to take no benefit of the general indemnity, but chose voluntary banishment, rather than submit to a government and family which he abhorred. As long as the republican party had any existence, he was active in every scheme, however unpromising, which tended to promote their cause: but at length, in 1677, finding it necessary for his private affairs to return to England, he had applied for the king's pardon, and had obtained it. When the factions, arising from the popish plot, began to run high, Sidney, full of those ideas of liberty, which he had imbibed from the great examples of antiquity, joined the popular party; and was even willing to seek a second time, through all the horrors of a civil war, for his adored republic. From this imperfect sketch of the character and conduct of this singular personage, it may easily be conceived how noxious he was become to the court and ministry: what alone renders them blameable, was the illegal method which they took for effecting

their purpose against him. On Sidney's trial they produced a great number of witnesses, who proved the reality of a plot in general; and when the prisoner exclaimed, that all these evidences said nothing of him, he was answered, that this method of proceeding, however irregular, had been practised in the prosecutions of the popish conspirators; a topic more fit to condemn one party, than to justify the other. The only witness who deposed against Sidney, was lord Howard: but as the law required two witnesses, a strange expedient was fallen on to supply this deficiency. In ransacking the prisoner's closet, some discourses on government were found; in which he had maintained principles, favourable indeed to liberty, but such as the best and most dutiful subjects in all ages have been known to embrace; the original contract, the source of power from a consent of the people, the lawfulness of resisting tyrants, the preference of liberty to the government of a single person. These papers were asserted to be equivalent to a second witness, and even to many witnesses. The prisoner replied, that there was no other reason for ascribing these papers to him as the author, besides a similitude of hand; a proof which was never admitted in criminal prosecutions: that allowing him to be the author, he had composed them solely for his private amusement, and had never published them to the world, or even communicated them to any single person: that, when examined, they appeared, by the colour of the ink, to have been written many years before, and were in vain produced as evidence of a present conspiracy against the government: and that when the law positively requires two witnesses, one witness, attended with the most convincing circumstances, could never suffice, much less, when supported by a circumstance so weak and precarious. All these arguments, though urged by the prisoner with great courage and pregnancy of reason, had no influence. The violent and inhuman Jefferies, whose name will be held in perpetual detestation by all lovers of equity and justice, was now chief justice: and by his direction a partial jury was easily prevailed on to give verdict against Sidney. His execution followed a few days after, on the 17th of December: he complained, and with reason, of the iniquity of the sentence; but he had too much greatness of mind to deny those conspiracies with Monmouth and Russel, in which he had been engaged. He rather gloried, that he now suffered for that good old cause, in which from his earliest youth, he said, he had enlisted himself†.

Hamden was tried soon after; and as there was no-

* Applications were made to the king for a pardon: even money, to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds, was offered to the duchess of Portsmouth by the old earl of Bedford, father to Russel. The king was inexorable. He had been extremely harrassed with the violence of the country party; and he had observed, that the prisoner, besides his secret designs, had always been carried to the highest extremity of opposition in parliament. Russel had even adopted a sentiment, similar to what we meet with in a letter of the younger Brutus. Had his father, he said, advised the king to reject the exclusion-bill, he would be the first to move for a parliamentary impeachment against him. When such determined resolution was observed, his popularity, his humanity, his justice, his very virtues became so many crimes, and were used as arguments against sparing him. Charles, therefore, would go no farther than remitting the more ignominious part of the sentence, which the law requires to be pronounced against traitors. "Lord Russel," said he, "shall find, that I am possessed of that prerogative, which, in the case of lord Stafford, he thought proper to deny me." As the fury of the country party had rendered it impossible for the king, without the imminent danger of his crown to pardon so many catholics, whom he firmly believed innocent, and even affectionate and loyal to him; he probably thought, that, since the edge of the law was now ready to fall upon that party themselves, they could not reasonably expect that he would interpose to save them. Russel's consort, a woman of virtue, daughter and heir of the good earl of Southampton, threw herself at the king's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father, as an atonement for those errors, into which honest, however mistaken principles, had seduced her husband. These suppli-

cations were the last instance of female weakness, (if it may be called weakness,) which she betrayed. Finding all applications vain, she collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavoured by her example, to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent composure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The bitterness of death is now passed," said he, when he turned from her. Lord Cavendish had lived in the closest intimacy with Russel, and deserted not his friend in the present calamity. He offered to manage his escape, by changing cloaths with him, and remaining at all hazards in his place. Russel refused to save his own life, by an expedient which might expose his friend to so many hardships. When the duke of Monmouth by message offered to surrender himself, if Russel thought that this measure would any wise contribute to his safety; "It will be no advantage to me," he said, "to have my friends die with me." Some of his expressions discover, not only composure, but good humour in this melancholy extremity. The day before his execution he was seized with a bleeding at the nose. "I shall not now let blood to divert this distemper," said he, to Dr. Burnet who attended him; "that will be done to-morrow." A little before the sheriff's conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch, "Now I have done," said he, "with time, and henceforth must think solely of eternity."

† The execution of Sidney, says Hume, is regarded as one of the greatest blemishes of the present reign. The evidence against him, it must be confessed, was not legal; and the jury, who condemned him, were, for that reason, very blameable.

thing to affect his life, he was fined forty-thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had fled to the West-Indies, was brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over and shared the same fate. Lord Essex, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether the bigotry of the times might not have induced some assassin to commit the horrid crime, cannot now be sufficiently ascertained. This was the last blood that was shed for an imputation of plots or conspiracies, which continued during the greatest part of this reign. Nevertheless the cruelty and the gloomy suspicion of the duke of York, who, since the dissolution of the last parliament, daily came into power, was dreadful to the nation. Titus Oates was fined a hundred thousand pounds for calling him a popish traitor, and he was imprisoned till he could pay it, which he was utterly incapable of. A like legal sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt for the same offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds, for having, in some private letters, reflected on the government. Of all those who were concerned in the late conspiracy, scarce one escaped the severity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth, and he was the most culpable of any.

There is another remarkable trial which shews the disposition of the courts of judicature, and which, though it passed in the ensuing year, it may not be improper to relate in this place. One Rosewel, a presbyterian preacher, was accused by three women of having spoken treasonable words in a sermon. They swore to two or three periods, and agreed so exactly together, that there was not the smallest variation in their depositions. Rosewel on the other hand made a very good defence. He proved, that even during Cromwell's usurpations, he had always been a royalist; that he prayed constantly for the king in his family, and that in his sermons he often inculcated the obligations of royalty. And as to the sermon of which he was accused, several witnesses, who heard it, and some who wrote it in short-hand, deposed that he had used no such expressions as those which were imputed to him. He offered his own notes as a farther proof. The women could not shew, by any circumstance or witness, that they were at his meeting. And the expressions, to which they deposed, were so gross, that no man in his senses could be supposed to employ them before a mixed audience. It was also urged, that it appeared next to impossible for three women to remember so long a period upon one single hearing, and to remember it so exactly, as to agree to a tittle in their depositions with regard to it. The prisoner offered to put the whole upon this issue: he would pronounce, with his usual tone of voice, a period so long as that to which they

had sworn; and then let them try to repeat it if they could. What was more unaccountable, they had forgotten even the text of his sermon; nor did they remember any single passage, but the words to which they gave evidence. After so strong a defence, the solicitor-general thought not proper to make any reply: even Jefferies went no farther than some general declamations against conventiclers and presbyterians: yet so violent were party-prejudices, that the jury gave a verdict against the prisoner; which, however, appeared so palpably unjust, that it was not carried into execution.

The court was now aware, that the malcontents in England had held a correspondence with those of Scotland; and that Baillie of Jerviswood, a man of merit and learning, with two gentlemen of the name of Campbell, had come to London, under pretence of negotiating the settlement of the Scottish presbyterians in Carolina, but really with a view of concerting measures with the English conspirators. Baillie was sent prisoner to Edinburgh; but as no evidence appeared against him, the council required him to swear, that he would answer all questions that should be propounded to him. He refused to submit to so iniquitous a condition; and a fine of six thousand pounds was imposed upon him. At length, two persons, Spence and Carstares, being put to the torture, gave evidence which involved the earl of Tarras and some others, who, in order to save themselves, were reduced to accuse Baillie. He was brought to trial; and being in so languishing a condition from the treatment which he had met with in prison, that it was feared he would not survive that night, he was ordered to be executed the very afternoon on which he received sentence.

The severities exercised during this part of the present reign, says Hume, were much contrary to the usual tenor of the king's conduct; and though those who studied his character more narrowly, have pronounced, that towards great offences he was rigid and inexorable, the nation were more inclined to ascribe every unjust or hard measure to the prevalence of the duke, into whose hands the king had, from indolence, not from any opinion of his brother's superior capacity, resigned the reins of government. The crown indeed gained great advantage from the detection of the conspiracy, and lost none by the rigorous execution of the conspirators: the horror entertained against the assassination plot, rendered the whole party unpopular, and reconciled the nation to the measures of the court. The most loyal addresses came from all parts; and the doctrine of submission to the civil magistrate, and even of an unlimited passive obedience, became the reigning principle of the times. The university of Oxford passed a solemn decree, condemning some doctrines which they termed republican, but which indeed are, most of them, the only tenets on which liberty and a limited constitution can be founded*. The faction of the exclusionists, lately

* Their decree was entitled, "The judgement and decree of the university of Oxford, passed in the convocation, July 21, 1683, against certain pernicious books, and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and of all human society." In the present political situation of affairs in Europe, when all men are striving for liberty, we cannot withhold from our readers the principal propositions condemned by that university.

"All civil authority is derived originally from the people."

"There is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects; and that if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs."

"That if civil government become tyrants, or govern otherwise than by the laws of God and man, they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had unto their government." *Lex Rex. Buchan. de Jure Regni. Vindicta contra Tyrannos. Belarm. de Conciliis, de Pontifice. Milton. Goodwin. Baxter. H. C.*

"The sovereignty of England is in the three estate, viz. king, lords, and commons. The king has but a co-ordinate power, and may be over-ruled by the other two." *Lex Rex. Hutton. Of a limited and mixed monarchy. Baxter's H. C. Polit. Catech.*

"Birth-right and proximity of blood give no title to rule or government; and it is lawful to preclude the next heir from his right and succession to the crown." *Lex Rex. Hutton. Poffenrip. Delman's History of Succession. Julian the Apostate. Meue Telch.*

"It is lawful for subjects, without the consent, and against the command of the supreme magistrate, to enter into leagues, covenants, and associations, for defence of themselves and their religion." *Solemn League and Covenant. Late Association.*

"Self-preservation is the fundamental law of nature, and supercedes the obligation of all others, whenever they stand in competition with it." *Hobbes, de Cive. Leathan.*

"The doctrine of the gospel, concerning patient suffering of injuries, is not inconsistent with violent resisting of the higher powers, in case of persecution for religion." *Lex Rex. Julian the Apostate. Apologet. Relat.*

"There lies no obligation upon Christians to Passive Obedience, when the prince commands any thing against the laws of our country; and the primitive Christians chose rather to die than resist, because Christianity was not settled by the laws of the empire." *Julian the Apostate.*

"Possession and strength give a right to govern and success."

lately so numerous, powerful, and zealous, were at the king's feet; and were as much fallen in their spirit as in their credit with the nation. Nothing that had the least appearance of opposition to the court, could be hearkened to by the public *.

In 1684 the king endeavoured to increase his popularity by every art; and knowing, that the suspicion of popery was of all others the most dangerous, he judged it proper to marry his niece, the lady Anne, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. All the credit, however, and persuasion of Halifax, could not engage him to call a parliament, or trust the nation with the election of a new representative. Though his revenues were extremely burthened, he rather chose to struggle with the present difficulties, than try an experiment which, by raising afresh so many malignant humours, might prove dangerous to his repose. The duke likewise zealously opposed this proposal, and even engaged the king in measures which could have no tendency, but to render any accommodation with a parliament altogether impracticable. Williams, who had been speaker during the two last parliaments, was prosecuted for warrants, issued by him, in obedience to orders of the house: a breach of privilege, which it seemed not likely any future house of commons would leave unquestioned. Danby and the popish lords, who had so long been confined in the Tower, and who saw no prospect of a trial in parliament, applied by petition, and were admitted to bail. The duke, contrary to law, was restored to the office of high-admiral, without taking any test.

Charles now dismissed his parliament; and this was no sooner done, than he embraced the resolution of governing by prerogative alone, than he dropped his new alliance with Spain, and returned to his former dangerous connections with Lewis. This prince had even offered to make him arbiter of his differences with Spain; and the latter power, sensible of Charles's partiality, had refused to submit to such a disadvantageous proposal. Whether any money was now remitted to England, we do not certainly know: but we may fairly presume, that the king's necessities were in some degree relieved by France. And though Charles had reason to apprehend the utmost danger from the great, and still

increasing naval power of that kingdom, joined to the weak condition of the English fleet, no consideration was able to rouse him from his present lethargy. It is here we are to fix the point of the highest exaltation; which the power of Lewis or that of any European prince, since the age of Charlemagne, had ever attained. The monarch, most capable of opposing his progress, was entirely engaged in his interests; and the Turks, invited by the malcontents of Hungary, were preparing to invade the emperor, and to disabuse that prince from making head against the progress of the French power.

The French greatness never, during the whole reign of Lewis, inspired Charles with any apprehension, and Clifford, it is said, one of his most favoured ministers, went so far as to affirm, that it were better for the king to be viceroy under a great and generous monarch; than a slave to five hundred of his insolent subjects. The ambition, therefore, and uncontrolled power of Lewis, were no diminution of Charles's happiness; and in other respects, his condition seemed at present more eligible, than it had ever been since his restoration. A mighty faction, which had shaken his throne, and menaced his family, was totally subdued; and by their precipitate indiscretion had exposed themselves both to the rigour of the laws, and to public hatred. He had recovered his former popularity in the nation; and what probably pleased him more than having a compliant parliament, he was enabled to govern altogether without one. But it is certain, that the king, amidst all these promising circumstances, was not happy or satisfied. Whether he found himself exposed to difficulties for want of money, or dreaded a recoil of the popular humour from the present arbitrary measures, is uncertain. Perhaps the violent and imprudent temper of the duke, by pushing Charles upon dangerous attempts, gave him apprehension and uneasiness. He was overheard one day to say, in opposing some of the duke's hasty counsels, "Brother, I am too old to go again to my travels: you may, if you choose it." Whatever was the cause of the king's dissatisfaction, it seems probable, that he was mediating some change of measures, and had formed a new plan of administration. He was determined, it is thought, to send the duke to Scotland, to recal Monmouth, to summon a parliament, to dismiss

success in a cause or enterprize, proclaims it to be lawful and just: to pursue it is to comply with the will of God, because it is to follow the conduct of his providence." *Hobbes. Owen's Sermon before the Regicides*, Jan. 31, 1648. *Baxter. Jenkins's Pattern*, October, 1651.

"In the state of nature there is no difference between good and evil, right and wrong: the state of nature is a state of war, in which every man hath a right to all things."

"The foundation of civil authority is this natural right, which is not given, but left to the supreme magistrate, upon men's entering into societies: and not only a foreign invader, but a domestic rebel, puts himself again into a state of nature, to be proceeded against, not as a subject, but an enemy; and consequently acquires by his rebellion the same right over the life of his prince, as the prince for the most heinous crimes has over the lives of his own subjects."

"Every man, after his entering into a society, retains a right of defending himself against force; and cannot transfer that right to the commonwealth, when he consents to that union whereby that commonwealth is made: and in case a great many men together have already resisted the commonwealth, for which every one of them expecteth death, they have liberty then to join together, and assist and defend one another: their bearing of arms, subsequent to the first breach of their duty, though it be to maintain what they have done, is no new unjust act; and if it be only to defend their persons, it is not unjust at all."

"An oath superadds no obligation to parts, and a part obliges no farther than it is credited; and consequently, if a prince gives any indication, that he does not believe the promises of fealty and allegiance made by any of his subjects, they are thereby freed from their subjection; and notwithstanding their oaths and oaths, may lawfully rebel against and destroy their sovereign." *Hobbes de Civ. Leviathan*.

"The presbyterian government is the sceptre of Christ's kingdom, to which kings as well as others are bound to submit, and the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, as at-

serted by the church of England, is injurious to Christ, the sole king and head of the church." *Altare Damascenum. Apologet. Relat. Hist. of Indulgences. Cartwright, Traverser*.

"It is not lawful for superiors to impose any thing in the worship of God that is not antecedently necessary."

"The duty of not offending a weak brother, is inconsistent with all human authority of making laws concerning indifferent things." *Protestant Reconciler*.

"The example of Phineas, is, to us, instead of a command: for what God hath commanded or approved in one age, must needs oblige in all." *Goodman. Know. Naphtali*.

As all our readers may not be acquainted with the allusion to Phineas, in the last proposition, we shall here lay before them an account of it. Phineas was the son of Eleazer, and third high priest of the Jews. His zeal for the honour of God was very remarkable; when the Midianitish women came into the Hebrew camp to seduce them to uncleanness and idolatry, Phineas seeing one Zimri a prince of the Simeonites, lead Cozbi, the daughter of Zur, a prince of Midian, into his tent, followed them into the tent, and with a javelin thrust them both through the belly, in their very act of whoredom. To reward his zeal, God immediately stopped the plague which then raged among the Israelites, assigned the high priesthood to him and his family for many generations, and appointed him to attend the twelve thousand Israelites which punished the Midianites. See Numbers xxv. 6, 7, 8, &c. xxxi. 1—18. See also Psalm cvi. 30, 31. where we are told, that "Phineas stood up, and executed judgement: and so the plague was stayed. And that was counted unto him for righteousness unto all generations for evermore."

* In the month of November, this year, died prince Rupert, in the sixty-third year of his age. He had left his own country so early, that he had, as it were, become an entire Englishman, and was even suspected, in his latter days, of a bias to the country party. He was, for that reason, much neglected at court. The duke of Lauderdale died also this year.

all his unpopular ministers, and to throw himself entirely on the good will and affections of his subjects *. Amidst these truly wise and virtuous designs, he was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, he languished only for a few days, and then expired on the 6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

King Charles left no legitimate issue, but a numerous progeny in bastards. By his several mistresses he had the following children:

1. By Mrs. Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters, Esq. James, duke of Monmouth, beheaded on Tower-Hill, July 15, 1685. He married in 1665, Ann Scot, daughter of Francis, earl of Buckluth, in Scotland.

2. By Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew, viscountess Shannon, daughter of Sir William Killigrew, Charlott-Jemima-Henrietta-Maria-Fitz-roy, who died in 1684. Her husbands were James Howard, and Sir William Paston, earl of Yarmouth.

3. By Mrs. Catharine Peg, daughter of Thomas Peg, Esq. Charles Fitz-Roy, earl of Plymouth, commonly called Don Carlos; born 1685, killed October 17, 1680, at Tangier. He married Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas Osborne, duke of Leeds, who married afterwards Dr. Biss, bishop of Hereford.

4. By Mrs. Barbara Villiers, heiress of William viscount Grandison in Ireland, and wife of Roger Palmer, earl of Castlemain, created lady Non-such, countess of Southampton, and duchess of Cleveland, who died in 1709; he had three sons and three daughters. 1. Charles Fitz-Roy, born 1662, created 1675, duke of Southampton, and after his mother's death, duke of Cleveland. His wives were Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Wood, and Alice, daughter of Sir William Pultney. 2. Henry Fitz-Roy, duke of Grafton, born September 20, 1663, and killed October 9, 1690, at the siege of Cork, in Ireland. His wife was Isabella, daughter of Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, married after his death to Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. 3. George Fitz-Roy, duke of Northumberland, born December 20, 1665, who died July 8, 1716, without children. 4. Ann Fitz-Roy, born February 29, 1661, married in 1674, to Thomas Leonard, earl of Suffex. 5. Charlotte Fitz-Roy, born September 5, 1664, married February 20, 1676-7, to Sir Edward Henry Lee, earl of Litchfield. 6. Barbara, born July 16, 1672, who became a nun at Pontoise in France.

5. By Mrs. Eleanor Gwin, 1. Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Alban's, born May 8, 1670, who married Diana Vere, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Aubrey de Vere, the 20th and last earl of Oxford. 2. James Beauclerk, born December 25, 1671. He died in 1680 in France.

6. By Louise de Querouaille, duchess of Portsmouth, Charles Lenox, duke of Richmond and Lenox, born July 29, 1672, who died May 27, 1723. His wife was Ann, eldest daughter of Francis, lord Brudenel.

7. By Mrs. Mary Davis, Mary Tudor, born October 16, 1673, married in August 1687, to Francis, lord Ratcliff, earl of Derwentwater.

Charles was so happy in a good constitution of body, and had ever been so remarkably careful of his health, that his death struck as great a surprize into his subjects, as if he had been in the flower of his youth. And their great concern for him, owing to their affection for his person, as well as their dread of his successor, very naturally, when joined to the critical time of his death, begat the suspicion of poison. All circumstances, however, considered, this suspicion must be allowed to vanish; like many others, of which all histories are full. During the few days of the king's illness, clergymen of the church of England attended him; but he discovered

a total indifference towards their devotions and exhortations. Catholic priests were brought, and he received the sacrament from them, accompanied with the other rites of the Romish church. Two papers were found in his cabinet, written with his own hand, and containing arguments in favour of that communion. The duke had the imprudence immediately to publish these papers, and thereby both confirmed all the reproaches of those who had been the greatest enemies to his brother's measures, and afforded to the world a specimen of his own bigotry.

If we survey the character of Charles II. in the different lights, which it will admit of, it will appear various, and give rise to different and even opposite sentiments. When considered as a companion, he appears the most amiable and engaging of men; and indeed, in this view, his deportment must be allowed altogether unexceptionable. His love of raillery was so tempered with good breeding, that it was never offensive: his propensity to satire was so checked with discretion, that his friends never dreaded their becoming the object of it: his wit, to use the expression of one who knew him well, and who was himself a good judge †, could not be said so much to be very refined or elevated, (qualities apt to beget jealousies and apprehension in company,) as to be a plain, gaining, well-bred, recommending kind of wit. And though perhaps he talked more than strict rules of behaviour might permit, men were so pleased with the affable, communicative deportment of the monarch, that they always went away contented both with him and with themselves. This indeed is the most shining part of the king's character; and he seems to have been sensible of it: for he was fond of dropping the formality of state, and of relapsing every moment into the companion. In the duties of private life his conduct was not free from exception; yet he was an easy, generous lover, a civil, obliging husband, a friendly brother, an indulgent father, and a good-natured master. He was profuse, thoughtless, and negligent; and his character as a sovereign, though not altogether destitute of virtue, was, in the main, dangerous to the people, and dishonourable to himself. Negligent of the interests of the nation, careless of its glory, averse to its religion, jealous of its liberty, lavish of its treasure, sparing only of its blood; he exposed it by his measures, though he ever appeared but in sport, to the danger of a furious civil war, and even to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conquest. It has been remarked of Charles, that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one: a censure which, though carried too far, seems to have some foundation in his character and deportment. When the king was informed of this saying, he observed, that the matter was easily accounted for; for that his discourse was his own, his actions were the ministry's.

CHAP. VI.

JAMES II.

ON the death of Charles II. his brother, the duke of York, ascended the throne. He had been bred a papist by his mother, and was strongly bigoted to his principles. It is the property of that religion almost ever to contract the sphere of the understanding; and until people are in some measure disengaged from its prejudices, it is impossible to lay a just claim to extensive views, or consistency of design. The intellects of this prince were naturally weak; and the education he had received rendered him still more feeble. He therefore conceived the impracticable project of reigning in the arbitrary manner of his predecessor, and of changing the established religion of his country, at a time when his person was hated, and the established religion pas-

* King James's Memoirs confirm this rumour; as also D'Avaux's Negotiations, Dec. 14, 1684.

† The marquis of Halifax.

tionately loved. The people, though they despised the administration of his predecessor, yet they loved the king. They were willing to bear with the faults of one whose whole behaviour was a continued instance of affability; but they were by no means willing to grant the same indulgence to James, as they knew he was gloomy, proud, bigoted, and cruel. His reign began with acts of imprudence. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, that had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James, without a new act for that purpose. He likewise went openly to mass with all the ensigns of his dignity, and even sent one Caryl as his agent to Rome, to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the catholic church*. These were but inauspicious symptoms in the very beginning of his reign; but the progress no way fell short of the commencement.

Notwithstanding the king's prejudices, all the chief offices of the crown continued still in the hands of protestants. Rochester was treasurer; his brother Clarendon chamberlain; Godolphin chamberlain to the queen; Sunderland secretary of state; Halifax president of the council. This nobleman had stood in opposition to James during the latter years of his brother's reign; and when he attempted, on the accession, to make some apology for his late measures, the king told him, that he would forget every thing past, except his behaviour during the bill of exclusion. On other occasions, however, James appeared not of so forgiving a temper. When the principal exclusionists came to pay their respects to their new sovereign, they either were not admitted, or were received very coldly, sometimes even with frowns. This conduct might suit the character, which the king so much affected, of sincerity; but by shewing, that a king of England could resent the quarrels of a duke of York, he gave his people no high idea either of his lenity or magnanimity.

He had long before the beginning of his reign, had an intrigue with Mrs. Sedley, whom he afterwards created countess of Dorchester; but being told, that as he was to convert his people, the sanctity of his manners ought to correspond with his professions, Mrs. Sedley was discarded, and he resigned himself to the advice of the queen, who was as much governed by priests as himself. From the suggestions of these men, and particularly the jesuits, all measures were taken. One day when the Spanish ambassador, Ronquillo, ventured to advise his majesty against placing too much confidence in such kind of people; "Is it not the custom in Spain, said James, for the king to consult with his confessor?" "Yes, answered the ambassador, and that is the reason our affairs succeed so very ill." But though his actions might serve to demonstrate his aims, yet his first parliament, which met the 19th of May, 1685, and which was mostly composed of zealous Tories, was strongly biased to comply with all the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously that they would settle on the present king during life, all the revenues enjoyed by the late king until the time of his decease. For this favour, James assured them of his resolution to secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no answer could be extorted from him with regard to religion, for that he was secretly resolved to alter. To pave the way for his intended conversion of the kingdom, it was necessary to undeceive them with regard to the late rumour of a popish plot; and Oates, the contriver, was the first object of royal indignation. A little before the meeting of parliament, Oates had been tried for perjury on two indictments. One for deposing that he was present at a consultation of jesuits in London, the 24th of April,

1679; another for deposing that father Ireland was in London between the 8th and 12th of August, and in the beginning of September in the same year. Never criminal was convicted on fuller and more undoubted evidence. Two and twenty persons, who had been students at St. Omer's, most of them men of credit and family, gave evidence, that Oates had entered into that seminary about Christmas in the year 1678, and had never been absent but one night, till the month of July following. Forty-seven witnesses, persons also of untainted character, deposed, that father Ireland, on the 3d of August, 1679, had gone to Staffordshire; where he resided till the middle of September; and, what some years before would have been regarded as a very material circumstance, nine of these witnesses were protestants, of the church of England. Oates's sentence was, to be fined a thousand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. The impudence of the man supported itself under the conviction, and his courage under the punishment. He made solemn appeals to Heaven, and protestations of the veracity of his testimony: though the whipping was so cruel, that it was evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that punishment, he was enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover; and he lived to king William's reign, when a pension of four hundred pounds a-year was settled on him. A considerable number still adhered to him in his distresses, and regarded him as the martyr of the protestant cause. The populace were affected with the sight of a punishment, more severe than is commonly inflicted in England. And the sentence of perpetual imprisonment was deemed illegal. The conviction of Oates's perjury was taken notice of by the peers. Besides freeing the popish lords, Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Tyrone, together with Danby, from the former impeachment by the commons, they went so far as to vote a reversal of Stafford's attainder, on account of the falsehood of that evidence on which he had been condemned†.

The next that fell a sacrifice to the catholics, not long after Oates, was Thomas Dangerfield, the person that discovered the pretended Meal-Tub-Plot, which he had laid to the charge of the protestants. But afterwards not being able to make good before the council what he had deposed, he confessed that he was set on to contrive this fiction by the countess of Powis and popish lords in the Tower. Moreover he had published a narrative of all the secret practices made use of as well to corrupt him, as to render the plot probable. As he owned that he had received money from the late king and the duke of York, the last would never suffer such an offence to go unpunished, when he came to be king. Dangerfield therefore was committed to prison, and indicted for publishing a scandalous libel. He was tried and brought in guilty by the jury, after which he received judgement at the King's Bench bar, "That he should stand twice in the pillory, that he should be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn on another, and should pay a fine of five hundred pounds." The scourging was executed with rigour, though with less cruelty than on Oates. The second day Dangerfield, after the whipping was over, being in a coach against Hatton-Garden, one Robert Frances, a barrister of Gray's-Inn, came up to the coach side, and using some insulting expressions, Dangerfield returned a reproachful answer. Frances having a small cane in his hand, thrust it into his eyes with all his force, which in two hours put an end to his life. Frances was condemned to be hanged

* The pope, Innocent the XIth, prudently advised the king not to be too precipitate in his measures, nor rashly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was impracticable.

† This bill fixed so deep a reproach on the former proceedings of the exclusionists, that it met with great opposition among the lords; and it was at last, after one reading, dropped by the commons.

for the deed, and executed accordingly; the king, though strongly solicited for a pardon, not thinking proper to let such a crime go unpunished.

Richard Baxter, a presbyterian minister, famous for his voluminous writings during the troubles, in favour of religion, against the church of England, was the third instance of the *gentleness* of the new government. As he could not be proceeded against for the books he had published during the troubles, by reason of the act of indemnity, occasion was taken to prosecute him for a late book, intitled, "A Paraphrase on the New Testament," wherein it was pretended were several seditious passages, and highly reflecting on the bishops. Baxter being brought before the *humane* Jefferies at the King's Bench bar, moved that farther time might be allowed him for his trial; whereupon Jefferies with his usual *moderation*, cried out, "I will not give him a minute's time more to save his life: we have had to do with other persons, but now we have a saint to deal with; and I know how to deal with saints as well as sinners. Yonder, said he, stands Oates in the pillory, and says, he suffers for the truth, and so says Baxter; but if Baxter did but stand on the other side of the pillory with him, I would say there stood two of the greatest rogues and rascals in the kingdom." In this manner did the judge prepare the jury before any evidence was heard. It would be needless to insert the particulars of the charge and Baxter's defence. The point was only to know whether certain passages of his late book could be applied to the prelates of the church of England, or were solely designed against those of the church of Rome. Baxter's council* urged, that without a forced construction, none of them could be applied against the bishops of the church of England. The whole process turned upon this point. But it will not be superfluous to shew the passion and partiality of Jefferies in this, as in other matters. Baxter alledged in his defence, "That he had been so moderate with respect to the church of England, and had spoken so honourably of the bishops, that he had incurred the censure of many of the dissenters upon that account." Jefferies, laying aside on this occasion the office of a judge to turn evidence, affirmed, "That Baxter was an enemy to the name and thing, the office and persons of bishops;" and severely reprimanded the council, probably for defending their cause too well. Then, speaking to Baxter, he said, "Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave, thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of sedition, I might say treason, as an egg is full of meat. Hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the Gospel of Peace, and thou hath one foot in the grave; it is time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give. But leave thee to thyself, and I see thou'lt go on as thou hast begun; but by the grace of God I will look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty don, and a doctor of the party [Dr. Bates] at your elbow; but by the grace of Almighty God I will crush you all." The same lord chief justice in summing up the evidence said, "It is notoriously known, that there has been a design to ruin the king and the nation, and this has been the main incendiary: he is as modest now as can be; but time was when no man was so ready at *bind your kings in chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron; and to your tents, O Israel!* Gentlemen, for God's sake don't let us be gulled twice in an age." It manifestly appears from these last words of Jefferies, that Baxter's book was only a pretence made use of to

punish him for what he had done during the troubles. However this be, such was the *impartial* manner in which this judge directed the jury. Baxter being found guilty, was condemned to pay a fine of five hundred marks; to be in prison till he paid it; and to be bound to his good behaviour for seven years.

The parliamentary proceedings were interrupted by the news of Monmouth's arrival in the west with three ships from Holland. No sooner was this intelligence conveyed to the parliament, than they voted that they would adhere to his majesty with their lives and fortunes. They passed a bill of attainder against Monmouth; and they granted a supply of four hundred thousand pounds for suppressing his rebellion. Having thus strengthened the hands of the king, they adjourned themselves.

Monmouth, when ordered to depart the kingdom, during the late reign, had retired to Holland; and as it was well known that he still enjoyed the favour of his indulgent father, all marks of honour and distinction were bestowed upon him by the prince of Orange. After the accession of James, the prince thought it necessary to dismiss Monmouth and all his followers; and that illustrious fugitive retired to Brussels. Finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he was pushed, contrary to his judgement as well as inclination, to make a rash and premature attempt upon England. This attempt was not liked by Monmouth; but such was the impatience of his followers, and such the precipitate humour of Argyle, who set out for Scotland a little before him, that no reasons could be attended to; and this unhappy man was driven upon his fate. The imprudence, however, of this enterprize did not at first appear; though on his landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire, he had scarcely a hundred followers; so popular was his name, that in four days he had assembled above two thousand horse and foot. They were, indeed, almost all of them, the lowest of the people: and the declaration which he published, was chiefly calculated to suit the prejudices of the vulgar, or the most bigoted of the whig-party. He called the king duke of York; and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, an assassin, and a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and Essex; nay the poisoning of the late king. And he invited all the people to join in opposition to his tyranny.

The duke of Albemarle, son to him who had restored the royal family, assembled the militia of Devonshire to the number of four thousand men, and took post at Axminster, in order to oppose the rebels; but observing that his troops bore a great affection to Monmouth, he thought proper to retire. Monmouth, though he had formerly given many proofs of personal courage, had not the vigour of mind requisite for an undertaking of this nature. From an ill-grounded diffidence of his men, he neglected to attack Albemarle; an easy enterprize, by which he might both have acquired credit, and have supplied himself with arms. Lord Gray, who commanded his horse, discovered himself to be a notorious coward; yet such was the softness of Monmouth's nature, that Gray was still continued in his command. Fletcher of Saltown†, a Scotchman, a man of signal probity and fine genius, had been engaged by his republican principles in this enterprize, and commanded the cavalry together with Gray: but being insulted by one who had newly joined the army, and whose horse he had in a hurry made use of, he was prompted by passion, to which he was much subject, to discharge a pistol at the man: and he killed him on the spot. This incident obliged him immediately to leave the camp; and the loss of so great an officer was a

* Baxter's council were Wallop, Williams, Rotherham, Atwood, and Phipps, all retained by Sir Henry Ashurst, who had a particular respect for Baxter. It may be noted of Baxter, that soon after the reformation he refused the bishopric of Hereford, and when turned out of his living, with the rest, sent back a pension of a hundred pounds a year offered him by

the king. He frequently attended divine service in the church of England, went to the sacrament, and persuaded others to do the same.

† The earl of Buchan has lately published some anecdotes of this famous person.

Engraved for Ashburton's History of England.



The Duke of Monmouth exchanging Cloaths with a Shepherd to conceal himself after his defeat at the battle of Tewkesbury - 1685.

great prejudice to Monmouth's enterprize. The next station of the rebels was Taunton, in Somersetshire, a disaffected town, which gladly and even fondly received them, and reinforced them with considerable numbers. Twenty young maids of some rank presented Monmouth with a pair of colours of their handiwork, together with a copy of the Bible. Monmouth was here persuaded to take upon him the title of king, and assert the legitimacy of his birth; a claim which he advanced in his first declaration, but whose discussion he was determined, he then said, during some time to postpone. His numbers had now increased to six thousand; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss a great many who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, Frome; and was proclaimed in all those places: but forgetting that such desperate enterprizes can only be rendered successful by the most adventurous courage, he allowed the expectations of the people to languish without attempting any considerable undertaking.

While Monmouth, by his imprudence and misplaced caution, was thus wasting time in the west, the king employed himself in making preparations to oppose him. Six regiments of British troops were called over from Holland; the army was considerably augmented; and regular forces, to the number of three thousand men, were dispatched under the command of Feversham and Churchill, in order to check the progress of the rebels. Monmouth, observing that no considerable men joined him, finding that an insurrection, which was projected in the city, had not taken place, and hearing that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated and taken; sunk into such despondence, that he had once resolved to withdraw himself, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate. His followers expressed more courage than their leader, and seemed determined to adhere to him in every fortune. The negligent disposition, made by Feversham, invited Monmouth to attack the king's army at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; and his men in this action shewed what a native courage and a principle of duty, even when unassisted by discipline, is able to perform. They threw the veteran forces into disorder, drove them from their ground; continued the fight till their ammunition failed them; and would at last have obtained a victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Gray prevented it. After a combat of three hours the rebels gave way; and were followed with great slaughter. About fifteen hundred fell in the battle and pursuit*. Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him. He then changed cloaths with a peasant, in order to conceal himself. The peasant was discovered by the pursuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their search. At last, the unhappy Monmouth was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, and covered with fern; his body depressed with fatigue and hunger; his mind by the memory of past misfortunes, by the prospect of future disasters. Human nature is unequal to such calamitous situations; much more, the temper of a man, softened by early prosperity, and accustomed to value himself solely on military bravery. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies; and he seemed still to indulge the fond hope and desire of life. Though he might have known, from the greatness of his own offences, and the severity of James's temper, that no mercy could be expected, he wrote him the most submissive letters, and conjured him to spare the issue of a brother, who had ever been so strongly attached to his interests. James, finding such symptoms of depression and despondency in the unhappy prisoner admitted him to his presence, in hopes of extorting a discovery of his accomplices: but Monmouth would not purchase life, however loved, at the price of so much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he assumed

courage from despair, and prepared himself for death, with a spirit better suited to his rank and character. The favourite of the people was attended to the scaffold with a plentiful effusion of tears, on the 15th of the same month: He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to repeat the blow. This precaution served only to dismay the executioner. He struck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raised his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a second time; and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He then threw aside the axe, and cried out that he was incapable of finishing the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was severed from the body. Thus perished, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, a nobleman, who, in less turbulent times, was well qualified to be an ornament of the court, even to be serviceable to his country. The favour of his prince, the caresses of faction, and the allurements of popularity, seduced him into enterprizes which exceeded his capacity. The good-will of the people still followed him in every fortune. Even after his execution, their fond credulity flattered them with hopes of seeing him once more at their head. They believed that the person executed was not Monmouth, but one who, having the fortune to resemble him nearly, was willing to give this proof of his extreme attachment, and to suffer death in his stead.

This victory, obtained by the king in the commencement of his reign, would naturally, had it been managed with prudence, have tended much to increase his power and authority. But by reason of the cruelty with which it was prosecuted, and of the temerity with which it afterwards inspired him, it was a principal cause of his sudden and just ruin and downfall. Such arbitrary principles had the court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged about twenty prisoners; and was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him, that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. This remonstrance, however, did not stop the savage nature of colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and had contracted, from his intercourse with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European and in free countries. At his first entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen prisoners, without the least enquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the king's health, or the queen's, or that of chief-justice Jefferies. Observing their feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them music to their dancing; and he immediately commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, questioning him at each interval, whether he repented of his crime: but the man obstinately asserting, that, notwithstanding the past, he still would willingly engage in the same cause, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One story commonly told of him, is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, which attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with desire, not softened into love or clemency. He promised to grant her request, provided that she, in her turn, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions: but, after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage, next morning, shewed her, from the window, her brother,

* This battle was fought on the 5th of July, 1685; and thus was concluded in a few weeks this enterprize, rashly un-

dertaken, and feebly conducted.

the

the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there erected for the execution. Rage, despair, and indignation took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses *. All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiery were let loose to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a particular manner by their outrages. By way of pleasantry, he used to call the most inhuman of his mercenaries his *lambs*; an appellation which was long remembered with horror in the west of England. These unparalleled barbarities, without doubt, made Kirke taken notice of, and rendered him worthy to be an assistant to Jefferies.

The violent Jefferies succeeded after some interval; and shewed the people, that the rigours of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wanted in cruelty, had already given a specimen of his character in many trials, where he presided; and he now set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. He began at Dorchester; and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to save him, by their free confession, the trouble of trying them: and when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional punishment of their disobedience, to be led to immediate execution. Most of the other prisoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no less than two hundred and ninety-two received sentence at Dorchester. Of these, eighty were executed. Exeter was the next stage of his cruelty: two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He also opened his commission at Taunton and Wells; and every where carried consternation along with him. The juries were so struck with his menaces, that they gave their verdicts with precipitation; and many innocent persons were indubitably involved with the guilty. And on the whole, besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almost beheld the dead carcase of a wretched in-

habitant. And all the rigours of justice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully displayed to the people by the inhuman Jefferies †.

It might have been hoped, that, by all these bloody executions, a rebellion, so precipitate, so ill supported, and of such short duration, would have been sufficiently expiated: but nothing could satiate the spirit of rigour which possessed the administration. Even those multitudes, who received pardon, were obliged to atone for their guilt by fines, which reduced them to beggary; or where their former poverty made them incapable of paying, they were condemned to cruel whippings, or severe imprisonments. Nor could the innocent escape the hands, no less rapacious than cruel, of the chief-justice. Prideaux, a gentleman of Devonshire, being thrown into prison, and dreading the severe and arbitrary spirit, which at that time met with no control, was obliged to buy his liberty of Jefferies at the price of fifteen thousand pounds; though he could never so much as learn the crime of which he was accused. Goode-nough, the seditious under-sheriff of London, who had been engaged in the most bloody and desperate part of the Rye-House conspiracy, was taken prisoner after the battle of Sedgemoor, and resolved to save his own life by an accusation of Cornish, the sheriff, whom he knew to be extremely noxious to the court. Colonel Rumsey joined him in the accusation; and the prosecution was so hastened, that the prisoner was tried, condemned, and executed in the space of a week. The perjury of the witnesses appeared immediately after; and the king seemed to regret the execution of Cornish. He granted his estate to the family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment ‡.

James now began to throw off all disguise; and in the house of commons, by his speech, he seemed to think himself exempted from all rules of prudence, or necessity of dissimulation. He told the house, that the militia were found by experience to be of no use; that it was necessary to augment the standing army; and that he had employed a great many catholic officers, in whose favour he had thought proper to dispense with the test, required to be taken by all entrusted by the crown: he found them useful, he said, and he was determined to keep them employed §. Within a few days after the address of the commons had been presented,

* Pomfret's admirable poetical Essay on this inhuman treachery, is too long for admission into this work; but is nevertheless worthy of perusal, though the story be told in a different manner, and with more aggravating circumstances.

† Of all the executions, during this dismal period, the most remarkable were those of Mrs. Gaunt and lady Lisle, who had been accused of harbouring traitors. Mrs. Gaunt was an anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane disposition, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. Hearing of the proclamation, which offered an indemnity and rewards to such as discovered criminals; he betrayed his benefactress, and bore evidence against her. He received pardon as a recompence for his treachery; she was burned alive for her charity! Lady Lisle was widow of one of the regicides who had enjoyed great favour and authority under Cromwell, and who having fled, after the restoration, to Lauzanne in Switzerland, was there assassinated by three Irish ruffians, who hoped to make their fortune by this piece of service. His widow was now prosecuted for harbouring two rebels the day after the battle of Sedgemoor; and Jefferies pushed on the trial with an unrelenting violence. Those persons she was said to have concealed were Mr. Hicks, a presbyterian minister, and one Nelthorpe, who was a stranger to her. In vain did the aged prisoner plead, that these criminals had been put into no proclamation; had been convicted by no verdict; nor could any man be denominated a traitor, till the sentence of some legal court was passed upon him: that it appeared not by any proof, that she was so much as acquainted with the guilt of the persons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth: that though she might be noxious on account of her family, it was well known, that her heart was ever loyal, and that no person in England had shed more tears for that tragical event, in which her husband had unfortunately borne too great a share:

and that the same principles, which she herself had ever embraced, she had carefully instilled into her son, and had, at that very time, sent him to fight against those rebels, whom she was now accused of harbouring. The jury not satisfied with the evidence, brought her in not guilty. But Jefferies in great fury, sent them out again. They found her not guilty three times: but Jefferies threatening them with an attain of jury, she was brought in guilty, and executed accordingly, being above seventy years old. The king said, that he had given Jefferies a promise not to pardon her: an excuse which could serve only to aggravate the blame against himself!

‡ The injustice of this sentence against Cornish, was not wanted to disgust the nation with the court: the continued rigour of the other executions had already impressed an universal hatred against the ministers of justice, attended with compassion for the unhappy sufferers, who, as they had been seduced into this crime by mistaken principles, bore their punishment with the spirit and zeal of martyrs. The people might have been willing on this occasion to distinguish between the king and his ministers: but care was taken to prove, that the latter had done nothing but what was agreeable to their master. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately, for those eminent services, created a peer; and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor.

§ The commons thought, therefore, that on this occasion it was necessary to set some bounds to passive obedience, though till now this doctrine had been maintained without any limitation, because it was depended upon that the king would not attack religion and the laws. One of the members speaking on this subject, represented in a very strong manner, "That his majesty on his first accession to the crown told them, he had been misrepresented, and that he would preserve the government of the church and state now established by law, and maintain them in all their just rights and privileges: that over-

vented, the king finding it would be difficult to get the commons to comply with his desires concerning the popish officers, prorogued the parliament till the 10th of February, after a session of but eleven days. The king lost, by the prorogation, the seven hundred thousand pounds voted by the commons. But he did not want it, considering the vast sums they had liberally granted him. This prorogation, which was followed by several others, and at length by the dissolution of the parliament, the last in this reign, is a clear demonstration of two things: first, that the king considered the affair of the popish officers in the army as a thing of great moment, since he chose rather to lose seven hundred thousand pounds, than have his pretended right to employ them contested by the parliament; the second thing is, the excessive compliance shewed the king by the commons, in enabling him to keep up an army, employ popish officers, and in a word, to have no occasion for a parliament: for, from hence sprung all the evils which afflicted England during the rest of this reign. These stretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into some degree of opposition; but they soon acquiesced in the king's measures, and then the parliament was dissolved for their tardy compliance. This was happy for the nation; for it was perhaps impossible to pick out another house of commons, that could be more ready to acquiesce in the measures of the crown.

The parliament being dismissed, the king began the year 1686, with endeavouring to secure a catholic interest in the privy-council. Accordingly four catholic lords were admitted; Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover. The king made no secret of his desires to have his courtiers converted to his own religion; Sunderland, who saw that the only way to preferment was by popery, scrupled not to gain favour at that price. Rochester, the treasurer, was turned out of his office, because he refused to conform. In these schemes, James was entirely governed by the counsels of the queen, and of his confessor, father Peters, a jesuit whom he soon after

created a privy-counsellor. Even in Ireland, where the duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause, this nobleman was displaced as being a protestant; and lord Tyrconnel, a furious Roman catholic, was placed in his stead. The king one day in his attempts to convert his subjects, stooped so low as colonel Kirke; but this daring soldier told him that he was pre-engaged, for he had promised the king of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangiers, that if he ever changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

It could not be expected that the favour shewn by James to the catholics, would be tamely borne by the members of the English church. They had hitherto, indeed, supported the king against his republican enemies, and to their assistance he chiefly owed his crown; but finding his partialities to the catholics, the clergy of the church of England began to take the alarm, and commenced an opposition to court-measures. The pulpits now thundered against popery, and it was urged, that it was more formidable from the support granted it by the king. It was in vain that James attempted to impose silence on these topics; instead of avoiding the controversy, the protestant preachers pursued it with still greater warmth. Among those who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was one doctor Sharpe, a clergyman of London, who declaimed with just severity against those who had changed their religion, by such arguments as the popish missionaries were able to produce. This being supposed to reflect upon the king, gave great offence at court; and positive orders were given to the bishop of London to suspend Sharpe till his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The bishop refused to comply; and the king resolved to punish the bishop himself for disobedience. To effect his designs, he determined to revive the high-commission court, which had given the nation so much disgust in the times of his father; and which had been for ever abolished by act of parliament. But the laws were no obstacle to James, when they combated his inclination. An ecclesiastical commission was issued out anew, by

joyed at this, they run hastily to him, and were so forward to give, that the king's ministers put their stop to it: that they ought not to forget that there was a bill of exclusion debated in that house; and that the arguments for it were, that they should, in case of a popish successor, have a popish army: that they saw the act of the test already broken; but prayed them to remember what the late lord chancellor told them when king Charles passed that act; said he, you are provided against popery, that no papist can possibly creep into any employment: that he was greatly afflicted at the breach of their liberties, and seeing so great a difference between his last speech, and those heretofore made, he could not believe but this was made by some other advice: that what the thing struck at there was their all; and that he wondered there had been any men so desperate, as to take any employment without being qualified for it: and concluded to have a standing army voted to be destructive to the country." During these debates the court-party were not idle. They represented with great strength, the inconveniencies of not complying with the king's desires. The result was the appointing a committee to draw up the following address, which was presented to the king the 17th of November.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We your majesty's loyal and most faithful subjects, the commons in parliament assembled, do, in the first place, as in duty bound, return your majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your great care and conduct in suppressing the late rebellion, which threatened the overthrow of this government both in church and state, to the extirpation of our religion as by law established, which is most dear to us, and which your majesty hath been pleased to give us REPEATED ASSURANCES you will always defend and maintain; which, with all grateful hearts, we shall ever acknowledge. We further crave leave to acquaint your majesty, that we have with all duty and readiness taken into our consideration your majesty's gracious speech to us: and to that part of it relating to the officers of the army, not qualified for their employments, according to an act of parliament made in the 25th year of the reign of your royal brother, entitled, An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants; we do out of our bounden duty, humbly represent unto your majesty,

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that these officers cannot by law be capable of their employments; and that the incapacities they bring upon themselves that way, can no way be taken off but by an act of parliament: therefore out of that great reverence and duty we owe unto your majesty, who have been graciously pleased to take notice of their services to your majesty, we are preparing a bill in both houses, for your royal assent, to indemnify them from the penalties they have incurred: and because the continuing them in their employments, may be taken to be a dispensing with that law, without an act of parliament, the consequences of which is of the greatest concern to the rights of your majesty's subjects, and to all the laws made for the securing of their religion: we therefore, the knights, citizens, and burgeses of your majesty's house of commons, do most humbly beseech your majesty, that you would be most graciously pleased to give such directions therein, that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your majesty's most loyal subjects."

This address being represented to the king by the speaker, attended by the whole house, his majesty gave them this answer:

"Gentlemen,

"I did not expect such an address from the house of commons: for having so lately recommended to your consideration the great advantage a good understanding between us had produced in a very short time, and given you warning of fears and jealousies amongst ourselves; I had reason to hope, that the reputation God had blessed us with in the world, would have sealed and confirmed a good confidence to you for me, and of all that I say to you. But, however, you proceed on your part, I will be steady in all my PROMISES I have made you, and be just in my word in this, and all my other speeches."

This answer, though pretty obscure, surprized the commons to such a degree, that when it was read in the house, they kept a deep silence for a considerable while. At last it was moved by one of the members, that a particular day might be appointed to consider of the king's answer. This motion was seconded by Mr. Coke, [burgess for Derby] who added, he hoped they were all true Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of their duty by a few hard words. Rapin, book xxiv.

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which seven commissioners were invested with a full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. This was a blow to the church which alarmed the kingdom; and could the authority of this court take place, the king's intentions of converting the nation would naturally follow. Before this tribunal the bishop was summoned; and not only he, but Sharpe, the preacher, were suspended for some time.

The next step was to allow a liberty of conscience to all sectaries; and he was taught to believe, that the truth of the catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. In such a case, the same power that granted liberty of conscience, might restrain it; and the catholic religion alone to be then permitted to predominate. He therefore issued a declaration of general indulgence, and asserted, that nonconformity to the established religion was no longer penal. In order to procure a favourable reception to this edict, he began by paying court to the dissenters, as if it had been principally intended for their benefit. But that sect was too suspicious to be so easily deceived. They knew that the king only meant to establish his own religion, at the expence of theirs; and that both his own temper, and the genius of popery, had nothing of the true spirit of toleration in them. They dissembled, however, their distrust for a while; and the king went on silently applauding himself on the success of his schemes. But his measures were caution itself in England, compared with those which were carried on in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration to the catholics only, without ever attempting to intercede for the dissenters, who were much more numerous. In Ireland, the protestants were totally expelled from all offices of trust and profit, and the catholics were put in their places. Tyrconnel, who was vested with full authority there, carried over as chancellor one Fitton, a man who had been taken from a jail; and who had been convicted for forgery and other crimes. This man, a zealous catholic, was heard to say from the bench, "That all protestants were rogues; and that there was not one among forty thousand that was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain." These severe measures had sufficiently disgusted every part of the British empire; but to complete his work, for James did nothing by halves, he publicly sent the earl of Castlemaine, ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never was there so much contempt thrown upon an embassy that was so boldly undertaken. The court of Rome expected but little success from measures so blindly conducted. They were sensible that the king was openly striking at those laws and opinions which it was his business to undermine in silence and security. The cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, that the king should be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England. The only proof of complaisance which the king received from his holiness, was his sending a nuncio into England, in return for the embassy that was sent to him. This failed not to add to the general discontent; and people supposed, that he could never be so rash as, contrary to express act of parliament, to admit of a communication with the pope. But what was their surprize, when they saw the nuncio make his public and solemn entry into Windsor; and because the duke of Somerset refused to attend the ceremony, he was dismissed from his employment of one of the lords of the bed-chamber. This, however, was but the beginning of his attempts. The jesuits soon after were permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom; they exercised the catholic worship in the most public manner; and four catholic bishops, consecrated in the king's chapel, were sent through the kingdom to exercise their episcopal functions, under the title of Apostolic Vicars. Their pastoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and distributed through all parts of the kingdom. The monks appeared at court in the

habits of their orders, and a great number of priests and friars arrived in England. Every great office the crown had to bestow, was gradually transferred from the protestants: Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in-law, though they had been ever faithful to his interests, were, because protestants, dismissed from their employments. The violent Jefferies himself, though he had sacrificed justice and humanity to the court; yet, because he refused also to give up his religion, was declining in favour and interest. Nothing now remained but to open the door of the church and universities to the intrusion of the catholics, and this effort was soon after begun.

Father Francis, a benedictine monk, was recommended by the king to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts; but his religion was a stumbling block which the university could not get over; and they presented a petition, beseeching the king to recall his mandate. Their petition was disregarded, their deputies denied an hearing: the vice-chancellor himself was summoned to appear before the high-commission court, and deprived of his office; yet the university persisted, and father Francis was refused. The king thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretensions.

The attempt upon the university of Oxford was prosecuted with more inflexible obstinacy, and was attended with more important consequences. This university had lately, in their famous decree, made a solemn profession of passive obedience; and the court probably expected, that they would shew their sincerity, when their turn came to practise that doctrine; which, though if carried to the utmost extent, it be contrary both to reason and to nature, is apt to meet with more effectual opposition from the latter principle. The president of Magdalen College, one of the richest foundations in Europe, dying about this time, a mandate was sent in favour of Farmer, a new convert, but one who, besides his being a catholic, had not, in other respects, the qualifications required by the statutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college made submissive applications to the king for recalling his mandate; but before they received an answer, the day came, on which, by the statutes, they were obliged to proceed to an election. They chose Dr. Hough, a man of virtue, as well as of the firmness and vigour requisite for maintaining his own rights, and those of the university. In order to punish the college for this contumacy, as it was called, an inferior ecclesiastical commission was sent down, and the new president and the fellows were cited before it. So little regard had been paid to any consideration, besides religion, that Farmer, on enquiry, was found guilty of the lowest and most scandalous vices; insomuch that even the ecclesiastical commissioners were ashamed to insist on his election. A new mandate, therefore, was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of a profligate character, but who, like Farmer, atoned for all his vices, by his avowed willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The college represented, that all presidents had ever been appointed by election, and there were few instances of the king's interposing by his recommendation in favour of any candidate; that having already made regular election of a president, they could not deprive him of his office, and, during his life-time, substitute any other in his place; that, even if there were a vacancy, Parker, by the statutes of their founder, could not be chosen; that they had all of them bound themselves by oath to observe these statutes, and never on any account to accept of a dispensation; and that the college had at all times so much distinguished itself by its loyalty, and nothing but the most invincible necessity could now oblige them to oppose his majesty's inclinations. All these reasons availed them nothing. The president and all these fellows, except two* who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in possession of the office. This act of violence, of all those which were committed during the reign of James, is perhaps the most illegal and

* Charnock, one of these two, was made vice-president.

and arbitrary. When the dispensing power was the most strenuously insisted on by court lawyers, it had still been allowed, that the statutes which regard private property, could not legally be infringed by that prerogative. Yet in this instance it appeared, that even these were not now secure from invasion. The privileges of a college are attacked: men are illegally dispossessed of their property, for adhering to their duty, to their oaths, and to their religion: the fountains of the church are attempted to be poisoned; nor would it be long, it was concluded, before all ecclesiastical, as well as civil preferments, would be bestowed on such as, negligent of honour, virtue, and sincerity, basely sacrificed their faith to the reigning superstition. Such were the general sentiments; and as the universities have an intimate connection with the ecclesiastical establishments, and mightily interest all those who have there received their education, this arbitrary proceeding begat an universal discontent against the king's administration.

The next measure of the court was an insult still more open on the ecclesiastics, and rendered the breach between the king and that powerful body fatal, as well as incurable. It is strange that James, when he fell from the sentiments of his own heart, what a mighty influence religious zeal had over him, should yet be so infatuated, as never once to suspect that it might possibly have a proportionable authority over his subjects. Could he have profited by repeated experience, he had seen instances enough of their strong aversion to that communion, which, from a violent, imperious temper, he was determined, by every possible expedient, to introduce into his kingdoms.

The king published, in 1688, a second declaration of indulgence, almost in the same terms with the for-

mer; and he subjoined an order, that immediately after divine service, it should be read by the clergy in all the churches. As they were known universally to disapprove of the use made of the suspending power, this clause; they thought, could be meant only as an insult upon them; and they were sensible, that, by their compliance, they should expose themselves, both to public contempt, on account of their tame behaviour, and to public hatred, by their indirectly patronising so noxious a prerogative*. They were determined, therefore, almost universally to preserve the regard of the people; their only protection, while the laws were become of so little validity, and while the court was so deeply engaged in opposite interests. In order to encourage them in this resolution, six prelates, namely, Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawney, of Bristol, met privately with the primate, and concerted the form of a petition to the king. They there represent in few words, that, though possessed of the highest sense of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given such eminent testimonies; and though desirous of affording ease, in a legal way, to all protestant dissenters; yet, because the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties, as the distribution of it all over the kingdom would be interpreted to amount to. They therefore besought the king, that he would not insist upon their reading that declaration†. The king was incapable not only of yielding to the greatest opposition, but of allowing the slightest and most respectful contradiction to pass uncensured. He immediately embraced a resolution, (and his

* When Charles dissolved his last parliament, he set forth a declaration, giving his reasons for that measure, and this declaration the clergy had been ordered to read to the people after divine service. These orders were agreeable to their party prejudices, and they willingly submitted to them. The contrary was now the case.

† We shall here present our readers with a copy of this second declaration, and also of the address of the above-mentioned prelates.

SECOND DECLARATION for LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE.

"*James Rex*,—Our conduct has been such in all times, as ought to have persuaded the world, that we are firm and constant to our resolutions: yet that easy people may not be abused by the malice of crafty and wicked men, we think it fit to declare, that our intentions are not changed since the 4th of April, 1687, when we issued out our Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in the following terms (here the declaration was recited *verbatim*, and then it follows;) ever since we granted this indulgence, we have made it our principal care to see it preserved without distinction, as we are encouraged to do daily by a multitude of addresses, and many other assurances we receive from our subjects of all persuasions, as testimonies of their satisfaction and duty; the effects of which we doubt not but the next parliament will shew; and that it will not be in vain, that we have resolved to use our utmost endeavours to establish Liberty of Conscience, on such just and equal foundations, as will render it unalterable, and secure to all our people the free exercise of their religion for ever; by which future ages may reap the benefit of what is so undoubtedly for the general good of the whole kingdom. It is such a security we desire, without the burthen and constraint of oaths and tests, which have unhappily been made by some former governments; but could never support any: nor could men be advanced by such means to offices and employments, which ought to be the reward of services, fidelity, and merit. We must conclude, that not only good Christians will join in this, but whoever is concerned for the wealth and power of the nation. It would perhaps prejudice some of our neighbours, who might lose part of those vast advantages they now enjoy, if liberty of conscience were settled in these kingdoms, which are above all others most capable of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the world. In pursuance of this great work, we have been forced to make many changes both of civil and military officers throughout our dominions, not thinking any ought to be employed in our service, who will not contribute towards establishing the peace and greatness of their country, which we most earnestly desire, as unbiassed

men may see by the whole conduct of our government, and by the condition of our fleet, and of our armies, which with good management shall constantly be the same, and greater, if the safety or honour of the nation require it. We recommend these considerations to all our subjects, and that they will reflect on their present ease and happiness, how far above three years that it hath pleased Almighty God to permit us to reign over these kingdoms, we have not appeared to be that prince our enemies would make the world afraid of; our chief aim having been not to be the oppressor, but the father of our people; of which we can give no better evidence, than by conjuring them to lay aside all private animosities, as well as groundless jealousies, and to choose such members of parliament, as may do their parts to finish what we have begun for the advantage of the monarchy, over which Almighty God has placed us: being resolved to call a parliament, that shall meet in November next at farthest."

PETITION OF THE CLERGY.

"*The humble Petition of William, archbishop of Canterbury, and divers of the Suffragan Bishops of that Province, now present with him, in behalf of themselves and others of their absent Brethren, and of the inferior Clergy of their respective Dioceses,*

"Humbly sheweth, That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your majesty's late declaration, for Liberty of Conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your majesty (our holy mother the church of England being both in her principles and her constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having, to her great honour, been more than once, publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious majesty;) nor yet from any want of tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation: but among many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power, as hath been often declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662, and 1671; and in the beginning of your majesty's reign; and it is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners, cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publications of it once and again, even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to in common and reasonable construction. Your petitioners therefore, most humbly and earnestly beseech your majesty, that you

his resolutions when once embraced, were inflexible,) of punishing the bishops, for a petition so popular in its matter, and so prudent and cautious in the expression. As the petition was delivered him in private, he summoned them before the council; and questioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The bishops saw his intention, and seemed long desirous to decline answering: but being pushed by the chancellor, they at last avowed the petition. On their refusal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower; and the crown lawyers received directions to prosecute them for the seditious libel which, it was pretended, they had composed and uttered. The people were already aware of the danger to which the prelates were exposed; and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the church brought from court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once; and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were appointed to guard. Some persons ran into the water that they might participate more nearly in those blessings, which the prelates were distributing on all around them. The bishops themselves, during this triumphant suffering, augmented the general favour, by the most lowly submissive deportment; and they still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty; expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower, than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for those afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cause, had thought them worthy to endure.

Their passage, when conducted to their trial, was, if possible, attended by greater crowds of anxious spectators. All men saw the dangerous crisis to which affairs were reduced, and were sensible that the king could not have put the issue on a cause more unfavourable for himself, than that in which he had so imprudently engaged. Twenty-nine temporal peers (for the other prelates kept aloof) attended the prisoners to Westminster-Hall; and such crowds of gentry followed the procession, that scarcely was any room left for the populace to enter. The lawyers for the bishops were Sir Robert Sawyer, Sir Francis Pemberton, Pollexfen, Treby, and Sommers. No cause, even during the prosecution of the popish plot, was ever heard with so much zeal and attention. The popular torrent, which, of itself, ran fierce and strong, was now farther irritated by the opposition of government. The counsel for the bishops pleaded, that the law allowed subjects, if they thought themselves aggrieved in any particular, to apply by pe-

tition to the king, provided they kept within certain bounds, which the same law prescribed to them, and which, in the present petition, the prelates had strictly observed: that an active obedience in cases which were contrary to conscience, was never pretended to be due to government; and law was allowed to be the great measure of the compliance and submission of subjects: that when any person found commands to be imposed upon him which he could not obey, it was more respectful in him to offer his reasons for refusal, than to remain in a sullen and refractory silence: that it was no breach of duty in subjects, even though not called upon, to discover their sense of public measures, in which every one had so intimate a concern: that the bishops in the present case were called upon, and must either express their approbation by compliance, or their disapprobation by petition: that it could be no sedition to deny the prerogative of suspending the laws; because there really was no such prerogative, nor ever could be in a legal and limited government: that even if this prerogative was real, it had yet been frequently controverted before the whole nation, both in Westminster-Hall, and in both houses of parliament; and no one had ever dreamed of punishing the denial of it as criminal: that the prelates, instead of making an appeal to the people, had applied in private to his majesty, and had even delivered their petition so secretly, that, except by the confession extorted from them before the council, it was found impossible to prove them the authors: and that though the petition was afterwards printed and dispersed, it was not so much as attempted to be proved, that they had the least knowledge of the publication. These arguments were convincing in themselves, and were heard with a favourable disposition by the audience. Even some of the judges, though their seats were held during pleasure, declared themselves in favour of the prisoners. The jury, however, from what cause is unknown, took several hours to deliberate, and kept, during so long a time, the people in the most anxious expectation. But when the wished-for verdict, "not guilty," was at last pronounced, on the 17th of June, the intelligence was echoed through the hall, was conveyed to the crowds without, was carried into the city, and was propagated with infinite joy throughout the kingdom*.

If the bishops testified the readiness of martyrs in support of their religion, James shewed no less ardour in his attempts toward the establishment of his own. Grown odious to every class of his subjects, he still resolved to persist; for it was a part of his character, that those measures he once embraced, he always persevered in pursuing. He struck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration, and all who refused it, except two hundred. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen College, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura. As he found the clergy every where averse to the harshness of his proceedings, he was willing to try next what he could do with the army. He thought if one regiment should promise implicit obedience, their example would soon induce others to

you will be pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your majesty's said declaration; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c."

The king, startled and incensed at this petition, answered in a very angry tone: "I have heard of this before, but did not believe it: I did not expect this from the church of England, especially from some of you. If I change my mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my command shall be obeyed." The bishops replied, "We resign ourselves to the will of God;" and then immediately retired.

* Ever since Monmouth's rebellion, the king had, every summer, encamped his army on Hounslow-Heath, that he might more improve their discipline, and by so unusual a spectacle overawe the mutinous people. A popish chapel was openly erected in the midst of the camp, and great pains were

taken, though in vain, to bring over the soldiers to that communion. The few converts, whom the priests had made, were treated with such contempt and ignominy, as deterred every one from following the example. Even the Irish officers, whom the king introduced into the army, served rather, from the aversion borne them, to weaken his interest among them. It happened, that the very day on which the trial of the bishops was finished, James had reviewed the troops, and had retired into the tent of lord Feverham, the general; when he was surprized to hear a great uproar in the camp, and attended with the most extravagant symptoms of tumultuary joy. He suddenly enquired the cause, and was told by Feverham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but so much the worse for them."

comply.

comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his late declaration of liberty of conscience, should lay down their arms. He was surprized to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a few Roman catholic soldiers. Opposition only served to inflame this infatuated monarch's zeal. He was continually stimulated by the queen, and the priests about him, to go forward without receding. A fortunate circumstance happened in his family about this time. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was brought to bed of a son, on the 10th of June, 1688, who was baptized by the name of James. This would, if any thing could at that time, have served to establish him on the throne; but so great was the animosity against him, that a story was propagated that the child was supposititious, and brought to the queen's apartment in a warming-pan. But so great was this monarch's pride, that he scorned to take any precautions to refute the calumny. Indeed all his measures were marked with the characters of pride, cruelty, bigotry, and weakness. In these he was chiefly supported by father Peters, his confessor, an ambitious, ignorant, and intriguing priest, whom some scruple not to call a concealed creature belonging to the prince of Orange. By that prince's secret directions, it is asserted, though upon no very good authority, that James was hurried on, under the guidance of Peters, from one precipice to another, until he was obliged to give up the reins of that government which he went near to overturn.

While every motive, says Hume, civil and religious, concurred to alienate from the king every rank and denomination of men, it might be expected that this throne would, without delay, fall to pieces by its own weight: but such is the influence of established government, so averse are men from beginning hazardous enterprizes; that, had not an attack been made from abroad, affairs might long have remained in the present delicate situation, and James might at last have prevailed in his rash and ill-concerted projects.

William, prince of Orange, ever since his marriage with the lady Mary, had maintained a very prudent conduct; agreeably to that sound understanding with which he was so eminently endowed. He made it a maxim to concern himself little in English affairs, and never by any measure to disgust any of the factions, or give umbrage to the prince who filled the throne. His natural inclination, as well as his interest, led him to employ himself with assiduous industry in the transactions on the continent, and to oppose the grandeur of the French monarch, against whom he had long, both from personal and political considerations, conceived a violent animosity. By this conduct, he gratified the prejudices of the whole English nation: but as he crossed the inclinations of Charles, who sought peace by compliance with France, he had much declined in the favour and affections of that monarch. James, on his accession, found it so much his interest to live on good terms with the heir apparent, that he shewed the prince some demonstrations of friendship; and the prince, on his part, was not wanting in every instance of duty and regard towards the king. On Monmouth's invasion, he immediately dispatched over six regiments of British troops, which were in the Dutch service; and he offered to take the command of the king's forces against the rebels. How little soever he might approve of James's administration, he always kept a total silence on the subject, and gave no countenance to those discontents which were propagated with such industry throughout the nation. But now when a young prince was born, that entirely excluded his hopes by succession, he lent more attention to the complaints of the nation; and began to foment those discontents, which before he had endeavoured to suppress.

William was a prince who had, from his earliest entrance into business, been immersed in dangers, calamities, and politics. The ambition of France, and the jealousies of Holland, had served to sharpen his talents,

and to give him a propensity to intrigue. This great politician and soldier concealed, beneath a phlegmatic appearance, a most violent and boundless ambition; all his actions were levelled at power, while his discourse never betrayed the wishes of his heart. His temper was cold and severe; his genius active and piercing; he was valiant without ostentation, and politic without address. Disdaining the elegance and pleasures of life, yet eager after the phantom of pre-eminence; through his whole life he was indefatigable; and though an unsuccessful general in the field, yet he was still a formidable negociator in the cabinet. By his intrigues he saved his own country from ruin; he restored the liberties of England, and preserved the independence of Europe. Thus, though neither his abilities nor his virtues were of the highest kind, yet there are few persons in history whose actions and conduct have contributed more eminently to the general interests of society and of mankind. This politic prince now plainly saw that James had incurred the most violent hatred of his subjects. He was minutely informed of their discontents; and by seeming to discourage, still farther increased them. He therefore began by giving Dykevelt, his envoy, instructions to apply in his name to every sect and denomination in the kingdom. To the church-party he sent assurances of favour and regard, and protested that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him against episcopacy. To the non-conformists he sent exhortations not to be deceived by the insidious caresses of their crown enemy, but to wait for a real and sincere protector. Dykevelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected from thence a deliverance from those dangers with which they were threatened at home.

The prince soon found that every rank was ripe for defection, and received invitations from some of the most considerable persons in the kingdom. The principal were, Mr. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon Sidney, (beheaded in the last reign,) afterwards earl of Romney, Sir Robert Peyton, Sir Rowland Gwin, doctor Burnet, and others. It is to be presumed, that assurances were transmitted from them to their friends in England, of the good inclinations of the prince to undertake the common cause. In July one Joseph Flight brought over into England near fourscore letters from persons of quality and credit, and carried back the answers to the Hague. The affair being thus begun, the old lord Wharton, on pretence of a journey into Germany, took the Hague in his way. Colonel Sidney, uncle to the earl of Sunderland, went to the Spaw, the pretence of which was to drink the waters, but his real intention was to visit Holland. The lord Dunblain, son to the earl of Danby, and commander of an independent frigate, crossed and re-crossed the seas, to carry several dispatches and resolutions. The earl of Shrewsbury mortgaged his estates for forty thousand pounds, and went over to the prince to offer him both his purse and his sword. He was immediately followed by admiral Herbert, his cousin Mr. Herbert, Mr. Russel, lord Mordaunt, and the earl of Wiltshire. The principal persons with whom they held correspondence in England, were the earls of Danby, Devonshire, and Dorset; the lords Lovelace and Delamere, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Halifax, his son lord Island, the marquis of Winchester, his son lord Paulet, lord Willoughby, son to the earl of Lindsey, Mr. Lester, Mr. Hamden, Mr. Bowle, and many more, besides several eminent citizens of London.

The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their measures against the king. The whigs hated him upon principles of liberty, the tories upon principles of religion. The former had ever shewn themselves tenacious of their political rights; the latter were equally obstinate in defence of their religious tenets. James had invaded both; so that for a time all factions were laid asleep, except the general one of driving a tyrant from a throne, which, upon every account, he was so ill qualified

qualified to fill. William determined to accept the invitations of the kingdom; and still more readily embarked in the cause, as he saw that the malcontents had conducted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

The prince entered upon his enterprize just when the people were in a flame from the recent insult offered to their bishops. He had before this made considerable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ships were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and sums of money levied for other purposes were converted to the advancement of this expedition. The Dutch had always reposed an entire confidence in him; and many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector. He was sure of the protection of his native government, while he should be employed in England; and the troops of some of the German powers were actually marched down to Holland for that purpose. Every place was in motion; all Europe saw and expected the descent, except the unfortunate James himself, who, secure in the piety of his intentions, thought nothing could injure his schemes calculated to promote the cause of Heaven. The king of France was the first who apprized him of his danger, and offered to assist him in repelling it. He was willing to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops which James should judge requisite for his security. James, however, could not be convinced that his son-in-law intended an invasion; fully satisfied himself of the sacredness of his authority, he imagined a like belief had possessed his subjects. He therefore rejected the French king's proposals, unwilling perhaps to call in foreign aid, when he had an army sufficient at home. When this offer was rejected, Lewis again offered to march down his numerous army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus to detain their forces at home to defend themselves. This proposal met with no better reception. Still Lewis was unwilling to abandon a friend and ally, whose interest he regarded as closely connected with his own. He ventured to remonstrate * with the Dutch against the preparations they were making to invade England. The Dutch considered his remonstrance as an officious impertinence, and James himself declined his mediation.

James having thus rejected the assistance of his friends, and being left to face the danger alone, was astonished with an advice from his minister in Holland, that an invasion was not only projected, but avowed. When he first read the letter containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. He saw the gulf into which he was fallen, and he knew not

where to seek for protection. His only resource was in retreating from those various precipitate measures, into which he had plunged himself. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for their common security. He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and penal laws. He restored the charters of such corporations as he had possessed himself of; he annulled the high-commission court; he reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen College; and he was even reduced to caress those bishops, whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted. He now sent for those bishops who were in London, viz. Winchester, Chichester, Peterborough, Rochester, Ely, Bath and Wells, and told them, that he had sent for them to ask their advice in the present critical conjuncture. He assured them of his readiness to do whatever should be thought necessary for the preservation of the protestant religion, and the liberties of his subjects, without prejudice to the rights of the crown. He concluded with saying, that this affair called for a mature examination, and therefore prayed them to consult together, in order to give their advice. The bishops withdrew, and immediately crossed the water to Lambeth to form along with the archbishop (then indisposed) the plan of the advice which they should offer to the king. On the 3d of October, the archbishop of Canterbury, attended by eight other bishops, repaired to Whitehall, and was admitted to immediate audience. After a short speech, he presented to the king the result of their conference drawn up in ten articles, which were at once so many advices to him, and reproaches upon his past government †. The king being fully sensible that a refusal to comply with the advice given him by the bishops, would only increase the suspicion of his subjects, resolved, though probably with regret, to execute the greatest part of it. For this purpose two days after, the ecclesiastical high-commission court was dissolved. The next day the lord chancellor had orders to carry back in person the charter of London. The lord-lieutenants of the several counties were required to inform themselves of the abuses and irregularities committed in the late regulations of corporations, in order to redress the same. The bishop of Winchester, visitor of Magdalen College in Oxford, was ordered to settle that society regularly, and according to their statutes. A proclamation was issued out for restoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights, and franchises. The lord-lieutenants were displaced in several counties. Popish justices of the peace, mayors, recorders, and

* The following is the substance of the French king's remonstrance: "That all circumstances inclined the king, his master, to believe, with reason, that the arming in Holland threatened England, therefore his majesty had commanded him to declare to them, on his part, that the ties of friendship and alliance between him and the king of Great-Britain, would oblige him not only to assist him, but also to look on the first acts of hostility that should be committed by their troops on their fleet, against his majesty of Great-Britain, to be a manifest rupture of the peace, and a breach with his crown."

† These advices were, 1. "To put the whole management of his government, in the several counties, into the hands of such of the nobility and gentry there as were legally qualified for it. 2. To annul his commission for ecclesiastical affairs; and that no such court be erected for the future. 3. That no dispensation might be granted or continued, by virtue whereof any person not duly qualified by law, had been put into any place, office, or preferment in church or state, or in the universities, or continued in the same, especially such as had cure of souls annexed to them: and particularly that he would restore the president and fellows of St. Mary Magdalen College in Oxford. 4. To set aside all licences or faculties, by which any person of the Romish communion might pretend to be enabled to teach public schools. 5. To desist from the exercise of his dispensing power, and to permit that point to be calmly and freely debated, and finally settled in parliament. 6. To inhibit the four foreign bishops, who stiled themselves Vicars Apostolical, from farther invading the ecclesiastical ju-

risdiction, which by law was vested in the bishops of the church of England. 7. To fill the vacant bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical promotions, within his gift, both in England and Ireland, with men of learning and piety; and in particular, (which the archbishop owned to be his peculiar boldness, since it was done without the privacy of his brethren,) forthwith to fill the archiepiscopal chair of York, (which had so long stood empty, and upon which a whole province depended) with some very worthy person: for which he was bold to say, his majesty had then before him a very fair choice. 8. To supersede all farther prosecutions of *quo warranto's* against corporations, and to restore to them their ancient charters and privileges; as they heard God had put into his heart for the city of London, which they intended otherwise to have made one of their principal requests. 9. That writs might be issued out with convenient speed, for calling of a free and regular parliament, in which the church of England might be secured according to the acts of uniformity: provision might be made for a due liberty of conscience, and for securing the liberties and properties of all his subjects, and a mutual confidence might be established between his majesty and all his people. 10. Above all, that his majesty would be pleased to permit his bishops, to offer such motives and arguments, as, they trusted, might, by God's grace, be effectual to persuade his majesty to return to the communion of the church of England, into which most holy catholic faith he was baptized, in which he was educated, and to which, it was their daily earnest prayers to God, that he might be re-united."

other magistrates were removed, and protestants put in their places. Thus in the space of about twelve days, that formidable fabric was in effect, or in a great measure, demolished, which the Romish cabal had spent near four years in erecting. But all James's concessions were now too late. They were regarded as the symptoms of fear and not of repentance; as the cowardice of guilt, and not the conviction of error. Indeed he soon shewed the people the insincerity of his reformation; for hearing that the Dutch fleet was dispersed, he recalled those concessions which he had made in favour of Magdalen-College; and, to shew his attachment to the Romish church, at the baptism of his new-born son, he appointed the pope one of his sponsors.

The declaration of the prince of Orange was about the same period industriously dispersed over the kingdom*. This declaration he quickly followed by pre-

parations for a vigorous invasion. So well concerted were his measures, that in three days above four hundred transports were hired, the army fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen, with all necessary stores; and the prince set sail from Helvoetsluys with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men. Fortune seemed at first every way unfavourable to his enterprize. He encountered a dreadful storm, which put him back; but he soon refitted his fleet, and once more ventured for England. It was given out that this invasion was intended for the coasts of France; and many of the English who saw the fleet pass along their coasts, little expected to see it land on their own shores. It happened that the same wind which sent them to their destined port, detained the English fleet in the river; so that the Dutch passed the streights of Dover without molestation. Thus, after a

* The great importance of this declaration, which was dated the 10th of October, 1688, New Style, obliges us to lay an abridgement of it before our readers: it was divided into twenty-six articles, which may be reduced to the three following general heads:

"The first, containing a particular enumeration of the grievances of the English nation, especially of the king's arrogating to himself a dispensing power; his advancing papists to civil, ecclesiastical, and military employments, and allowing them to sit in the privy-council: his setting up an illegal commission for ecclesiastical affairs, in which were some of his ministers of state, who made public profession of the popish religion, and who at the time of his professing it, declared, that for a great while before, he had believed that to be the only true religion; and by which not only the bishop of London was suspended, but the president and fellows of Magdalen-College arbitrarily turned out of their freeholds, contrary to that express provision in Magna Charta, that no man shall lose his life or goods but by the laws of the land: his allowing popish monasteries and colleges of Jesuits to be created: his turning out of public employments all such as would not concur with him in the repeal of the test and penal laws: his invading the privileges, and seizing on the charters of most corporations, and placing popish magistrates in some of them: his subjecting the courts of judicatory to his arbitrary and despotic power, and putting the administration of justice into the hands of papists: his not only arming the papists, in contempt of the laws, but likewise raising them up to the greatest military trusts, both by sea and land; strangers as well as natives, and Irish as well as English, that he might be in a capacity to enslave the nation: his putting the whole government of Ireland into the hands of papists: his assuming an absolute and arbitrary power in the kingdom of Scotland; from which it was apparent what was to be looked for in England.

"Secondly, his highness alledged, that those great and insufferable oppressions, and the open contempt of all law, together with the apprehensions of the bad consequences that must certainly follow upon it, had made the subjects to look after such remedies as are allowed of in all nations, and in most absolute monarchies, all which had been without effect; his majesty's evil counsellors having endeavoured to make all men apprehend the loss of their lives, liberties, honours, and estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this oppression, by petition, and representations; an instance of which was the prosecution of the seven bishops: that a peer of the realm (lord Lovelace) was treated as a criminal, only because he said, that the subjects were not bound to obey the orders of a popish justice of peace; though it is evident, that they being by law rendered incapable of all such trust, no regard is due to their orders: that both he and his consort the princess, had endeavoured to signify with terms full of respect to the king, the just and deep regret, which all these proceedings had given them, and declared what their thoughts were, touching the repealing of the test and penal laws; but that these evil counsellors had put such ill constructions on their good intentions, that they had endeavoured to alienate the king more and more from them. That the last great remedy for all these evils, was the calling of a parliament, which could not yet be compassed, nor could be easily brought about; for those men apprehending that a lawful parliament would bring them to an account for all their open violations of law, and for their conspiracies against the protestant religion, and the lives and liberties of the subjects; they had endeavoured, under the specious pretence of liberty of conscience, first to sow divisions between those of the church of England and dissenters, with design to engage protestants, who are equally concerned to preserve themselves from popish oppression, into mutual quar-

rellings, that so by these means some advantage may be given them to bring about their designs; and that both in the elections of members of parliament, and afterwards in the parliament itself: that they had also made regulations, as they thought fit and necessary, for securing all the members that were to be chosen by the corporation; by which means they hoped to avoid the punishment they deserved, though it was apparent, that all acts, made by popish magistrates, were null and void of themselves: so that no parliament could be lawful, for which the elections and returns were made by the popish magistrates, sheriffs, and mayors of towns; and therefore as long as the magistracy was in such hands, it was not possible to have a free parliament legally called and chosen. That there were great and violent presumptions, inducing his highness to believe, that those evil counsellors, in order to the gaining the more time for the effecting their ill designs, had published, that the queen had brought forth a son; though there had appeared, both during the queen's pretended sickness, and in the manner wherein the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only he himself, but all the good subjects of the kingdom, did vehemently suspect, that the pretended prince of Wales was born of the queen: and though many both doubted of the queen's sickness and the birth of the child, yet there was not any thing done to satisfy them, or put an end to their doubts: that since his consort the princess, and likewise he himself, had so great an interest in this matter, and such a right, as all the world knew, to the succession of the crown; since all the English did in the year 1672, when Holland was invaded with a most unjust war, use their utmost endeavours to put an end to that war, and that in opposition to those who were then in the government; since the English nation had ever testified a most particular affection and esteem, both to his highness's dearest consort, and to himself, he could not excuse himself from espousing that interest, in a matter of so high consequence, and from contributing all that in him lay, for the maintaining both of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms: to the doing of which, his highness was most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen and other subjects of all ranks.

"In the last place his highness declared, that for the fore-mentioned reasons, he has thought fit to go over to England, and to carry with him a force sufficient to defend him from the violence of those evil counsellors: that his expedition was intended for no other design, but to have a free and lawful parliament assembled as soon as it was possible; and that in order to this, all the late charters, by which the election of burgesses are limited, contrary to the ancient custom, should be considered as null and of no force. That to this parliament he would refer the enquiry into the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, and of all things relating thereto, and to the right of succession: that he would concur in every thing that might procure the peace and happiness of the nation, under a just and legal government: that he would keep the forces under his command, under all strictness of martial discipline, and promised that he would send back all those foreign forces as soon as the state of the nation would admit it: that therefore he invited and required all persons whatsoever to come and assist him, in order to the executing his designs against all such as shall endeavour to oppose him. That he would likewise take care that a parliament should be called in Scotland, for restoring the ancient constitution of that kingdom, and for bringing the matters of religion to such a settlement, that the people might live easy and happy. That he would also study to bring the kingdom of Ireland to such a state that the settlement there might be religiously observed, and that the protestant and British interest there might be secured."

voyage

voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme, in Torbay, on the 5th of November, which was the anniversary of the gun-powder treason*.

The Dutch army marched first to Exeter; and the prince's declaration was there published. That whole country was so terrified with the executions which had ensued upon Monmouth's rebellion, that no one for several days joined the prince. The bishop of Exeter in a fright fled to London, and carried to court intelligence of this invasion. As a reward of his zeal, he received the archbishopric of York, which had long been kept vacant, with an intention, as was universally believed, of bestowing it on some catholic. The first person who joined the prince was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association†, which every one signed. By degrees, the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Ruffel, son of the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, and Howe, came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the earl of Danby seized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. Even those who took not the field against him, were able to embarrass and confound his counsels. A petition for a free parliament was signed by twenty-four bishops and peers of the greatest distinction, and was presented to the king. No one thought of opposing or resisting the invader. But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection which from the general spirit of the nation, not from any particular reason, had crept into the army. The officers seemed all disposed to prefer the interests of their country and of their religion, to those principles of honour and fidelity, which are commonly esteemed the most sacred ties by men of that profession. Lord Colchester, son of the earl of Rivers, was the first officer that deserted to the prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace made a like effort; but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner: lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, was more successful. He attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry; and he actually brought a considerable part of them to the prince's quarters. Several officers of distinction informed Feversham, the general, that they could not in

conscience fight against the prince of Orange. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the king's favour: yet even he could resolve, during the present extremity, to desert his unhappy master, who had ever reposed entire confidence in him. He carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son of the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. This conduct was a signal sacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life; and required, ever after, the most upright, disinterested, and public-spirited behaviour, to render it justifiable. In this universal defection, the unfortunate James, not knowing where to turn, and on whom to rely, began to think of requesting assistance from France, when it was now too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain. That monarch only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. James had some dependence on his fleet; but they were entirely disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself.

By this time the king had arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received the above fatal intelligence. That prince, though a severe enemy, had ever appeared a warm, steady, and sincere friend; and he was extremely shocked with this, as with many other instances of ingratitude, to which he was now exposed. There remained none in whom he could confide. As the whole army had discovered symptoms of discontent, he concluded it full of treachery; and being deserted by those whom he had most favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his service. During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London on the 25th of November: a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery. But Churchill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his distressed benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendant over the family of prince George of Denmark; and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy king, who was already staggering with the violent shocks which he had received. Andover was the first stage of James's retreat towards London; and there prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Huet, and some other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night-time, and retired to the prince's camp. No sooner had the news reached London, than the princess Anne, pretending fear of the king's displeasure‡, withdrew

* When the prince of Orange first set sail he had with him, besides the general officers of the state, the French marshal Schomberg, who had last served the elector of Brandenburg, count Charles his son, M. Caillemote, younger son to the marquis of Rouvigni, and two or three hundred French officers, who had left their country for their religion. Admiral Herbert led the van of the fleet, vice-admiral Evertzen brought up the rear, and the prince placed himself in the main body, carrying a flag with English colours, and their highness's arms, surrounded with this motto, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND; and underneath, the motto of the house of Nassau, JE M'ENTENDRAI, i. e. I WILL MAINTAIN.

† The engagement run in these words: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed, who have now joined with the prince of Orange, for the defence of the protestant religion, and for the maintaining the ancient government, and the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, do engage to Almighty God, to his highness the prince, and to one another, to stick firm to this cause, in the defence of it, and never to depart from it till our religion, laws, and liberties are so far secured to us in a free parliament, that they shall no more be in danger of falling into popery and slavery. And whereas we are engaged in this common cause under the protection of the prince of Orange, by which means his person is exposed to danger, and to the cursed attempts of papists and other bloody men; we do therefore solemnly engage to God, and to one another, that if any such attempt be made upon him, we will

pursue not only those that make it but all their adherents, and all that we find in arms against us, with the utmost severity of a just revenge, to their utter ruin and destruction. And that the execution of any such attempt (which God of his infinite mercy forbid,) shall not divert us from prosecuting this cause which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the rigour that so barbarous an attempt shall deserve."

‡ We cannot here suppress the letter which the princess wrote to the queen upon her quitting the metropolis.

"Madam,

"I beg your pardon, if I am so deeply afflicted with the surprizing news of the prince's being gone, as not to be able to see you, but to leave this paper to express my humble duty to the king and yourself; and to let you know I am gone to absent myself, to avoid the king's displeasure, which I am not able to bear, either against the prince or myself; and I shall stay at so great a distance, as not to return before I hear the happy news of a reconciliation. And as I am confident the prince did not leave the king with any other design, than to use all possible means for his preservation; so I hope you will do me the justice to believe, that I am not capable of following him for any other end. Never was any one in such an unhappy condition, so divided between duty and affection to a father and a husband; therefore I know not what to do, but to follow one to preserve the other; I see the general falling off of

drew herself in company with the bishop of London and lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham, where the earl of Dorset received her with great respect, and the gentry of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection *. The king burst into tears, when the first intelligence of the defection of the prince and princess was conveyed to him. Undoubtedly he foresaw in this incident the total expiration of his royal authority: but the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent laid hold of his heart; when he found himself abandoned in his uttermost distress by a child, and a virtuous child, whom he had ever regarded with the most tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me †."

The king, now greatly depressed, called a council of all the peers ‡, and prelates who were in London; and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new parliament; and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. But these were the last acts of royal authority which he exerted. He even hearkened to imprudent counsel, by which he was prompted to desert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what their fondest hopes could have promised them. The queen observing the fury of the people, and knowing how much she was the object of general hatred, was struck with the deepest terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment, from which, she was told, the queens of England were not exempted. The popish courtiers, and, above all, the priests, were aware, that they should be the first sacrifice, and that their perpetual banishment was the smallest penalty which they must expect from national resentment. They were, therefore, desirous of carrying the king along with them; whose presence, they knew, would still be some resource and protection to them in foreign countries, and whose restoration, if it ever happened, would again reinstate them in power and authority. The general defection of the protestants made the king regard the catholics as his only subjects, on whose counsel he could rely; and the fatal catastrophe of his father afforded them a plausible reason for making him apprehend a similar end.

The emissaries of France, and among the rest, Barillon, the French ambassador, were busy about the king; and they had entertained a very false notion, which they instilled into him, that nothing would more certainly retard the public settlement, and beget universal confusion, than his deserting the kingdom. The prince of Orange had, with good reason, embraced a contrary opinion; and he deemed it extremely difficult to find expedients for securing the nation, so long as the king kept possession of the crown. Actuated, therefore, by this public motive, and no less, we may well presume, by private ambition, he was determined to use every expedient which might intimidate the king, and make him quit that throne which he alone was enabled to fill. He declined a personal conference with James's com-

missioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them: the terms he proposed, implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty; and he stopped not a moment the march of his army towards London.

The intelligence which the king received from all quarters, served to continue the panic into which he was fallen, and which his enemies expected to improve to their advantage. Colonel Copel, deputy governor of Hull, made himself master of that important fortress; and threw into prison lord Langdale, the governor, a catholic; together with lord Montgomery, a nobleman of the same religion. The town of Newcastle received lord Lumley, and declared for the prince of Orange and a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged it in the same measure. The prince's declaration was read at Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and was received with great applause by that loyal university, who also made an offer of their plate to the prince. Every day some persons of quality or distinction, and among the rest the duke of Somerset, went over to the enemy. A violent declaration was dispersed in the prince's name, but without his participation; in which every one was commanded to seize and punish all papists, who, contrary to law, pretended either to carry arms, or exercise any act of authority §.

The contagion of mutiny and disobedience had also reached Scotland, whence the regular forces, contrary to the advice of Balcarras, the treasurer, were withdrawn, in order to reinforce the English army. The marquis of Athole, together with viscount Tarbat, and others, finding the opportunity favourable, began to form intrigues against Perth, the chancellor; and the presbyterians, and other malcontents flocked from all quarters to Edinburgh. The chancellor apprehensive of the consequences, found it expedient to abscond; and the populace, as if that event were a signal for their insurrection, immediately rose in arms, and rifled the popish chapel in the king's palace. All the catholics, even all the zealous royalists, were obliged to conceal themselves; and the privy-council, instead of their former submissive strains of address to the king, and violent edicts against their fellow-subjects, now made applications to the prince of Orange, as the restorer of law and liberty.

The king alarmed every day more and more with the prospect of a general disaffection, was resolved to hearken to those who advised his quitting the kingdom. To prepare for this he first sent away the queen, who arrived safely at Calais, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. He himself soon after disappeared in the night time, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and disguising himself in a plain dress, went to Faversham, where he embarked on board a small vessel for France ||.

In

of the nobility and gentry, who avow to have no other end than to prevail with the king to secure their religion, which they saw so much in danger by the violent counsels of the priests; who, to promote their own religion, did not care to what danger they exposed the king. I am fully persuaded, the prince of Orange designs the king's safety and preservation, and hope all things may be composed without more bloodshed, by calling of a parliament. God grant a happy end to all these troubles, that the king's reign may be prosperous, and that I may shortly meet you in peace and safety: till then, let me beg you to continue the same favourable opinion that you hitherto had of
Your's, &c.

* It should be observed, that the late king, in order to gratify the nation, had entrusted the education of his nieces entirely to protestants; and as these princesses were deemed the chief resource of the established religion after their father's defection, great care had been taken to instil into them, from their earliest infancy, the strongest prejudices against popery.

† So violent were the prejudices which at this time prevailed, that this unhappy father, who had been deserted by his only child, was believed upon her disappearing, to have

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put himself to death: and it was fortunate, that the truth was timely discovered; otherwise the populace, even the king's guards themselves, might have been engaged, in revenge, to commence a massacre of the priests and catholics.

‡ Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russell, who had been executed in the former reign by the intrigues of James, "My lord, said the king, you are an honest man, have credit, and can do me signal service." "Ah, Sir, replied the earl, I am old and feeble; I can do you but little service. I had indeed a son!" James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

§ It may not be unworthy of notice, that a merry ballad, called Lilleballero, being at this time published in derision of the papists and the Irish, it was greedily received by the people, and was sung by all ranks of men, even by the king's army, who were strongly seized with the national spirit. This incident was discovered, and served to increase the general discontent of the kingdom.

|| When the king had in a measure forsaken the throne, the populace were masters, and there was no disorder, which during their present ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult, and destroyed all the mass-houses.

8 Y

They

In this extremity of affairs, the bishops and peers, who were in town, being the only remaining authority of the state, (for the privy-council, composed the king's creatures, was totally disregarded,) thought proper to assemble, and to interpose for the preservation of the community. They chose the marquis of Halifax speaker: they gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: they issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons: and they made applications to the prince of Orange, whose enterprize they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated. The prince, on his part, was not wanting to the tide of success, which flowed in upon him, nor backward in assuming that authority which the present exigency had put into his hands. Besides the general popularity attending his cause, a new incident made his approach to London still more grateful. In the present trepidation of the people, a rumour arose, either from chance or design, that the disbanded Irish had taken arms, and had commenced an universal massacre of the protestants. This ridiculous belief was spread all over the kingdom in one day; and begat every where the deepest consternation. The alarm bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied that they saw at a distance the smoke of the burning cities, and heard the groans of those who were slaughtered in their neighbourhood.

After this manner, the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, seconded by surprizing fortune, effected the delivery of the kingdom. It now remained that he should reap the rewards of his toil, and obtain that crown for himself, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. Previously to any regular authority, he continued in the management of all public affairs. By the advice of the house of lords, the only member of the legislature remaining, he was desired to summon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon so imperfect an authority, convened all the members, who had sat in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles the Second, and to these were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common-council of London. This was the most proper representative of the people that could be summoned, during the present emergence. They unanimously voted the same address with the lords; and the prince being thus supported by legal authority, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England to choose a new parliament. His orders were universally complied with; every thing went on in the most regular and peaceful manner, and the prince became possessed of authority, as if he had regularly succeeded to the throne.

On the 22d of January, 1689, when the house met *, which was mostly composed of the Whig party, after thanks were given to the prince of Orange, for the deliverance which he had brought them, they then

proceeded to the settlement of the kingdom. In a few days they passed a vote, by a great majority, which was sent up to the house of lords for their concurrence. It was to this effect: "That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract betwixt the king and people; and having, by the advice of jesuits, and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant." This vote readily passed the house of commons; but it met with some opposition in the house of lords, and was at length carried by a majority of two voices only. The king being thus deposed, the next consideration was the appointing a successor. Some declared for a regent; others, that the prince of Orange should be invested with regal power, and the young prince considered as supposititious. The debates ran high. A conference was demanded between the lords and commons, while the prince, with his usual prudence, entered into no intrigues either with electors or members; but kept a total silence, as if he had been no way concerned in the transaction. At last, perceiving that his own name was little mentioned in the disputes, he called together the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Danby, with a few more. He then told them, "that he had been called over, to defend the liberties of the English nation, and that he had happily effected his purpose; that he had heard of several schemes proposed for the establishing the government; that if they chose a regent, he thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he would never accept of that office, the execution of which he knew would be attended with insuperable difficulties; that he would not accept of the crown under the princess his wife, though he was convinced of her merits; that, therefore, if either of these schemes were adopted, he could give them no assistance, but would return home to his own country, satisfied with his aims to secure the freedom of theirs." The views of the prince were seconded by the princess herself, who, as she possessed many virtues, was a most obsequious wife to her husband. All considerations were neglected, when they came in competition with what she deemed her duty to the prince. When Danby and others of her partizans wrote her an account of their schemes and proceedings, she expressed great displeasure; and even transmitted their letters to her husband, as a sacrifice to conjugal fidelity. The princess Anne also concurred in the same plan for the public settlement; and, being promised an ample revenue, was contented to be postponed in the succession to the crown. And as the title of her infant brother was, in the present establishment, entirely neglected, she might, on the whole, deem herself, in point of interest, a gainer by this revolution. The chief parties, therefore, being agreed, the convention

They even attacked and rifled the houses of the Florentine envoy and Spanish ambassador, where many of the catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had disguised himself, in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so abused, that he died a little after. Even the army which should have suppressed those tumults, would, it was apprehended, serve rather to increase the general disorder. Feverham had no sooner heard of the king's flight, than he disbanded the troops in the neighbourhood, and without either disarming or paying them, let them loose to prey upon the country.

* On the meeting of this convention the following letter from the prince of Orange, addressed to both houses was read:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Have endeavoured, to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me, in order to the public peace and safety, and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might tend to the preservation of them, since the administration of affairs was put into my hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the foundation of a firm security for your religion, your laws, and your liberties. I do not doubt, but that by such a full and free representative of the nation, as is now met, the ends of my declaration will be attained: and

since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good intentions with so great success, I trust in him, that he will complete his work, by sending a spirit of peace and union to influence your counsels, that no interruption may be given to a happy and lasting settlement.

"The dangerous condition of the protestants in Ireland, requiring a large and speedy succour, and the present state of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unseasonable divisions among ourselves, nothing can be so fatal in your consultations: the states, by whom I have been enabled to rescue this nation, may suddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the service of their troops, which are now here, and of your early assistance against a powerful enemy, who hath declared a war against them. And as England is by treaty already engaged to help them upon such exigencies, so I am confident, that their cheerful concurrence to preserve this kingdom with so much hazard to themselves, will meet with all the returns of friendship and assistance, which may be expected from you as protestants and Englishmen, whenever their condition will require it."

"Given at St. James's, the 22d day of January, 1688-9."

passed

passed a bill, in which they settled the crown on the prince and princess of Orange, the sole administration to remain in the prince: the princess of Denmark to succeed after the death of the prince and princess of Orange; his posterity after those of the princess, but before those of the prince by any other wife. The convention annexed to this settlement of the crown a declaration of rights, where all the points which had, of late years, been disputed between the king and the people, were finally determined; and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed,

**The DECLARATION of the LORDS SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL, and COMMONS, assembled at Westminster.*

"Whereas the late king James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of parliament: by committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the same assumed power; by issuing and causing to be executed, a commission under the great seal, for erecting a court, called the Court of Communion for Ecclesiastical causes, by levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other times, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament: by raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law; by causing divers good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed at the same time, when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law: by violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament: by prosecutions in the court of King's-Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons, have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high-treason, which were not freeholders, and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to allude the benefit of the laws made for liberty of the subjects, and excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted; and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgement against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied. All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

"And whereas the said late king James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did, (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the commons,) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster, upon the 22d of January, in the year 1688, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted. Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, pursuant to their several letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place, (as their ancestors in the like case have usually done) for vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties; declare,

"1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of the laws, by regal authority, as hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal. 3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious. 4. That the levying of money for or to the use of the crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal. 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal. 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law. 7. That the subjects,

and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the English government: therefore we insert a copy of this famous declaration*. The marquis of Halifax, speaker of the house of lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer in terms of acknowledgment†; and that very day, February 13, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

which are protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law. 8. That elections of members of parliament ought to be free. 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament. 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 11. That jurors ought to be duly empannelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials of high-treason, ought to be freeholders. 12. That all grants and promises, of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void. 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently. And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights, and liberties; and no declarations, judgements, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights, they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

"Having therefore an entire confidence, that his said highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties; the lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions, to them the said prince and princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the royal power be only in, and executed by, the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their decease, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the prince of Orange.

"And the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do pray the said prince and princess of Orange, to accept the same accordingly. And that the oaths hereafter-mentioned, be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated:

"I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their majesties, king William and queen Mary. So help me God. I, A. B. do swear, that I from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

† The speech of the prince of Orange on his acceptance of the crown:

"My lords and Gentlemen,

"This is certainly the greatest proof of the trust you have in us, that can be given, which is the thing that makes us value it the more; and we thankfully accept what you have offered. And as I had no other intention in coming hither, than to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties, so you may be sure, that I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the good of the kingdom, and to do all that is in my power to advance the welfare and glory of the nation."

THUS

THUS have we seen through the whole course of four reigns, a continual struggle maintained between the crown and the people: privilege and prerogative were ever at variance: and both parties, besides the present object of dispute, had many latent charms, which, on a favourable occasion, they produced against their adversaries. Governments too steady and uniform, as they are seldom free, so are they in the judgement of some, attended with another sensible convenience; they abate the active powers of men, depress courage, invention, and genius; and produce an universal lethargy in the people. Though this opinion may be just, the fluctuation and contest, it must be allowed, of the English government were, during these reigns, much too violent both for the repose and safety of the people. Foreign affairs, at that time, were either entirely neglected, or managed to pernicious purposes: and in the domestic administration there was felt a continued fever, either secret or manifest; sometimes the most furious convulsions and disorders. The revolution forms a new epoch in the constitution; and was probably attended with consequences more advantageous to the people, than barely freeing them from an exceptionable administration. By deciding many important questions in favour of liberty, and still more, by that great precedent of deposing one king, and establishing a new family, it gave such an ascendant to popular principles, as has put the nature of the English constitution beyond all controversy. But this constitution, excellent as it may appear, may yet have been abused in some measure. Nevertheless, we cannot but think, that we, in this island, have ever since enjoyed, if not the best system of government, at least the most entire system of liberty, that ever was known amongst mankind.

To decry with such violence, as is affected by some, the whole line of Stuart; to maintain, that their administration was one continued encroachment on the incontestable rights of the people; is not giving due honour to that great event, which not only put a period to their hereditary succession, but made a new settlement of the whole constitution. The inconveniencies suffered by the people under the two first reigns of that family, proceeded in a great measure from the unavoidable situation of affairs; and scarcely any thing could have prevented those events, but such vigour of genius in the sovereign, attended with such good fortune, as might have enabled him entirely to overpower the liberties of his people. While the parliaments, in those reigns, were taking advantage of the necessities of the prince, and attempting every session to abolish, or circumscribe, or define, some prerogative of the crown, and innovate in the usual tenor of government; what could be expected, but that the prince would exert himself in defending, against such inveterate enemies, an authority which, during the most regular course of the former English government, had been exercised without dispute or controversy? And Charles II. in 1672, may with reason be deemed the aggressor; nor is it possible to justify his conduct; yet were there some motives, surely which could engage a prince to attempt such hazardous enterprizes. He felt, that public affairs had reached a situation at which they could not possibly remain without some farther innovation. Frequent parliaments were become almost absolutely necessary to the conducting of public business; yet these assemblies were still, in the judgement of the royalists, much inferior in dignity to the sovereign, whom they seemed better calculated to counsel than to control. The crown still possessed considerable power of opposing parliaments; and had not as yet acquired the means of influencing them. Hence a continual jealousy between these parts of the legislature: hence the inclination mutually to take advantage of each others necessities: hence the impossibility, under which the king lay, of finding ministers, who could at once be serviceable and faithful to him. If he followed his own choice in appointing his servants, without regard to their parliamentary interest, a refractory session was instantly to be expected: if he chose them from among

the leaders of popular assemblies, they either lost their influence with the people, by adhering to the crown, or they betrayed the crown, in order to preserve their influence. Neither Hamden, whom Charles I. was willing to gain at any price; nor Shaftesbury, whom Charles II. after the popish plot, attempted to engage in his counsels, would renounce their popularity for the precarious, and, as they esteemed it, deceitful favour of the prince. The rest of their authority they still thought to lie in the parliament; and as the power of that assembly was not yet uncontrollable, they still resolved to augment it, though at the expence of the royal prerogatives. The Whig party, for a long course of years, almost without interruption, enjoyed the whole authority of government; and no honours or offices could be obtained but by their countenance and protection. But this event, which, in some particulars, has been advantageous to the state, has proved destructive to the truth of history, and has established many gross falsehoods, which it is unaccountable how any civilized nation could have embraced with regard to its domestic occurrences. In our animadversions, however, extremes of all kinds should be avoided; and though no one will ever please either party by moderate opinions, it is there we are most likely to meet with truth and certainty.

We shall subjoin to this general view of the English government, some account of the state of the finances, arms, trade, manners, and arts, between the restoration and revolution.

The revenue of Charles II. as settled by the long parliament, was put upon a very bad footing. It was too small, if they intended to make him independent in the common course of his administration: it was too large, and settled during too long a period, if they resolved to keep him in entire dependence. The great debts of the republic, which were thrown upon that prince; the necessity of supplying the naval and military stores, which were entirely exhausted; that of repairing and furnishing his palaces: all these causes involved the king in great difficulties immediately after his restoration; and the parliament was not sufficiently liberal in supplying him. Perhaps too he had contracted some debts abroad; and his bounty to the distressed cavaliers, though it did not correspond either to their services or expectations, could not fail, in some degree, to exhaust his treasury. The extraordinary sums granted the king during the first years, did not suffice for these extraordinary expences; and the excise and customs, the only constant revenue, amounted not to nine hundred thousand pounds a-year, and fell much short of the ordinary burdens of government. The addition of hearth-money in 1662, and of other two branches in 1669 and 1670, brought up the revenue to one million three hundred fifty-eight thousand pounds, as we learn from lord Danby's account: but the same authority informs us, that the yearly expence of government was at that time one million three hundred eighty-seven thousand seven hundred and seventy pounds; without mentioning contingencies, which are always considerable, even under the most prudent administration. Those branches of revenue, granted in 1669 and 1670, expired in 1680, and were never renewed by parliament: they were computed to be above two hundred thousand pounds a-year. If we estimate the ordinary revenue of Charles II. at one million two hundred thousand pounds a-year during his whole reign, the whole computation will rather exceed than fall below the true value. The convention parliament, after all the sums which they had granted the king towards the payment of old debts, threw, the last day of their meeting, a debt upon him amounting to one million seven hundred forty-three thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds. All the extraordinary sums which were afterwards voted him by parliament, amounted to eleven millions four hundred forty three thousand four hundred and seven pounds; which divided by twenty-four, the number of years which that king reigned, make four hundred seventy-six thousand

eight hundred and eight pounds a-year. During that time, he had two violent wars to sustain with the Dutch; and in 1678, he made expensive preparations for a war with France. In the first Dutch war, both France and Denmark were allies to the United Provinces, and the naval armaments in England were very great; so that it is impossible he could have secreted any part, at least any considerable part, of the sums which were then voted him by parliament. To these sums we must add about one million two hundred thousand pounds, which had been detained from the bankers on shutting up the exchequer in 1672. The king paid six *per cent.* for this money during the rest of his reign. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding this violent breach of faith, the king, two years after, borrowed money at eight *per cent.* the same rate of interest which he had paid before that event. A proof that public credit, instead of being of so delicate a nature as we are apt to imagine, is, in reality, so hardy and robust, that it is very difficult to destroy it. The revenue of James was raised by the parliament to about one million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and his income, as duke of York, being added, made the whole amount to two millions a-year; a sum well proportioned to the public necessities, but enjoyed by him in too independent a manner. The nation's debt at the revolution amounted to one million fifty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds.

The militia fell much to decay during these two reigns, partly by the policy of the kings; who had entertained a diffidence of their subjects, partly by that ill-judged law which limited the king's power of mustering and arraying them. In the beginning, however, of Charles's reign, the militia was still deemed formidable. De Wit having proposed to the French king an invasion of England during the first Dutch war, that monarch replied, that such an attempt would be entirely fruitless, and would tend only to unite the English. In a few days, said he, after our landing, there will be fifty thousand men at least upon us. Charles, in the beginning of his reign, had in pay near five thousand men. James, on Monmouth's rebellion, had on foot about fifteen thousand men; and when the prince of Orange invaded him, there were no fewer than thirty thousand regular troops in England.

The English navy, during the greater part of Charles's reign, made a considerable figure, for number of ships, valour of the men, and conduct of the commanders. Even in 1678, the fleet consisted of eighty-three ships; besides thirty, which were at that time on the stocks. On the king's restoration he found only sixty-three vessels of all sizes. During the latter part of Charles's reign, the navy fell somewhat to decay, by reason of the narrowness of the king's revenue; but James, soon after his accession, restored it to its former power and glory; and before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The fleet at the revolution consisted of one hundred and seventy-three vessels of all sizes; and required forty-two thousand seamen to man it. That king when duke of York, had been the first inventor of sea signals.

The commerce and riches of England did never, during any period, increase so fast as from the restoration to the revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island; and after Charles had made a separate peace with the states, his subjects enjoyed, unmolested, the trade of Europe. The only disturbance which they met with, was from a few French privateers that infested the Channel; and Charles interposed not in behalf of his subjects with sufficient spirit and vigour. The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys was a considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies; and, together with the settlement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, which was effected during that reign, extended the English empire in America. The persecutions of the dissenters, contributed to augment and people the colonies. Mr. Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England more

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than doubled during twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were established; in iron, brass, silk, hats, glass, paper, &c. One Brewer, leaving the Low Countries, when they were threatened with a French conquest, brought the art of dying woollen cloth into England, and by that improvement saved the nation great sums of money. The increase of coinage during these two reigns was ten millions two hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds. A board of trade was erected in 1670; and the earl of Sandwich was made president. Charles revived and supported the charter of the East-India company; a measure whose utility is by some thought doubtful: he granted a charter to the Hudson's Bay company. We learn from Sir John Child, that in 1688 there were on the 'Change more men worth ten thousand pounds, than there were in 1650 worth a thousand; that five hundred pounds with a daughter was, in the latter period, deemed a larger portion than two thousand in the former; that gentlewomen, in those earlier times, thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid would, in 1688, be ashamed to be seen in; and that, besides the great increase of rich cloth, plate, jewels, and household furniture, coaches were in that time augmented a hundred-fold. The duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glass and crystal into England. Prince Rupert was also an encourager of useful arts and manufactures: he himself was the inventor of etching.

The first law for erecting turnpikes was passed in 1662: the places of the turnpikes were Wadefmill, Caxton, and Stilton: but the general and great improvement of highways did not take place till the reign of George II.

In 1663, was passed the first law for allowing the exportation of foreign coin and bullion.

In 1667, was concluded the first American treaty between England and Spain: this treaty was made more general and complete in 1670. The two states then renounced all right of trading with each others colonies; and the title of England was acknowledged to all the territories in America, of which she was then possessed.

Lord Clarendon tells us, that in 1665, when money, in consequence of a treaty, was to be remitted to the bishop of Munster, it was found that the whole trade of England could not supply above one thousand pounds a month to Frankfort and Cologne, nor above twenty thousand pounds a month to Hamburgh: these sums appear surprisingly small.

At the same time that the boroughs of England were deprived of their privileges, a like attempt was made on the colonies. King James recalled the charters, by which their liberties were secured; and he sent over governors invested with absolute power.

Till the revolution, the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed in England, and during a very short period. The star-chamber, while that court subsisted, put effectual restraints upon printing. On the suppression of that tribunal in 1641, the long parliament, after their rupture with the kings, assumed the same power with regard to the licensing of books; and this authority was continued during all the period of the republic and protectorship. Two years after the restoration, an act was passed, reviving the republican ordinances. This act expired in 1679; but was revived the first of king James. The liberty of the press did not even commence with the revolution. It was not till 1694, that the restraints were taken off; to the great displeasure of the king and his ministers, who seeing no where, in any government, during present or past ages, any example of such unlimited freedom, doubted much of its salutary effects, and probably thought, that no books or writings would ever so much improve the general understanding of men, as to render it safe to entrust them with an indulgence so easily abused.

In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed; a prudent measure, while the nation was in continual dread of the return of popery.

Amidst the thick cloud of bigotry and ignorance, which overspread the nation, during the commonwealth and protectorship, there were a few sedate philosophers, who, in the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reason, and established conferences for the mutual communication of their discoveries in physics and geometry. Wilkins, a clergyman, who had married Cromwell's sister, and was afterwards bishop of Chester, promoted these philosophical conversations. Immediately after the restoration, these men procured a patent, and having enlarged their number, were denominated the Royal Society. But this patent was all they obtained from the king. Though Charles was a lover of the sciences, particularly chemistry and mechanics, he animated them by his example alone, not by his bounty. His craving courtiers and mistresses; by whom he was perpetually surrounded, engrossed all his expences, and left him neither money nor attention for literary merit. His contemporary, Lewis, who fell short of the king's genius and knowledge in this particular, much exceeded him in liberality. Besides pensions conferred on learned men throughout all Europe, his academies were directed by rules and supported by salaries: a generosity which does great honour to his memory. We may be surprised, that this example should not be more followed by princes; since it is certain, that that bounty, so extensive, so beneficial, and so much celebrated, cost not this monarch so great a sum as is often conferred on one useless overgrown favourite or courtier. But though the French academy of sciences was directed, encouraged, and supported by the sovereign, there arose in England some men of superior genius, who were more than sufficient to cast the balance, and who drew on themselves and on their native country, the regard and attention of Europe. Besides Wilkins, Wren, and Wallis, eminent mathematicians, Hooke, an accurate observer by microscopes, and Sydenham, the restorer of true physic; there flourished during this period a Boyle and a Newton, men who trod with cautious, and therefore the more secure steps, the only road which leads to true philosophy.

C H A P. VII.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

IT is not to be doubted but the constitution of England, upon the accession of William to the throne, assumed a different aspect from what it had before. As his right to the crown was wholly from the choice of the people, they chose to load the benefit with whatever stipulations they thought requisite for their own security. His power was limited on every side, and the jealousy which his new subjects entertained of foreigners, still farther obstructed the exercise of his authority. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights* in behalf of their constituents, which, previous to his coronation, William was obliged to confirm. He was no sooner elected to the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people, who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them. From the peaceful and tractable disposition among the English, he hoped to find them ready and willing to second his ambition in

humbling France, but he found them more apt to fear for the invasion of their domestic liberties at home.

King William† began his reign with an attempt similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. William was naturally biassed to Calvinism, and averse to persecution. Whatever promises he had made, and whatever sentiments of respect he had entertained for the church of England, he seemed now in a great measure alienated from it, by the opposition he had met with from its members, particularly from the bishops, who had thwarted his measures. He therefore resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the same time, by removing the obstacles affixed to non-conformity, that all protestant dissenters should be rendered capable of enjoying and exercising civil employments. When he gave his assent to the bill for suspending the Habeas-Corpus act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in lieu of those of allegiance and supremacy: he expressed his hope that they would leave room for the admission of all his protestant subjects who should be found qualified for the service: he said such a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries. In consequence of this hint, a clause was inserted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the sacramental test was declared unnecessary in rendering any person capable of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the house of lords. Another clause for the same purpose, though in different terms, was proposed by the king's direction, and met with the same fate, though in both cases several noblemen entered a protest against the resolution of the house. These fruitless efforts in favour of dissenters augmented the prejudice of the churchmen against king William, who would have willingly compromised the difference, by excusing the clergy from the oaths, provided the dissenters might be exempted from the sacramental test: but this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the proposal was rejected. The church-party in the house of lords moved that instead of inserting a clause, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the king should be empowered to tender them; and in case of their refusal, they should incur the penalty, because deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, might make them desperate, and excite them to form designs against the government. This argument had no weight with the commons, who thought it was indispensably necessary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their instructions. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clause empowering the king to indulge any twelve clergymen, deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleasure. Thus the ancient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated: the declaration of non-resistance in the act of uniformity was repealed: the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive simplicity, and the coronation-oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the 1st of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for six months, and of entire deprivation, in case they should not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with such reservations

* See the declaration of rights at the close of James the Second's reign, p. 721.

† His privy-council was made up of the following persons: his highness George, prince of Denmark; William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Henry Compton, bishop of London; Henry, duke of Norfolk; Charles, marquis of Winchester; George, marquis of Halifax; Thomas, earl of Danby; Robert, earl of Lindsey; Aubrey, earl of Oxford; Charles, earl of Shrewsbury; Charles, earl of Dorset and Middlesex; William, earl of Bedford; John, earl of Bath;

Charles, earl of Macclesfield; Daniel, earl of Nottingham; Thomas, viscount Falconberg; Charles, viscount Mordaunt; Francis, viscount Newport; Richard, viscount Lumley; Philip, lord Wharton; Ralph, lord Montague; Henry, lord Delamere; John, lord Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Henry Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, knight; Sir Henry Capel, knight; Mr. Henry Powle, Mr. Edward Ruffel, Mr. Hugh Boscawen, and Mr. Richard Hamden, to whom were added on the 20th of February, Thomas Wharton, Esq. and Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, Bart.



and distinctions as were not much for the honour of their sincerity. The king, though baffled in his design against the sacramental test, resolved to indulge the dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being prepared by the earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into a law on the 24th of May, under the title of "An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws *."

It was now thought necessary to settle a revenue for the support of government. Hitherto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the king's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public; so that the sovereign was entirely master of the whole supply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity, and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services; and an account of the application had been constantly submitted to both houses, at the next session. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the Whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a small term of years; that the king might find himself dependent upon the parliament, and merit the renewal of the grant by a just and popular administration. In pursuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under consideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations which they had not time to examine, granted it by a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen dowager, the prince and princess of Denmark, the judges, and marshal Schomberg, to whom the parliament had already granted one hundred thousand pounds, in consideration of his important services to the nation. The commons also voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace. The king took um-

brage at these restraints laid upon the application of the public money, which were the most salutary proofs of the revolution. He considered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was distinguished from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the services he had done to the nation. The Tories perceived his disgust, and did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the Whigs, in relation to the militia. A bill was brought into the house, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the king and the lords lieutenants of counties. These being generally peers, the bill was suffered to lie neglected on the table; but the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the king, who began to think himself in danger of being enslaved by a republican party. The Tories had, by the channel of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his majesty: but complained at the same time, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favour of the crown, lest they should incur a persecution from their implacable enemies. These remonstrances made such impression on the king, that he sent a message to the house by Mr. Hamden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. He desired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindication of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the nation. An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimously voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by the backwardness of the Whigs, who proceeded so slowly on the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session. They wanted to keep the scourge over the heads of their enemies, until they should find a proper opportunity for revenge: and, in the mean time, restrained from opposition by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to insinuate, that the king's design was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the pre-

* The reason of this act is thus given in the preamble: Forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion may be an effectual means to unite their majesties' protestant subjects in interests and affections; it was therefore enacted, "That none of the penal laws shall be construed to extend to any person or persons dissenting from the church of England, that shall take the oaths, to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of 30 Car. II. provided that no assembly of persons so dissenting should be in any place for religious worship with the doors locked, barred, or bolted, during the time of such meeting together; and provided, that nothing should be construed to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tythes or other parochial duties. If any dissenter should be chosen or appointed to bear the office of constable, church-warden, overseer, &c. and should scruple the oaths required by law to be taken in respect of such office or employment by a sufficient deputy. That all preachers or teachers of any congregation of dissenting protestants, who shall take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, and also subscribe the articles of religion except the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, and thirty-sixth, and these words in the twentieth article, viz. [The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,] shall not be liable to any of the pains and penalties mentioned in Stat. 17 Car. II. 2. 22 Car. II. 13 and 14. Car. II. cap. 4. Every such teacher shall be exempted from serving upon any jury, or from being chosen and appointed to bear the office of churchwarden, overseer of the poor, &c. But any justice of the peace may require any person, that goes to any meeting for exercise of religion, to subscribe the declaration and to take the oaths. And, in case of refusal, is required to commit such person to prison without bail or mainprize, &c." The like liberty was given to anabaptists, but no papist, or any that denied the Trinity, were to have the benefit of this act. The quakers were also admitted to it on condition of promising before God, instead of swearing, to be true and faithful to the king and queen, and solemnly professing and declaring, that they abhorred and renounced, &c. They were also to subscribe a profession of their Christian belief in these words: I, A. B. profess faith in

God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration: "provided that all the laws made for the frequenting divine service on the Lord's Day shall be still in force, and executed against all persons that offend against the said laws, except such persons come to some congregation permitted by this act. Provided, that if any person shall maliciously or contemptuously come into any cathedral or parish church, or other congregation, and disquiet or disturb the same, or misuse any preacher or teacher, he shall, upon conviction, suffer the penalty of twenty pounds. And, finally, provided, that no congregation or assembly, for religious worship, shall be permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of such meeting shall be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the justices of the peace at the general or quarter sessions; and registered in the said bishops or archdeacon's court, recorded at the said general or quarter sessions."

The clergy had begun already to shew great hatred to the dissenters, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them, and therefore, the quieting the nation by the act of toleration, was much applauded by men of moderation and goodness. It gave the king great content, who was very uneasy to see so much ill humour spreading among the clergy, and by their means, over a great part of the nation. He was so true to his principle of liberty of conscience, that he restrained the heat of some, who were proposing several acts against the papists. He made them apprehend the advantage, which that would give the French, to alienate all the papists of Europe from us, who from thence might hope to set on foot a new catholic league, and make the war a quarrel of religion, which might have very bad effects: nor could he pretend to protect the protestants in many places of Germany and Hungary, unless he could cover the papists in England, from all the severities on the account of their religion. This was so carefully infused into many, and so well understood by them, that the papists have enjoyed the real effects of the toleration, though they were not comprehended within the act.

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ceding reigns; and that he for this purpose pressed an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally use the instruments of the late tyranny. The earls of Monmouth and Warrington industriously infused these jealousies into the minds of their party: on the other hand, the earl of Nottingham inflamed William's distrust of his old friends: which was like to have produced confusion, notwithstanding the endeavours used by the earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire to allay those heats, and remove the suspicions that mutually prevailed.

While the revenue was settling, there was one branch of it which the king had a mind should be discharged. In his march through the western counties, from the first landing, it had been moved to abolish the chimney-money, and he had promised to recommend it to the parliament. To this end he sent a message to the commons, acquainting them, "That being sensible what a grievous burden hearth-money was to the people, especially the poorer sort, he was willing to agree either to a regulation of it, or the taking it away, not doubting but they would take care of his revenue some other way." This proved to be an act of great prudence and popularity, for which the commons presented an address of thanks, expressed in very grateful terms, "for this unprecedented offer for the ease of his people, assuring him, that they would make such returns, as to be so careful of the support of the crown, that the world might see, to the discouraging of his enemies, and satisfaction of all good men, that his majesty reigned in the hearts of his people." But as popular as this act was, it met with such opposition from the Tories, that it ran a great hazard in the house of lords. They alledged, that it was the only sure fund, which could never fail in war; so that money would be freely advanced upon it; and that a few regulations would take away any grievance which might arise from it. But it was thought, they were not willing, that such an act should pass, as would render the king acceptable to the body of the nation. It was also imagined, that the prospect they then had of a speedy revolution in favour of king James, made some of them unwilling to pass an act, which seemed to lay an obligation on him, either to maintain it, or by refusing his revenue to raise the hatred of the nation higher against him*. However, the act was passed on the 24th of April, and this badge of slavery (as it is expressed in the preamble) upon the whole people was removed, which exposed every man's house to be entered into, and searched at pleasure by persons unknown to him.

Though William was acknowledged king in England, Scotland and Ireland were still undetermined. The revolution in England had been brought about by a coalition of Whigs and Tories; but in Scotland it was effected by the Whigs almost alone†. They soon came to a resolution, that king James had, to use their own expression, *forefaulted* his right to the crown, a

term which, in the law-language of that country, excluded not only him, but all his posterity‡. They, therefore, quickly recognized the authority of William, and took that opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to the nation.

The only part which now remained to the deposed king of all his former possessions was Ireland; and he had some hopes of maintaining his ground there, by the assistance which he was promised from France. Lewis XIV. had long been at variance with William, and took every opportunity to form confederacies against him, and to obstruct his government. On the present occasion, being either touched with compassion at the sufferings of James, or willing to weaken a rival kingdom, by promoting its internal dissensions, he granted the deposed monarch a fleet and some troops, to assert his pretensions in Ireland, the only part of his dominions that had not openly declared against him. On the other hand, William was not backward in warding off the threatened blow. He was pleased with an opportunity of gratifying his natural hatred against France; and he hoped to purchase domestic quiet to himself, by turning the spirit of the nation upon the continual object of his aversion and jealousy. On the 16th of April, Mr. Hamden made a motion for taking into consideration the state of the kingdom with respect to France, and foreign alliances; and the commons unanimously resolved, that in case his majesty should think fit to engage in a war with France, they would in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the king, desiring he would seriously consider the destructive methods taken of late years by the French king against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, particularly his present invasion of Ireland, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made, and those that might hereafter be concluded by his majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French king to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of Christendom; nor prejudice the trade and posterity of England: in the mean time they assured his majesty he might depend upon the assistance of his parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the house of commons. This was a welcome address to king William. He assured them, that no part of the supplies which they might grant for the prosecution of the war, should be misapplied; and, on the 7th of May, he declared war against the French monarch§.

The French king is said to have offered an army of fifteen thousand natives of France to serve in this expedition; but James replied, that he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly he contented himself with about twelve hundred British subjects||, and a good number of French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest,

* By the hearth books it appeared, that the number of houses in England and Wales, soon after the restoration, was about one million two hundred and thirty thousand; and reckoning six persons at a medium to each house, it fixes the number of the people at that time to be seven million three hundred and eighty thousand.

† The following is an extract from the act passed in Scotland, respecting the settlement of the crown: "That William and Mary, king and queen of England, be declared king and queen of Scotland, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdom to them the said king and queen during their lives, and the longest liver of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the power to be only in and exercised by him the said king, in the names of the said king and queen during their lives. And after their decease, that the said crown and royal dignity be to the heir of the body of the said queen; which failing, to the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; which also failing, to the said William, king of England."

‡ The following is a copy of the act: "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that king James VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law, and

had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy, to an arbitrary despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he had *forefaulted* the crown, and the throne was become vacant."

§ On this occasion, Lewis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guarantee of the English crown; with having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee island, taken forcible possession of New-York and Hudson's-Bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations, and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels of that kingdom.

|| James in this expedition was attended by the duke of Berwick, and by his brother Mr. Fitzjames, grand prior, the duke of Powis, the earls of Dover, Melford, Abertoun, and Seaforth, the lords Harry and Thomas Howard, the lords

Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, and three fire-ships, with a great many transports. The French king also supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland, accommodated him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting, he presented him with his own cuirass, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I can wish you (said he) is, that I may never see you again." On the 7th of March, James embarked at Brest, together with the count d'Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of ambassador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the 17th of the month, when he set sail, and on the 22d landed at Kinsale in Ireland. By this time king William had published a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to the new government. On the 22d of February, thirty ships of war had been put in commission, and the command of them conferred upon admiral Herbert; but the armament was retarded in such a manner by the disputes of the council, and the king's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the admiral was not in a condition to sail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms at Kinsale, and the whole country seemed to be at his devotion; for, although the protestants in the north had declared for the new government, their strength and number was deemed inconsiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel, who was strongly attached to James*. This minister had disarmed all the other protestant subjects in one day, and assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry, for the service of his master. In the latter end of March, James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. He dismissed from the council-board the lord Granard, judge Keating, and other protestants, who had exhorted the lord-lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government. In their room he admitted the French ambassador, the bishop of Chester, colonel Dorrington, and, by degrees, the principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations†. The adherents of James in England pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council dissuaded him from complying with their solicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience.

On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates against the regiment commanded by the earl of Antrim, and resolved to defend themselves against the lord-lieutenant. They transmitted this resolution to the government of

England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by such a vigorous measure, and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition, but did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time, king James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy, the governor. This officer directed him to join colonel Craiton, and take post at the Longcausey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy; until being overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, as the army of king James was not yet completely formed. Lundy assembled a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted: they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from Londonderry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately dispatched to king James, with proposals of a negotiation; and lieutenant-general Hamilton agreed that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that he was fain to retire to St. John's Town in some disorder. The inhabitants and soldiers in garrison at Londonderry, were so incensed at the members of the council of war, who had resolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships, and Lundy locked himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to be concerned in the defence of the place, and he was suffered to escape in disguise, with a load of match upon his back; but he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was sent to London to answer for his perfidy or misconduct. After his retreat, the townsmen chose Mr. Walker and major Baker, for their governors with joint authority; but this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to colonel Cunningham, as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected this proposal, and with Richards returned to England, where they were immediately cashiered. The two new governors, thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous defence; indeed, their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion, for the place was very ill fortified: their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted: they had not one engineer to direct their operations: they had but a very small number of horse: the garrison consisted of people unacquainted with mili-

Drummond, Dungen Trendraught, Buchan, Hunsdon, and Brittas; the bishops of Chester and Galway; the late lord chief justice Herbert: the marquis D'Estrades, M. de Rosne, marshal de Camp; Mamoc, Pulignan, and Dori, lieutenant-generals; Prontee, engineer general; the marquis d'Albeville, Sir John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Sir Alphonso Maiolo, Sir Samuel Foxon, and Sir William Wallis; by the colonels Porter, Sarsfield, Anthony and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Luttrell, Ramsay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcel, Cannon, and Fielding, with about two and twenty other officers of inferior rank.

* We may here observe, that Tyrconnel had been named by Oates in his narrative, for the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; and, therefore, when the protestants saw him put into it, many, who believed nothing of a plot before, gave credit now to that narrative; and the common saying was, "That if Oates was an ill evidence, he was certainly a good prophet." He exercised

cised at the same time so much falsehood and barbarity, that if the army had not been the best principled with loyalty and obedience of any in the world, they would have mutinied, or at least have dispatched him. King's State of Protestants in Ireland, p. 59.

† They first recalled all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom, by a certain time, on pain of outlawry and confiscation, and requiring all persons to join him against the prince of Orange. The second contained expressions of acknowledgement to his catholic subjects for their vigilance and fidelity, and an injunction to such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to use them for his advantage. By the third he invited the subjects to supply his army with provisions, and prohibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raised the value of the current coin, and in the fifth he summoned a parliament to meet on the 7th of May at Dublin. Finally he created Tyrconnel a duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

tary discipline: they were destitute of provisions: they were besieged by a king in person, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a siege or battle. This town was invested on the 20th of April: the batteries were soon opened, and several attacks were made with great impetuosity: but the besiegers were already repulsed with considerable loss. The townsmen gained divers advantages in repeated sallies, and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had they not been afflicted with a contagious distemper, as well as reduced to extremity by want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for they had the mortification to see some ships which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raised on both sides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of general Kirke, who had deserted his master, and been employed in the service of king William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and provisions on board for their relief, but found it impracticable to sail up the river: he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskillin, which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He said he expected six thousand men from England, where they were embarked before he set sail. He exhorted them to persevere in their courage and loyalty, and assured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. These assurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished. Major Baker dying, his place was filled with colonel Michellburn*, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker. King James having returned to Dublin, to be present at the parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French general Rosne, who was exasperated at such an obstinate opposition by a handful of half-starved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, unless they would immediately submit themselves to their lawful sovereign. The governors treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order, that no person, on pain of death, should talk of surrendering. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hides, and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosne, finding them deaf to all his proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. The bishop of Meath, being informed of this design, complained to king James of the barbarous intention, entreating his majesty to prevent its being put in execution. That prince assured him that he had already ordered Rosne to desist from such proceeding. Nevertheless, the Frenchman executed his threats with the utmost rigour. Parties of dragoons were detached on this cruel service: after having stripped all the protestants for thirty miles round, they drove these unhappy

people before them like cattle, without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosne, produced a quite contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importing, that they would hang all the prisoners, they had taken during the siege, unless the protestants whom they had driven under the walls should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negotiation, in consequence of which the protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations found themselves plundered and sacked by the papists, so that the greater number perished for want, or were murdered by the straggling parties of the enemy; yet these very people had for the most part obtained protections from king James, to which no respect was paid by his general. The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven, to five thousand seven hundred men, and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provisions to sail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of them, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were so dispirited by the success of this enterprize, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their majesties for the seasonable relief they had received.

The Inniskilliners were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour and perseverance with which they opposed the papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the 11th of March; and resolved in a general council to maintain their side against all opposition. The lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom belonging to the protestants in the neighbourhood of Inniskillin, the inhabitants of which threw succours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet, a detachment of the garrison, commanded by lieutenant colonel Lloyd, took and demolished the castle of Aughor, and they gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand Irish papists at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander Macarty, commonly called lord Moncathel †.

* This gentleman claimed to himself a considerable share in the defence of that town, and drew up a memorial, wherein he complained of "the injustice done him both by colonel Baker and Mr. Walker, in assuming to themselves all the honour of it, and taking little or no notice of him, who, according to that memorial, was from the first to the last of that siege as forward and as serviceable as they, and particularly in advancing considerable sums of money for the use of the garrison, which they were not so well able to do; and which he himself wanted afterwards so much, that in Mr. Harley's ministry he lay in the Fleet prison for a debt contracted while he was soliciting the payment of the arrears coming to him, which were paid at last, but in a manner far short of the merit of so gallant an action in the defence of Londonderry." Oldmixon.

† Such is the account given by Smollet, ch. 1. but Tindal,

who followed Story's Continuation of the War in Ireland, tells us, that "two thousand Inniskilliners fought and routed six thousand Irish, at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander Macarty, (commonly called lord Moncathel,) and the loss only of twenty men killed, and fifteen wounded. And it is probable, that Mr. Burchet means the same action when he tells us, that about the time of raising the siege of Londonderry, the king's forces commanded by colonel Berry, near Linasklea, had a signal victory over the enemy, inasmuch that with the number killed by the army, and those which were knocked on the head by the country people, they lost not less than four thousand men; and their cannon, with most of their surviving officers, were taken, among whom was major-general Macarty, who was shot through the thigh, and run into the back." Burchet, B. IV. c. 2. p. 419.

The king was exceedingly arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we suppose that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppression that were daily committed upon the protestant subjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be justly imputed to the temper of his ministry, consisting of men abandoned to all sense of justice and humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter: the people were robbed and plundered: licences and protections were abused, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The king's old stores were ransacked: the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin for his majesty's occasions: an arbitrary value was set upon it, and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment, under the severest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsic worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vast sum of this counterfeit coin was issued in the course of one year, and forced upon the protestants in payment of merchandize, provision, and necessaries, for the king's service. James, not content with the supply granted by parliament, imposed by his own authority, a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon lands*. Understanding that the protestants had laid out all their brass money, in purchasing great quantities of hides, tallow, wool, and corn, he assumed the despotic power of fixing the prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own use. Hence it appears, that his ministers were bent upon the utter destruction of those unhappy people.

All vacancies in public schools were supplied with popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin, was cut off: the vice-provost, fellows, and scholars, were expelled: their furniture, plate, and public library were seized, without the least shadow or pretence, and in direct violation of a promise the king had made to preserve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: one Moore, a popish priest, was appointed provost; one Macarty, of the same persuasion, was made library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholic seminary. When bishoprics and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the king ordered the profits to be lodged in the exchequer, and suffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of Romish bishops and priests, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in several places they forcibly seized the protestant churches. When complaints were made of this outrage, the king promised to do justice to the injured; and in some places actually ordered the churches to be restored: but the popish clergy refused to comply with this order, alledging that in spirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy see; and James found himself unable to protect his protestant subjects against a powerful body which he durst not disoblige. Some ships appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was issued, forbidding the protestants to assemble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain of death. By a second, they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Luttrell, governor of

Dublin, published an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his majesty's horses, within a certain day, otherwise he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death, and, in order to keep up the credit of the brass money, the same penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, against any person who should give more than one pound eighteen shillings for a guinea.

But the sufferings of the protestants were soon to have an end. William at length perceived that his neglect of Ireland had been an error that required more than usual diligence to redress. He was afraid to send the late king's army to fight against him, and therefore ordered twenty-three new regiments to be raised for that purpose. These, with the two Dutch battalions and four of French refugees, together with the Inniskilliners, were appointed for the reduction of Ireland; and next to king William himself, Schomberg was appointed to command†. The method of carrying on the war in Ireland was a mode of operation with which Schomberg was entirely unacquainted. The forces he had to combat were incurfiv, barbarous, and shy; those he had to command were tumultuary, ungovernable, and brave. He considered not the dangers which threatened the health of his troops by being confined to one place; and he kept them in a low moist camp, near Dundalk, without firing almost of any kind; so that the men fell into fevers and fluxes, and died in great abundance. The enemy were not less afflicted with similar disorders. Both camps remained for some time in sight of each other; and at last the rainy season approaching, they both, as if by mutual agreement, quitted their camps at the same time, and retired into winter-quarters, without attempting to take advantage of each other's retreat.

During these transactions the parliament of England thought it a duty incumbent upon them to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns. The attainders of lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, alderman Cornish, and lady Lisle, were now reversed. A committee of privileges was appointed by the lords, to examine the case of the earl of Devonshire, who in the late reign had been fined thirty thousand pounds, for assaulting colonel Colepepper, in the presence-chamber‡. The sentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnson, chaplain to lord Russel, in consequence of which he had been degraded, fined, scourged, and set in the pillory, was now annulled, and the commons recommended him to his majesty for some ecclesiastical preferment§. Titus Oates seized this opportunity of petitioning the house of lords for a reversal of the judgements given against him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counsel at the bar were heard on this subject, and a bill of reversal passed the commons: but the peers having inserted some amendments and a proviso, a conference was demanded, and violent heats ensued. Oates, however, was released from confinement; and the lords, with the consent of the commons, recommended him to his majesty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable pension||. The committee appointed to enquire into the cases of the state prisoners, found Sir Robert Wright, late lord chief-justice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the west, after the insurrection of Mon-

* This seems to have been a temporary expedient during the adjournment of the two houses, as the term of the assessment was limited to three months: it was, however, levied by virtue of a commission under the seals; and seems to have been a stretch of prerogative, the less excusable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way.

† Schomberg was a Dutchman, who had long been the faithful servant of William, and had now passed a life of eighty years almost continually in the field.

‡ They reported that the court of King's Bench, in over-

ruling the earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had committed a manifest breach of privilege; that the fine was excessive and exorbitant, against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the realm.

§ He received one thousand pounds in money, with a pension of three hundred pounds for his life and that of his son, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year: but the father never obtained any ecclesiastical benefice.

|| About three pounds a week.

mouth; as also one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jefferies, that instrument of arbitrary power, from the resentment of the nation*. Graham and Burton had acted as solicitors in the illegal prosecutions carried on against those who opposed the court in the reign of Charles II.; these were now reported guilty of having been instrumental in taking away the lives and estates of those who had suffered the loss of either under colour of law for eight years last past; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and prosecutions of *quo warranto*, endeavoured the subversion of the protestant religion, and the government of the realm; and of having wasted many thousand pounds of the public revenue in the course of their infamous practices.

A bill being prepared in the house of lords enjoining the subjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain seasons of the year, a petition was presented against it by the silk-weavers of London and Canterbury, assembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster. The lords refused their petition, because this was an unusual manner of application. They were persuaded to return to their respective places of abode: precautions were taken against a second riot; and the bill was unanimously rejected in the upper house. This parliament passed an act, vesting in the two universities the presentations belonging to papists: those of the southern counties being given to Oxford†; and those of the northern to Cambridge‡, on certain specified conditions§. Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; and that of the marches of Wales was abolished, as an intolerable oppression. The protestant clergymen, who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviso that they should resign their English benefices when restored to those they had been obliged to relinquish. The statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed: the subjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them, on condition that it should be brought to the mint, and converted into money, the owners receiving its full value in current coin. These and several other bills of smaller importance being passed, the two houses adjourned to the 20th of September, and afterwards to the 19th of October.

The bad success of the late campaign in Ireland, and the miserable situation of that country, induced William to attempt their relief in person, at the opening of the ensuing spring; and accordingly on the 4th of June, 1690, the king set out for Ireland, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other persons of distinction. On the 14th he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wertemberg, major-general Kirke, and other officers. By this time colonel Wolfey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbet: Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-Castle; and that of Charlemont, a

strong post of great importance, together with Balin-gargy, near Cavan had been reduced. King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the duke's head-quarters at Lisburne; then advancing to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country people. When some of his general officers proposed cautious measures, he declared he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Lough-brilland, where he found it amount to six and thirty thousand effective men well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned. King James trusted so much to the disputes in the English parliament, that he did not believe his son-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and William had been six days in Ireland before he received intimation of his arrival. This was no sooner known, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia commanded by Luttrell, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which now almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrisons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general officers, resolved to stand battle. They proposed to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at sea. Lewis had promised to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet, and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports as soon as their convoy should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was not at all difficult, and must have proved fatal to the English army; for their stores and ammunitions were still on board; the ships sailed along the coast as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one secure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, his front was secured by a morass and a rising-ground: so that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage. King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and, as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field-pieces, which the enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his clothes and skin, and produce a considerable confusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp resounded with acclamation; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately, and attack the English army. The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin; from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where contrary

* He died in the Tower April 18, 1689. He is said to have hastened his death by drinking spirituous liquors. Whilst he continued prisoner there, he was visited by Dr. John Scott, the celebrated author of the Christian Life; and being urged by him to improve his present situation by a serious review of his past life, he expressed great concern upon the occasion; but with regard to one part of his conduct, which had exposed him to most censure, his behaviour in the west after the defeat of the duke of Monmouth, he declared, that how cruel soever his proceedings might be thought, they had by no means come up to the severity, which king James expected from him, his majesty being extremely displeased with him on that account.

† Namely, Oxfordshire, Kent, Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, Fle-

refordshire, Northamptonshire, Pembrokehire, Carmarthenshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Cardiganshire, Montgomeryshire.

‡ *Videlicet*, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Shropshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Rutlandshire, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, Cheshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire, Isle of Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, Merionethshire, Radnorshire, and Glamorganshire.

§ If any trustee, mortgagee, or grantee of such advowson present, without notice to the respective university, he forfeits five hundred pounds to the university. No popish benefice is to be granted to any person having another; and such benefice to be void by absence of sixty days in one year.

to the custom of the French court; the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line to shew himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war, and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed his design: but finding the king determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane-Bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of Duleck, that the action might be more decisive. This counsel being rejected, the king determined, that early in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglas, with his right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg with the horse, should pass at Slane-Bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Old Bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The duke, perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying, it was the first that had ever been sent to him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given orders for the soldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action. At six o'clock in the morning, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Auverquerque, marched towards Slane-Bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry was led to the charge through the morass, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with some precipitation; yet not so fast, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did considerable execution. King James, however, soon reinforced his left wing from the centre; and the count was in his turn obliged to send for assistance. At this juncture, king William's main body, consisting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist high, under a general discharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side; but he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. These poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect: then the Irish gave way; and some battalions landed without further opposition. Yet, before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by general Hamilton, advanced from behind some little hillocks to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, so as to put the unformed regiments in confusion. The duke of Schomberg then passed the river in person, put himself at the head of the French protestants, and pointed to the enemy, "Gentlemen, (said he,) those are your persecutors:" with these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse, which had broke through

one of the regiments; and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two severe wounds in the head: but the French regiments being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the duke; and instead of saving, shot him dead upon the spot. The fall of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately involved in tumult and disorder; while the infantry of king James rallied, and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the centre, when king William having passed with the left wing, composed of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panic at his appearance, that they made a sudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, recoiled; even the Inniskilliners gave way; and the whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons, belonging to the regiment of Cunningham and Levison, dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile through which the fugitives were driven. They did such execution upon the pursuers, as soon checked their ardour. The horse, which were broken, had now time to rally, and returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action general Hamilton, who had been the life and soul of the Irish during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken: an incident which discouraged them to such a degree, that they made no further efforts to retrieve the advantage they had lost. He was immediately brought to the king, who asked him, if he thought the Irish would make any farther resistance; and he replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will; for they have still a good body of horse entire." William eyeing him with a look of disdain, repeated, "Your honour! your honour!" but took no notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation; but the French and Swiss troops, that acted as the auxiliaries, under Lauzan, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for some time with intrepidity and perseverance. As king William did not think proper to pursue the enemy, the carnage was not great. The Irish lost fifteen hundred men, and the English about one third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchased, considering the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the best generals of the time in military reputation*. This battle likewise proved fatal to the brave Caillemore, who had followed the duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the protestant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four soldiers, and though almost in the agonies of death, he, with a cheerful countenance, encouraged those who were crossing to do their duty, exclaiming, "*A la gloire, mes enfans; a la gloire!*" To glory, my lads; to glory!" The third remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion, was Walker the clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of king James. He had been very graciously received by king William, who gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of farther favour: but his military genius still predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and being shot in the belly, died in a few mi-

* He was descended of a noble family in the palatinate, and his mother was an English woman, daughter of lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburg. He attained to the

dignities of marshal in France, grandee in Portugal, generalissimo in Prussia, and duke in England. He professed the protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage.

notes. The persons of distinction who fell on the other side were the lords Dongan and Carlingford, Sir Neile O'Neill, and the marquis of Hocquincourt. James himself stood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse. At intervals, when he saw his own troops repulsing those of the enemy, he is said to have been heard to exclaim, several times, "O spare my English subjects." At last, seeing victory declare against him, he retired to Dublin without having made the least effort to re-assemble his broken forces. King James no sooner arrived at Dublin, than he assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech resigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish; signified his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and assured them, that though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. Next day he set out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked in a vessel which had been prepared for his reception. At sea he fell in with the French squadron, commanded by Sieur de Moran, who persuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime sailer. In this he was safely conveyed to France, and returned to the place of his former residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the papists. The protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration; and an account of these transactions was transmitted to king William, together with a petition, that he would honour the city with his presence.

On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of Mr. Millionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which surrendered the place without opposition. The king, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the first night at Bally-Breghan, where, having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he sent the duke of Ormond, with a body of horse, to take possession. These were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who secured the castle. In a few days the king encamped at Pinglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was visited by the bishops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the protestant clergy, whom he assured of his favour and protection. He then published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had served against him, provided they should return to their dwellings, and surrender their arms by the 1st of August. Those that rented lands of popish proprietors who had been concerned in the rebellion, were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue to whom they should be paid. The desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorized the depredations which had been committed upon the protestants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the king's first proclamation, were left to the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of repentance they should deserve mercy, which would never be refused to those who were truly penitent. The next step taken by king William was to issue a proclamation, reducing the brass money to nearly its intrinsic value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having seen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to prosecute the war as long as they could be supplied with means to support their operations.

During these transactions, the queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity.

She was distracted between her apprehensions for her father's safety, and her husband's life: she was threatened with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an insurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheless, she disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to sail from Brest, lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and sailed round to St. Helen's, in order to assemble such a number of ships as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the 20th of June, the English admiral, reinforced with a Dutch squadron, stood out to sea, with a view to intercept them at the back of the Isle of Wight, should they presume to sail up the Channel: not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle. The fleet consisted of twenty-eight ships of war, and two-and-twenty fire-ships; whereas, the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed six-and-fifty; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-Head, on the 30th of June, at day-break. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning: in about half an hour the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French: but the red, which formed the center under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock, so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy; and, though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length, the admiral's division drove between them and the French, and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye: an English ship of seventy guns being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted, by the captain's command. A Dutch ship of sixty-four guns met with the same accident, and some French frigates attempted to burn her; but the captain defended her so vigorously that they were obliged to desist, and he afterwards found means to carry her safe to Holland. In this engagement the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate: six of their large ships were destroyed. Dick and Brackel, rear-admirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames, and, having taken precaution against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with consternation.

The government was infected with the same panic. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malcontents of the nation; that insurrections in the different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These insinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to justify, in the opinion of the public, the measures that were deemed necessary at this juncture; and they produced the desired effect. The apprehensions thus artfully raised among the people inflamed their aversion to non-jurors and Jacobites. Addresses were presented to the queen by the Cornish tinnerns, by the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions

rections for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the states-general, who exclaimed against the earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower: and commissioners were appointed, to examine the particular circumstances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a small village called Tintmouth. About a thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels; then they re-embarked, and returned to Brest, so vain of this achievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the Whig partizans published pamphlets, and diffused reports, implying, that the suspended bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government: and these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it necessary to print a paper, in which they asserted their innocence with the most solemn protestations. The court seems to have harboured no suspicion against them, otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment. The queen issued a proclamation for apprehending the earls of Litchfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; viscount Preston; the lords Montgomery and Bellasis; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Tharold; Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers. They were accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons to disturb and destroy the government, and of a design to concur with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next session, when he was brought into the house of commons, and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the upper house, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement. The earl was acquitted, but the king dismissed him from the service; and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality of his judges.

William having received news that the French fleet was sailed for the coast of England, resolved by measures of speed and of vigour, to prevent the impression which that circumstance might make upon the minds of his soldiers; and therefore hastened to advance against James, who he heard had quitted Dublin, and had stationed his army at Ardee and Dundalk.

Notwithstanding the above circumstances, James's friends were determined to second those interests which he himself had abandoned. Limerick, a strong city in the province of Munster, still held out for the late king, and braved all the attempts of William's army to reduce it. Sarsfield, a popular and experienced general, put himself at the head of the army that had been routed at the Boyne, and went farther into the country to defend the banks of the river Shannon, where he resolved to await the enemy. James, who would not defend the country himself, determined that none but such as were agreeable to him should defend it. He therefore appointed St. Ruth, a French general, who had signalized himself against the protestants in France, to command over Sarsfield, which gave the Irish universal discontent, as it shewed the king could neither rely on their skill nor their fidelity. On the other hand, general Ginckel, who had been appointed to command the English army in the absence of William, who was gone over to England, advanced with his forces to meet the enemy towards the Shannon, in order to pass that broad and dangerous river. The only place where

it was fordable, was at Athlone, a strong walled town, built on both sides of the river, and defending that important pass. The part of the town on the other side of the river was quickly taken sword in hand by the English; but the part on the opposite bank being defended with great vigour, for awhile was thought impregnable. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a body of forlorn hope should ford the stream in the face of the enemy, which desperate attempt was performed with great resolution; the enemy were driven from their works, and the town surrendered at discretion. St. Ruth marched his army to give relief, but too late; for when he approached the walls his own guns were turned against him. He no sooner saw this, than his fears increased, in proportion to his former confidence; and dreading the impetuosity of a victorious enemy in his very camp, he marched off instantly, and took post at Aughrim, ten miles off. There he determined to await the English army, and decide the fate of Ireland at one blow. Ginckel, having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched towards the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand men, while that of the enemy was above twenty-five thousand. The Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation; the centre extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with entrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aughrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their ancient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations; to assure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn upon the sacrament, that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the prince of Orange; Ginckel had encamped on the Roiscommon side of the river Suir, within three miles of the enemy; after having reconnoitered their position, he resolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the 12th of July, 1691. The necessary orders given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge, and advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed, but at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the general postponed the battle till next morning; but perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most surprising efforts of courage and perseverance that they at length obliged them to give ground, and even then they left it inch by inch. St. Ruth, seeing them in danger of being over-powered, immediately detached succour to them from his centre and left wings. Mackay no sooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, then he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the centre advanced through the morasses, the men wading up to the waist in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they were obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and these were lined with

with musqueteers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance, and fought with such impetuosity, that the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss, and St. Ruth exclaimed, "Now will I drive the English to the very gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture Ptolemache came up with a fresh body to sustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost, though they found it impossible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing, and at first turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. Major-general Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the centre, when St. Ruth, perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose, he began to descend Kircommodon-hill, with his whole reserve of horse: but in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny, having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity: the centre redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill, and then the whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the rout by the high-way to Loughneagh; both were pursued by the English cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted two hours, and in the pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provision, ammunition, and artillery; twenty-nine pair of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive, and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limerick, where they refused to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation. He had incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themselves and their families.

Immediately after the battle, detachments were sent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor-Castle, considerable passes on the Shannon, which were accordingly secured. After this Ginckel advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender; but he received a defiance from Dillon and general D'Uffone, who commanded the garrison. The trenches were immediately

opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town was taken by assault; six regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly invested, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was allowed safe conduct to Limerick. Ginckel directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of consequence that now held out for king James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Luttrell had been seized by the French general D'Uffone, and sentenced to be shot for having proposed to surrender, he sent a trumpet, to tell the commander, that if any person should be put to death for such a proposal, he would make retaliation on the Irish prisoners. On the 25th of August the enemy were driven from all their advanced posts: captain Cole, with a squadron of ships sailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in sight of the town. On the day following the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed: the Irish army lay encamped on the other side of the river, on the road to Killalow, and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the 5th of September, after the town had been almost laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the wall by the battering cannon, the guns were dismounted, the out-works evacuated, and such other motions made as indicated a resolution to abandon the siege. The enemy expressed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the besiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and their work was finished before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were seized with such consternation, that they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified; all the fords and passes were secured, and the batteries continued firing incessantly till the 22d of the month, when Ginckel passed over with a division of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond-Bridge, and carried them sword in hand, after an obstinate resistance. The garrison had made a sally from the town to support them; and this detachment was driven back with such precipitation, that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the English would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious army. Six hundred were killed, two hundred taken prisoners, including many officers, and a great number were drowned in the Shannon. The English then made a lodgement within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Irish, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and colonel Wahop signified their resolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hostages were exchanged; a negotiation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides of the river*. When the articles

* The lords justices arrived in the camp on the 1st of October, and on the 4th the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were still in the hands of the Irish. The Roman catholics were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not borne arms since the declaration in the first year of the present reign, pro-

vided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprized in this and the foregoing article, were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunures, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. and the lords justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side, for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprized in these articles was authorized to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick

of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot, and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield; but three regiments refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and dispersed to their former habitations. Those who remained at Limerick embarked on the 7th of November, in French transports; and sailed immediately to France, under the convoy of a French squadron which had arrived in the bay of Dingle, immediately after the capitulation was signed. Twelve thousand men chose to undergo exile from their native country, rather than submit to the government of king William. When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; assured them they should still serve under his commission and command; and that the king of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment. The reduction of Ireland being thus completed; Baron Ginckel returned to England, where he was solemnly thanked by the house of commons for his great services, after he had been created earl of Athlone by his majesty.

In the summer of this year admiral Ruffel, who commanded the English forces at sea, having been joined by the Dutch squadron, sailed in quest of the enemy; but as the French king had received undoubted intelligence, that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of ships and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. The officer acted with such vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Ruffel, who was, moreover, perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless he cruised all summer, either in the Channel or in soundings, for the protection of the trade, and, in particular, secured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having scoured the Channel, and sailed along great part of the French coast, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put to sea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He, therefore, sailed back to soundings, where he continued cruising till the 2d of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the Channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the Sound with great difficulty: but the whole fleet was scattered and distressed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the admiral, and the commons subjected him to an enquiry; but, when they examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought fit to drop the prosecution, out of tenderness to the ministry.

rick and other garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The lords justices promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage; they undertook, that their majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months, and use their endeavours that they might be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created lord Lucan by king James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of king James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and general Ginckel engaged to provide twenty ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two

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A conspiracy against the government was discovered about this time. In the latter end of December, the master of a vessel who lived at Barking in Essex, informed the marquis of Carmarthen, that his wife had let out one of his boats to carry over some persons to France; and that they would embark on the 30th of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the king and council, an order was sent to captain Billop, to watch the motion of the vessel, and secure the passengers. He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, and found in the hold, lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and one Elliot. He likewise seized a bundle of papers, some of which were scarce intelligible; amongst the rest, two letters supposed to be written by Turner, bishop of Ely, to king James and his queen, under fictitious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king, to assist king James in re-ascending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William should be absent from the kingdom: but the scheme was ill laid, and countenanced but by a very few persons of consideration, among whom the chief were the earl of Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, lord Preston, his brother; Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous quaker. Notwithstanding the outcries which had been made against the severities of the late government, Preston, and his accomplice Ashton, were tried at the Old Bailey for compassing the death of their majesties king William and queen Mary; and their trials were hurried on, without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preston alledged, in his defence, that the treasons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middlesex, as laid in the indictment; that none of the witnesses declared he had any concern in hiring the vessel; that the papers were not found upon him; and there ought to be two credible witnesses to every fact, whereas, the whole proof against him rested on similitude of hands, and supposition. He was nevertheless found guilty. Ashton behaved with great intrepidity and composure. He owned his purpose of going to France, in pursuance of a promise he had made to general Worden, who, on his death-bed conjured him to go thither, and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending; as well as with a view to recover a considerable sum of money due to himself. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him: he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial; and called several persons to prove him a protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. These circumstances had no weight with the court. He was brow-beaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his custody: yet there was no privy proved; and the Whig party themselves had often expressly declared, that of all sorts of evidence, that of finding papers in a person's possession is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and deco-

men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stipulated, that the provisions and forage for their subsistence should be paid for on their arrival in France: that hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: that all the garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses with the honours of war: that the Irish should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: that those who should choose to stay behind, might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having surrendered their arms to such commissioners as the general should appoint: that all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: that the general should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty; and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman catholics considered as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was surrendered to Ginckel; but both sides agreed, that the two armies should intrench themselves till the Irish could embark, that no disorders might arise from a communication.

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rum. In a paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he owned his attachment to king James; he witnessed to the birth of the prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge; complained of the hard measure he had met with from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the sight of Heaven. This man was celebrated by the non-jurors as a martyr to loyalty; and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime in the eyes of the government, was his having among his baggage an account of such evidence as would have been convincing to all the world, concerning the birth of the prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed supposititious*. Lord Preston obtained a pardon: Elliot was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him: the earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; an indulgence, which he owed to his consanguinity with the queen, who was his first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn absconded; and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

It not appearing that the highlanders of Scotland were properly reduced to the obedience of William, the earl of Braidalbane undertook about this time, to bring them over by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans being informed of this remittance, suspected that the earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money, and when he began to treat with them, made such extravagant demands that he found his scheme impracticable. He was therefore, obliged to refund the sum he had received, and he resolved to wreak his vengeance with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negotiation, was Macdonald of Glencoe, whose opposition arose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Braidalbane during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses, from the other's share of the money which he was employed to distribute. The highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all those who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit, and take the oath by a certain day; and this was prolonged to the close of the present year, when a denunciation of military execution against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort-William, and desired that the oaths might be tendered to him by colonel Hill, governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place, and addressed himself to Sir John Campbell, sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort-William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had so solemnly submitted.

Braidalbane had represented Macdonald at court as

an incorrigible rebel, as a ruffian, inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any sovereign. He observed, that he had paid no regard to the proclamation, and proposed that the government should sacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the king, whose chief virtue was not humanity, signed a warrant for the destruction of those unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's submission. An order for this barbarous execution, signed and counter-signed by his majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the master of Stair, secretary for Scotland, this minister sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the sword, charging him to take no prisoners that the scene might be more terrible. In February, captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from major Duncanson, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered as friends; and promised, upon his honour, that neither he nor his people should sustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the day together, parted about seven in the evening with mutual profession of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother; but neither he nor his father would harbour the least doubt of Campbell's sincerity: nevertheless, the two young men went forth privately, to make further observations. They overheard the common soldiers say, they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murder them in cool blood, but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths hastened back to apprise their father of the impending danger, they saw the house already surrounded: they heard the discharge of muskets, the shrieks of women and children, and being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The savage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and shot him through the head. He fell down and expired in the arms of his wife, who died next day, distracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to serve him for life, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight-and-thirty persons suffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were surprized in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the Divine mercy. The design was to butcher all the males under seventy, that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred; but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the passes; so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell, having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found

* To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion, is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of king James's adherents, importing, that some grave and learned person should be authorized to compile a treatise, shewing the grounds of William's title; and declaring, that in case the

performance should carry conviction along with it, they would submit to that title, as they hitherto opposed it from a principle of conscience. The best answer that could be given to this summons, was Lock's book upon government, which appeared at this period. Ralph.

in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste, before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of king William's authority, answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite highlanders: but at the same time excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government, as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A detail of the particulars was published at Paris, with many exaggerations, and the Jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The king, alarmed at the outcry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an enquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the master of Stair from his employment of secretary: he likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character, and the highlanders, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

In 1692 colonel Parker, with some other officers, enlisted men privately for the service of James, in the counties of York, Lancaster, and in the bishopric of Durham: at the same time, Fountaine and Holeman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master immediately after his landing. His partizans sent captain Lloyd with an express to lord Melfort, containing a detail of these particulars, with an assurance that they had brought over rear-admiral Carter to the interest of his majesty. They likewise transmitted a list of the ships that composed the English fleet, and exhorted James to use his influence with the French king, that the count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. It was in consequence of this advice, that Lewis commanded Tourville to fall upon the English fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon squadron, commanded by the marquis d'Étrées. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops, together with some English and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

Information of these particulars being transmitted to the ministry of England, partly by some agents of James, who betrayed his cause, and partly by admiral Carter, who gave the queen to understand he had been tampered with, and was instructed to amuse the Jacobites with a negotiation. King William no sooner arrived in Holland, than he hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch, so that their fleet was ready for sea sooner than was expected; and when he received the first intimation of the projected descent, he detached general Ptolemache with three of the English regiments from Holland. These reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The queen issued a proclamation, commanding all papists to depart from London and Westminster; the members of both houses of parliament were required to meet on the 24th of May, that they might avail herself of their advice in such a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited

for apprehending divers disaffected persons; and they withdrawing themselves from their respective places of abode, a proclamation was published for discovering and bringing them to justice. The earls of Scarisdale, Litchfield, and Newburgh; the lords Griffin, Forbes, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others, found means to elude the search. The earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were sent to the Tower: Edward Rodney, Knevit, Hastings, and Robert Ferguson, were imprisoned in Newgate. The bishop of Rochester was confined to his own house: the lords Brudenel and Fanshawe were secured; the earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forrester, were discovered in a Quaker's house, and committed to prison, and several other persons of distinction. The trainbands of London and Westminster were armed by the queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person: admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruise along the French coast, to observe the motions of the enemy. On the 11th of May, Russel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the squadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, intimating, that a report having spread of the queen's suspecting the fidelity of the sea-officers, her majesty had ordered him to declare in her name, that she reposed the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag-officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russel, being reinforced by the Dutch squadron commanded by Allemonde, Callemberg, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France on the 18th of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day, about three o'clock in the morning he discovered the enemy, under the count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue squadron in the rear, and the red in the center. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three ships of the line, and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement: but he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Lewis, indeed, was apprized of their junction before they were descried by his admiral, to whom he dispatched a countermanding order by two several vessels: but one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement. Tourville, therefore, in obedience to the first mandate, bore down along side of Russel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the *Rising Sun*, which carried one hundred and four cannons, was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward, and Russel made the signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himself in extreme danger, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward, and the combined fleets chased with all the sail they could carry, until Russel's foretop-mast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, the fleet still continued the pursuit, and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the 22d, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the race of Alderney, some at anchor,

anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Ruffel and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables and chased. The Rising-Sun, having lost her mast, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another first rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns: eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories: it reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair*. Ruffel having ordered Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch admiral Callemberg, to steer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but his principal motive was, to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. The queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors. She caused medals to be struck in cause of the action; and the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the duke of Leinster, embarked on board transports, to be landed at St. Maloes, Brest, or Rochefort; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea-officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the admiral having detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet, in their passage from St. Maloes to Brest, set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports: but, in a few days, the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's. The queen immediately dispatched the marquis of Carmarthen, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to consult with the admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at that season of the year. The design was, therefore, laid aside; and the forces were transported to Flanders.

King William being in Holland, and having ascertained the winter-quarters of the army, and concerted the operations of the ensuing campaign with the states-general, and the ministers of the allies, set sail for England on the 15th of October; on the 18th he landed at Yarmouth, was met by the queen at Newhall, and passed through the city of London to Kensington, amidst

the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory address from the lord-mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thanksgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at sea. The Lutestring company was established by patent, and the parliament met on the 4th of November. The house of lords was deeply infected with discontent, which in some measure proceeded from the dissention between the queen and her sister the princess of Denmark, which last underwent every mortification, that the court could inflict. Her guards were taken away; all honours which had been paid to her rank by the magistrates of Bath, where she sometime resided, and even by the ministers of the church where she attended at divine service, were discontinued, by the express order of his majesty. Her cause was naturally espoused by those noblemen who had adhered to her in her former contest with the king, about an independent settlement; and these were now reinforced by all the friends of the earl of Marlborough, united by a double tie, for they resented the disgrace and confinement of that lord, and thought it their duty to support the princess Anne under a persecution incurred by an attachment to his countess. The earl of Shrewsbury lived in friendship with Marlborough, and thought he had been ungratefully treated by the king: the marquis of Halifax befriended him, from opposition to the ministry: the earl of Mulgrave, for an opportunity to display his talents, and acquire that consideration which he thought due to his merit. Devonshire, Montague, and Bradford, joined in the same cause from principle: the same pretence was used by the earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other Whigs; though in effect they were actuated by jealousy and resentment against those by whom they had been supplanted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their assistance to promote any scheme that had a tendency to embroil the administration.

The parliament being met, the king thanked them for their last supplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained at sea, condoled them on the bad success of the campaign by land; magnified the power of France, represented the necessity of maintaining a great force to oppose it, and demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He expressed his reluctance to load them with additional burthens, which, he said, could not be avoided, without exposing his kingdom to inevitable destruction. He desired their advice towards lessening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a design of making a descent upon France; declared he had no aim but to make his subjects a happy people; and that he would again cheerfully expose his life for the welfare of the nation. The lords, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth, to assert their privileges, which they conceived had been violated in the cases of the earl of Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to prison, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of King's-Bench. These circumstances being fully discussed in a violent debate, the house ordered lord Lucas, constable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the King's-Bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court solicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded to prison. At the same time the whole affair was referred to a committee empowered to send for persons, papers, and records†. The house adjourned

* Some historians alledged, that Ruffel did not improve his victory with all the advantages that might have been obtained, before the enemy recovered their consternation. They say his affection to the service was in a good measure cooled by the disgrace of his friend, the earl of Marlborough: that he hated the earl of Nottingham, by whose channel he received his orders; and, that he adhered to the latter, rather than to the spirit of his instructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral. He plyed from the Nore to the Downs with

a very scanty wind, through the dangerous sands, contrary to the advice of all the pilots; and by that bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons which otherwise the French would have attacked singly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; and destroyed about fifteen of the enemy's capital ships: in a word, he obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English.

† The opinion of the judges was unsatisfactory to both parties: the debate was referred to a committee of the whole house,

adjourned to the 17th of the month, and at its next meeting was given to understand, that the king had discharged the imprisoned noblemen. The resentment of the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majesty's speech into consideration.

The commons having voted an address of thanks, and another, praying that his majesty's foreign alliance should be laid before them, determined on a bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason. They passed a vote of thanks to admiral Russel, his officers, and seamen, for the victory they had obtained, and then proceeded to an enquiry, why that victory had not been pursued; why the descent had not been made; and why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruisers. The admiral having justified his own conduct, they commanded the lords of the admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the admiral: they ordered Russel to lay before them his answers, and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings.

After this formal compliment, the house instead of proceeding to the supplies, insisted upon perusing the treaties, public accounts, and estimates, that they might be in a condition to advise, as well as to assist his majesty. Being indulged with those papers, they passed a previous vote, that a supply should be given: they then began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign generals, and particularly reflected upon the insolence of count Solmes, and his misconduct at Steenkerke.

Russel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the house, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the earl of Nottingham, by declaring that twenty days elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman, and his lordship's answer. The earl's friends, of whom there were a great number in the house, espoused his cause with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Russel; so that a very violent debate ensued. Both parties agreed, that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one cause of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders, by those to whom the management of the affair was committed. The house divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only.

Notwithstanding the acquittal of Russel, the lords resolved to enquire into the miscarriage of the purposed descent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair: but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government, as to screen Nottingham, and censure Russel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The house directed the earl to draw up the substance of his charge; and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the commons, at a conference by the lord president, and the rest of the committee above. They offered for the inspection of the commons, as they concerned some members of that house, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference, which the commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the house, that they had read and well considered the papers which their lordships had sent them, and which they now returned: that finding Mr. Russel, one of

their members, often mentioned in the same papers, they had unanimously resolved that admiral Russel, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The lords, irritated at this declaration, and disappointed in their resentment against Russel, desired a free conference between the committees of both houses. The conference, however, was discontinued.

The consideration of ways and means now engrossed the attention of the lower house. They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and employments of profit, other than military offices in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution empowered the king to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven *per cent*. They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer by granting annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it should not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, for five years. They laid a new imposition of eight *per cent*. on the capital stock of the East-India company, estimated at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds; of one *per cent*. on the African; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's-Bay company; and they empowered his majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigour*.

Several members having complained that their servants had been kidnapped, and sent to serve as soldiers in Flanders, the house appointed a committee to enquire into the abuses committed by press-masters; and a suitable remonstrance was presented to the king, who expressed his indignation at this practice, and assured the house that the delinquents should be brought to exemplary punishment. Understanding, however, in the sequel, that the methods taken by his majesty for preventing this abuse had not proved effectual, they resumed their enquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of persons who had been pressed were discharged by order of the house; and captain Winter, the chief undertaker for this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the serjeant before the lord chief justice, that he might be prosecuted according to law.

This session Sir Edward Hufsey, member for Lincoln, brought in a bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament. It was intended to disable all members of parliament from enjoying places of trust and profit, and particularly levelled against the officers of the army and navy, who had insinuated themselves into the house in such numbers, that this was commonly called the officers' parliament. This bill passed the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords, by whom it was read a second time and committed: but the ministry employing their whole strength against it, on the report, it was thrown out by a majority of two voices. The court had not recollected themselves from the consternation produced by such a vigorous opposition, when the earl of Shrewsbury produced another bill for triennial parliaments, providing that there should be an annual session; that if, at the expiration of three years, the crown should not order the writs to be issued, the lord chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the

house, in which it was resolved on, and declared, as the sense of that assembly, that in pursuance of the Habeas Corpus act, it was the duty of the judges of gaol-delivery to discharge the prisoner on bail, if committed for high-treason, unless it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witnesses against the said prisoner, who cannot be produced in that term, session, or general gaol-delivery. They likewise resolved it was the intention of the said statute, that in case there should be more than one prisoner, otherwise to be bailed or remanded, there

must be oath made, that there are two witnesses against each prisoner, otherwise he cannot be remanded to prison. These resolutions were entered in the books, as standing directions to all future judges, yet not without great opposition from the court-members.

* The French king hearing how liberally William was supplied, exclaimed with some emotion, "My little cousin, the prince of Orange, is fixed in the saddle—but no matter, the last Louis d'or must carry it."

great seal, should issue them *ex officio*, and by authority of this act under severe penalties*.

On the 28th of October, 1691, several merchants presented a petition to the commons against the East-India company; and at the same time the East-India company put another petition in behalf of themselves; the consideration of both which was referred to a committee of the whole house. About a fortnight after the heads of the complaints against the East-India company were delivered to their governor; to which they having put in their answer, the same was communicated to the petitioners, and the East-India company ordered to make their defence on the 20th of November. Not only the appointed day, but several others were spent in examining the accounts, which Sir Joseph Herne, the governor of the East-India company, delivered in, as a state of their stock and debts at home and abroad; and in considering several other petitions relating to the East-India trade, till at last the commons agreed to fifteen resolutions, on the 17th of December, by which their trade was regulated†. On the 23d Sir Thomas Cooke, Sir William Langhorne, Sir Thomas Rawlinson, and others, the committee of the East-India company, delivered in proposals concerning the security mentioned in the resolutions to be given; which being disapproved, the said committee was ordered to produce the persons they proposed to be security; which being done accordingly on the 25th of the same month, the commons, after a long examination of the whole matter, approved of the security proposed, and on the 8th of January appointed a committee to prepare and bring in a bill to establish an East-India company, according to the regulations agreed upon by the house; but it came to nothing. On the contrary, several petitions being presented against it, to which the East-India company did not give satisfactory answers, the commons addressed the king to dissolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. The king's answer was, "It is a motion of very great importance to the trade of this kingdom, I will consider of it, and in a short time give the commons a positive answer." However, he was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Sir John Goldsborough, who was going to India in quality of the company's commissioner-general.

November 14, 1692, Sir Edward Seymour delivered to the commons a message from the king in answer to their address the last session, about the East-India company, with several papers relating to that company; namely, a copy of the new regulations drawn up by his majesty's order, and which the company had refused to submit to; and the opinion of the judges

thereupon, which the king informed the house was the reason of his having done nothing in the affair, since the judges had declared, that the company must have three years notice, and that no company could be set up in that time; for which reason he left the commons to proceed in that matter as they should think proper. On the 24th of the same month, the commons resumed the affair of the East-India company; and resolved, that there should be a new subscription of a joint stock not exceeding two millions, and not less than one million five hundred thousand pounds, to continue for twenty-one years. December 7, the commons again resumed the subject, and agreed to the rest of the regulations, viz. that no man shall have above ten thousand pounds stock, nor under one hundred pounds. Every five hundred pounds, to have a vote; and no person to have more than one: the governors to have five thousand pounds stock: the deputy governor ten thousand pounds. The company to export every year of the English manufactures to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, and to furnish the government with five hundred tons of salt-petre yearly at a certain rate. Upon these heads the committee resolved to move the house, that a bill might be brought in to settle the said trade. On the 29th of the same month the house in a grand committee upon the East-India business, went through several regulations, and particularly agreed to that for a new subscription of a stock not exceeding two millions, and not under one million five hundred thousand pounds. On the 4th of January, 1693, it was resolved, in a thin house, that the subscription for a new stock should be begun within ten days after the passing of the act; which vote did at first lower a little the actions of the old company, but they soon rose again to a hundred and thirty, as they were before, upon a belief, that the parliament would not have time to finish the business that session. March 2, the commons presented an address to his majesty concerning the East-India company; to which his majesty answered, "That he would do whatever was in his power for the good of the kingdom, and for the advantage of this particular trade; and that this was a matter, which would require some time for him to consider. On the 11th of November, 1693, the East-India company obtained a new charter, whereby they were empowered to raise the sum of seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds, to be added to their general joint stock, the subscription of each person not exceeding ten thousand pounds; several merchants and others, on the 7th of December, petitioned the commons for erecting a new East-India company. Upon which the house examined the charters of the old com-

* The immediate object of this bill was the dissolution of the present parliament, which had already sat three sessions, and began to be formidable to the people, from its concessions to the ministry.

† The following is a copy of the resolutions: "1. That a sum not less than one million five hundred thousand pounds, and not exceeding two millions, was a fund necessary to carry on the East-India trade in a joint stock. 2. That no person should have any share in a joint stock for the East-India trade exceeding five thousand pounds, either in his own name, or any other in trust for him. 3. That no person should have above one vote in the said company; and that each person, who had five hundred pounds stock therein, should have one vote. 4. That the company to trade to the East-Indies should be obliged to export every year in their trade goods, being the growth and manufacture of this nation, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds at least. 5. That no private contracts should be made, but all goods sold at public sales by inch of candle, except salt-petre, for the use of the crown. 6. That the East-India company be obliged to sell to the king yearly salt-petre refined, (the refraction not exceeding four or five per cent. out of one hundred and twelve,) five hundred tons, at the rate of thirty pounds per tun. 7. That no lot should be put at any sales in the East-India company at one time, exceeding five hundred pounds. 8. That no person should be governor or deputy-governor of the company to trade to the East-Indies, who had less share in the stock than two thousand pounds; or committee-man, that had less than one thousand pounds. 9. That the election of governor, deputy-governor,

and committee for the company to trade to the East-Indies, be made every year. 10. That all dividends be made in money. 11. That no dividends be made, without leaving a sufficient fund to pay all debts, and carry on the trade. 12. That a valuation of the stock be made every five years by the accountant of the company upon oath, to be sworn by all such as are concerned therein. 13. That no ships, either with permission or without, for the future, be allowed to go to the East-Indies, except only such as should be of a company, or be established by act of parliament. 14. That no by-laws should be binding to the company, but such as were approved by a general court of adventurers, and were not repugnant to the laws of the land. 15. And, lastly, that the joint stock of a company to trade to the East-Indies be for twenty-one years and no longer." The next day the three following resolutions were added to the rest, viz. "That all persons now having above the sum of five thousand pounds in the stock of the present East-India company, in their own, or other private names, be obliged to sell so much thereof, as should exceed the said sum of five thousand pounds, at the rate of one hundred pounds for every hundred. That the members of the committee of the East-India company be obliged to give security to be approved of by the house, that the stock and debts they now had, should be made good seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds, all debts paid. And, lastly, that a bill (being first given) an humble address be presented to his majesty, to incorporate the present East-India company by charter, according to the regulations agreed upon by the house, that the same might pass into an act."

pany,

pany, the book of new subscriptions, the state of their present stock, and the petition above-mentioned, and after mature deliberation resolved on the 19th of January, "That all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East-Indies, unless prohibited by act of parliament." And this gave occasion to the creating of a new East-India company, more to the division of the merchants, than to the benefit of trade.

On the 31st of January, 1693, the lords sat in Westminster Hall upon the trial of the lord Mohun, for the murder of Mr. William Mountfort, the player, the lord president being lord high steward; and after examination of the witnesses, which lasted till five in the afternoon, their lordships withdrew to their own house, and, after some debate, adjourned the court till the next morning, and set a fine of one hundred pounds each upon lord Faulconberg, lord Newport, lord Lovelace, and lord Leign, for going away before the house was adjourned: which they excused the next day on account of their being faint and quite spent with so long attendance. On Wednesday morning, February 1, the lords met again in their own house, and continued together till seven at night without going down to the court in Westminster-Hall, spending the whole day in stating and debating several points of law, without taking any resolution thereupon, further than that it was resolved, that every peer might ask the judges in open court what question he pleased as to points of law; and then they adjourned till the 3d, the day before being Candlemas-Day, on which the courts of judicature do not use to sit. At the time appointed the lords met in their own house, and debated about the questions to be asked of the judges; and about four in the afternoon went down into Westminster-Hall, where several questions were asked the judges in presence of lord Mohun the prisoner; after which their lordships returned to their own house, to debate thereupon; and about nine adjourned the court till the next morning, when fourteen of them found the prisoner guilty, and sixty-nine acquitted him*.

The operations of the English at sea during the summer of 1693, do not redound to their honour. The king had ordered the admiral to use all possible dispatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had suffered severely from the French privateers. They were, however, so dilatory in their proceedings, that the squadrons of the enemy sailed from their harbours before the English fleet could put to sea. About the middle of May it was assembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a descent on Brest; but this enterprize was never attempted. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined, so as to form a very numerous fleet, the public expected they would undertake some expedition of importance, but the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any scheme of consequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not escape the suspicion of being disaffected to the service; and France was said to have maintained a secret correspondence with the malcontents in England. Lewis had made surprising efforts to repair the damage which his navy had sustained. He had purchased several large vessels, and converted them into ships of war: he had laid an embargo on all the shipping of his kingdom, until his squadrons were manned: he had made a grand naval promotion, to encourage the officers and seamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful spirit of activity and emulation. In May his fleet sailed to the Mediterranean, in three squadrons, consisting of seventy-one capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders.

In the beginning of June, the English and Dutch

fleets sailed down the Channel. On the 6th, Sir George Rooke was detached to the Straights with a squadron of three and twenty ships to convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The grand fleet returned to Torbay, while he pursued his voyage, having under his protection about four hundred merchant ships belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburg, and Flanders. On the 16th, his scouts discovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent; next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of eighty sail. Sixteen of these plied up to the English squadron, while the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, to intercept the ships under convoy. Sir George Rooke, by the advice of the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes, resolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. He forthwith sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himself stood off with an easy sail for the protection of the rest. About six in the evening, ten sail of the enemy came up with two Dutch ships of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who seeing no possibility of escaping, tacked in shore; and, thus drawing the French after them, helped to save the rest of the fleet. When attacked they made a most desperate defence, but at last were overpowered by numbers, and taken. An English ship of war and a rich pinnace were burned; nine-and-twenty merchants vessels were taken, and about fifty destroyed by the counts de Tourville and D'Etrées. Seven of the largest Smyrna ships fell into the hands of M. de Coetlogon, and four he sunk in the bay of Gibraltar. The value of the loss sustained on this occasion amounted to one million sterling. Meanwhile Rooke stood off with a fresh gale, and on the 19th sent home the Lark ship of war with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland, and on the 3d of August arrived at Cork, with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. He detached captain Fairbone to Kinsale, with all his squadron, except six ships of the line, with which, in pursuance of orders, he joined the grand fleet then cruising in the chops of the Channel. On the 25th, they returned to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed. On the 19th of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland; and twenty-six sail, with seven fire-ships, were assigned as guard-ships during the winter.

The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they sailed along the coast to Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places, and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West-Indies. In conjunction with colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands, he made unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of Martinique and Dominique. He afterwards sailed to Boston in New England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He then steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hesitation; but the design was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed, he set sail for England; and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered condition, the greater part of his men having died in the course of his voyage.

In November another effort was made to annoy the

* The circumstances of the murder were as follow: A rash young officer had made lewd addresses to Mrs. Bracegirdle, the famous actress, which she returning with disdain, the man resolved to get his will of her by force. Mountfort coming from her lodgings, having seen her safe home, was at-

tacked by this officer and basely murdered. Lord Mohun being present when the murder was committed, was apprehended, imprisoned in the Tower, and brought to his trial for it before his peers in Westminster-Hall.

enemy. Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigs, to the coast of St. Maloes, and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days successively. He landed his men on an island, where they burned a convent. On the 19th they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale and a strong tide, to send in a fire-ship of a particular contrivance, stiled the *Infernal*, in order to burn the town: but, she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to set her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up, with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, and broke all the glass and earthen-ware for three leagues around. A capstan that weighed two hundred pounds was transported into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it with the ground: the greatest part of the wall towards the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation: so that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier on board. Nevertheless, the sailors took and demolished Quince-fort, and did considerable damage to the town of St. Maloes, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great spirit, and some success, the clamours of the people became louder and louder. They scrupled not to aver, that the councils of the nation were betrayed; and their suspicions rose even to the secretary's office. They observed that the French were previously acquainted with all the motions of the English, and took their measures accordingly for their destruction. They collected and compared a great number of particulars that seemed to justify their suspicion of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, arose from a motley ministry, divided among themselves, who, instead of acting in concert for the public good, employed all their influence to thwart the views and blacken the reputations of each other. The people in general exclaimed against the marquis of Carmarthen, the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the queen, and, from their hatred to the Whigs, betrayed the interests of the nation. But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable, in spite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occasioned partly from unfavourable seasons, and partly from the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of the ministry, in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furnishing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes perished through want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Lewis pined in the midst of his success. He saw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hopes of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to king William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been contented to purchase a peace with some considerable concessions: but the terms were rejected by the king of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whose subjects, though heavily laden, could still bear additional burthens.

The Jacobites had been very attentive to the progress of dissatisfaction in England, which they fomented with their usual assiduity. The late declaration of king James had been couched in such imperious terms as gave offence even to some of those who favoured his interest. The earl of Middleton, therefore, in the beginning of the year repaired to St. Germain's, and obtained another, which contained the promise of a general pardon without exception, and every other concession

that a British subject could demand of his sovereign. About the latter end of May, two men, named Canning and Farmer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of this paper, tried at the Old Bailey, found guilty of not only dispersing, but also of composing a false and seditious libel, sentenced to pay five hundred marks a-piece, to stand three times in the pillory, and find sureties for their good behaviour. But no circumstance reflected more disgrace on this reign, than the fate of Anderton, the supposed printer of some tracts against the government. He was brought to trial for high-treason: he made a vigorous defence, in spite of the insults and discouragements he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life until they were reviled and reprimanded by judge Treby; they then found him guilty. In vain, recourse was had to the queen's mercy: he suffered death at Tyburn; and left a paper, protesting solemnly against the proceedings of the court, which he affirmed was appointed, not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning Heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The severity of the government was likewise exemplified in the case of some adventurers, who having equipped privateers to cruise upon the English, under joint commissions from the late king James and Lewis XIV. happened to be taken by the English ships of war. Dr. Oldys, the king's advocate, being commanded to proceed against them as guilty of treason and piracy, refused to commence the prosecution; and gave his opinion in writing, that they were neither traitors nor pirates. He supported this opinion by arguments before the council: these were answered by Dr. Littleton, who succeeded him in the office, from which he was dismissed; and the prisoners were executed as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort those arts upon the government, which their adversaries had so successfully practised in the late reign. They inveighed against the vindictive spirit of the administration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and false witnesses; a charge for which there seemed to be too much foundation.

On the 18th of April, the session was opened in Scotland, and king William's letter, replete with the most cajoling expressions, being read, the parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable specimens of their good-humour. They drew up a very affectionate answer to his majesty's letter; they voted an addition of six new regiments to the standing forces of the kingdom: they granted a supply of above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to his majesty: they enacted a law for levying men to serve on board the royal navy: they fined all absentees, whether lords or commoners; and vacated the seats of all those commissioners who refused to take the oath of assurance, which was equivalent to an abjuration of king James: they set on foot an enquiry about an intended invasion: they published some intercepted letters, supposed to be written to king James by Nevil Payne, whom they committed to prison, and threatened with a trial for high-treason; but he eluded the danger, by threatening in his turn to impeach those who had made their peace with the government: they passed an act for the comprehension of such of the episcopal clergy as should condescend to take the oaths by the 10th of July. All that the general assembly required of them, was, an offer to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and to acknowledge presbytery as the only government of the Scottish church: but they neither submitted to these terms, nor took the oaths within the limited time, so that they forfeited all legal right to their benefices. Nevertheless, they continued in possession, and even received private assurances of the king's protection. It was one of William's political maxims, to court his domestic enemies; but it was never attended with any good effect. This indulgence gave offence to the presbyterians, and former distractions began to revive.

This year a draught of a commission for taking subscriptions for the bank of England, together with a schedule

schedule concerning the draught of a charter for the corporation of the bank, were first approved and signed by her majesty on the 8th of June; and the charter, which was to pass under the great seal of England, after the 1st of August, if the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds, or one moiety, or more thereof should be subscribed by that time, or sooner, if the whole one million two hundred thousand pounds should be sooner subscribed, was accordingly granted towards the middle of July, the commissioners having taken subscriptions amounting to that sum by the 5th of the month. The constituting of the bank occasioned great debates: some thought a bank would grow to be a monopoly. All the money of England would come into their hands; and they would in a few years become the masters of the stock and wealth of the nation. Others argued for it; that the credit, it would have, must increase trade, and the circulation of money, at least in bank notes. It was visible, that all the enemies of the government set themselves against it, with such a vehemence of zeal, that this alone convinced all people, that they saw the strength that our affairs would receive from it. The Dutch often reckoned up the great advantages they had from their banks; and they concluded, that as long as England continued jealous of the government, a bank could never be settled among us, nor gain credit enough to support itself: and, upon that, they judged the superiority in trade must still be on their side. This, with all the other remote funds that were created, had another good effect: it engaged all those, who were concerned in them, to be, upon account of their own interest, zealous for maintaining the government, since it was not to be doubted, but that a revolution would have swept all these away. The advantages that the king, and all concerned in tallies, had from the bank, were soon so sensibly felt, that all people saw into the secret reasons, that made the enemies of the constitution set themselves with so much earnestness against it.

About this time the nation sustained a very heavy misfortune in the fate of Sir Francis Wheeler, who had been appointed commander in chief of the Mediterranean squadron. He received instructions to take under his convoy the merchant ships bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy; to cruize thirty days in a certain latitude, for the protection of the Spanish plate-fleet, homeward-bound; to leave part of his squadron at Cadiz, as convoy to the trade for England; to proceed with the rest to the Mediterranean; to join the Spanish fleet in his return; and to act in concert with them, until he should be joined by the fleet from Turkey and the Streights, and accompany them back to England. About the latter end of October he set sail from St. Helen's, and in January arrived at Cadiz with the ships made his convoy. There leaving rear-admiral Hopson, he proceeded for the Mediterranean. In the bay of Gibraltar he was overtaken by a dreadful tempest, under a lee-shore, which he could not possibly weather, and where the ground was so foul that no anchor would hold. This expedient, however, was tried. A great number of ships were driven ashore, and many perished. The admiral's ship foundered at sea, and he and all his crew were buried in the deep, except two Moors who were miraculously preserved. Two other ships of the line, three ketches, and six merchant-ships were lost. The remains of the fleet were so much shattered, that instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz, in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons which were still at sea, under the command of Chateau-Renaud and Gabaret.

The king of France being tired of the war, which had impoverished his country, continued to tamper with the duke of Savoy, and, by means of the pope, made some offers to the king of Spain, which were rejected. Mean while he resolved to stand upon the defensive during the ensuing campaign, in every part but Catalonia, where his whole naval force might co-operate with the count de Noailles, who commanded the land army. King William having received intelligence of the design upon

Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons; by sending Russel to sea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to sail: but before he arrived at Portsmouth, the Brest squadron had quitted that harbour. On the 3d of May, the admiral sailed from St. Helen's, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and tenders. He detached captain Pritchard of the *Monmouth* with two fire-ships, to destroy a fleet of French merchant-ships near Couquet-Bay; and this service being performed, he returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a squadron, to take on board a body of land-forces, intended for a descent upon the coast of France. These being embarked, under the command of general Ptolemache, the whole fleet sailed again on the 29th of May. The land and sea officers, in a council of war, agreed that part of the fleet designed for this expedition, should separate from the rest, and proceed to Camaret-Bay, where the forces should be landed. On the 5th of June, lord Berkeley, who commanded this squadron, parted with the grand fleet, and on the 7th anchored between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. Next day the marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, who served under Berkeley, as rear-admiral of the blue, entered Camaret-Bay with two large ships and six frigates, to cover the troops in landing. The French had received intelligence of the design, and taken such precautions, under the conduct of the celebrated engineer, Vauban, that the English were exposed to a terrible fire from new erected batteries, as well as from a strong body of troops, and though the ships cannonaded them with great vigour, the soldiers could not maintain any regularity in landing. A great number were killed in the open boats before they reached the shore; and those who landed were soon repulsed, in spite of all the endeavours of general Ptolemache, who received a wound in the thigh, which proved mortal. Seven hundred soldiers are said to have been lost on this occasion, besides those who were killed on board the ships. The *Monk* ship of war was towed off with great difficulty: but a Dutch frigate of thirty guns fell into the hands of the enemy. After this unfortunate attempt, lord Berkeley, with the advice of a council of war, sailed back from England, and at St. Helen's received orders from the queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. They agreed to make some attempt upon the coast of Normandy. With this view they set sail on the 5th of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of that town to ashes. Thence they steered to Havre-de-Grace, which met with a like fate. They harassed the French troops, who marched after them along shore. They alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had they not been detained by military force. On the 26th of July, lord Berkeley returned to St. Helen's, where he quitted the fleet, and the command devolved upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel. This officer having received instructions to make an attempt upon Dunkirk, sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, with six-and-twenty Dutch pilots. On the 12th of September he appeared before Dunkirk; and next day sent in the *Charles* galley, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called *Infernales*. These were set on fire without effect; and the design miscarried: then Shovel steered to Calais, which having bombarded with little success, he returned to the coast of England; and the bomb-ketches and machines were sent into the river Thames.

During these transactions, admiral Russel, with the grand fleet, sailed for the Mediterranean; and being joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with Callemberg and Evertzen, he steered towards Barcelona, which was seized by the French fleet and army. At his approach, Tourville retired with precipi-

tation into the harbour of Toulon, and Noailles abandoned his enterprize. The Spanish affairs were in such a deplorable condition, that without this timely assistance the kingdom must have been undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durst not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted. After having asserted the honour of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, he sailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order of the king, he passed the winter, during which, he took such precautions for preventing Tourville from passing the Streights, that he did not think proper to risque the passage.

King William having been several times out of the kingdom, and having settled the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked for England on the 8th of November, 1694, and next day landed at Margate. On the 12th he opened the session of parliament, with a speech, in which he observed that the posture of affairs was improved both by sea and land since they last parted; in particular, that a stop was put to the progress of the French arms. He desired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage, which would expire at Christmas: he reminded them of the debt for the transports employed in the reduction of Ireland; and exhorted them to prepare some good bill for the encouragement of seamen. A majority in both houses was already secured; and in all probability, he bargained for their condescension by agreeing to the bill for triennial parliaments*. This Mr. Harley brought in, by order of the lower house, immediately after their first adjournment: and it kept pace with the consideration of the supplies. The commons having examined the estimates and accounts, voted four millions seven hundred and sixty-four thousand seven hundred and twelve pounds for the service of the army and navy. In order to raise this sum they continued the land-tax; they renewed the subsidy of tonnage and poundage for five years, and imposed new duties on different commodities†.

While the triennial bill was depending, Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, was seized with a fit of the dead palsy, in the chapel of Whitehall, on Sunday, and died on the 22d of November, five days after he was indisposed, deeply regretted by the king and queen, who shed tears of sorrow at his decease‡. The queen did not long survive her favourite prelate. In about a month after his decease, she was taken ill of the small pox, and the symptoms proved dangerous. The new archbishop (Tenison) attended on her; he performed all devotions, and had much private discourse with her: when the desperate condition she was

in was evident beyond doubt, he told the king he could not do his duty faithfully, unless he acquainted her with the danger she was in: the king approved of it, and said, whatever effect it might have, he would not have her deceived in so important a matter. And, as the archbishop was preparing the queen, with some address, not to surprize her too much with such tidings, she presently apprehended his drift, but shewed no fear nor disorder upon it. She said, she thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour; she had nothing then to do, but to look up to God, and submit to his will; it went further indeed than submission; for she seemed to desire death, rather than life; and she continued to the last minute of her life in that calm and resigned state. She had formerly wrote her mind, in many particulars, to the king; and she gave orders, to look carefully for a small scrutoir that she made use of, and to deliver it to the king; and, having dispatched that, she avoided the giving herself or him the tenderness, which a final parting might have raised in them both. The day before she died, she received the sacrament with all the bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the king, who for some weeks after her death could neither see company, nor attend to the business of the state.

Mary was in her person tall and well proportioned, with an oval visage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgement solid. She was a zealous protestant, of an even temper, and of a calm and mild conversation. Her piety and virtue were real and unaffected; and the vivacity and sweetness of her temper and conversation softened all those disagreeable ideas, which the world is too willing to entertain of the severities of virtue, and the strictness of true religion. She was not content with being devout herself, but she infused piety into all who came near her; especially those, whom she took into her more immediate care, and whom she studied to form with the tenderness and watchfulness of a mother. She charmed them with her instructions, as she overcame them with her kindness. She was a perfect example of conjugal love, chastity, and obedience. She set her husband's will before her as the rule of her life. Her admiration of him made her submission not only easy, but delightful. And it is remarkable, that when Dr. Tenison, named to be archbishop of Canterbury, went to comfort the king, his majesty answered, "That he could not but grieve, since he had lost a wife, who in seventeen

* The triennial bill enacted, That a parliament should be held once within three years at least; that within three years at farthest, after the dissolution of the parliament then subsisting, and so from time to time, for ever after, legal writs under the great seal should be issued, by the direction of the crown, for calling, assembling, and holding another new parliament: that no parliament should continue longer than three years at farthest, to be accounted from the first day of the session: and, that the parliament then subsisting should cease and determine on the 1st of November next following, unless their majesties should think fit to dissolve it sooner. The duke of Devonshire, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Weymouth and Aylesbury, protested against this bill, because it tended to the continuance of the present parliament longer than, as they apprehended, was agreeable to the constitution of England.

† They imposed certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, bachelors, and widows. They passed an act for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards paying the debt due for the transport ships; and another imposing duties on glass ware, stone and earthen bottles, coal, and culm.

‡ His distemper so oppressed him, and speaking was so uneasy to him, that, though it appeared, by signs and other indications, that his understanding remained long clear, yet he was not able to express himself to others. He seemed still serene and calm, and in broken words said, he thanked God he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do, but to wait for the will of Heaven. His body was buried, at his own desire, in

the church of St. Laurence-Jury in London, where he had been the Tuesday lecturer many years. He was a man of excellent judgement and temper. He had a clear head, with a most tender and compassionate heart. He was a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and soon conquered enemy. He was truly and seriously religious, but without affectation, bigotry, or superstition. His notions of morality were fine and sublime. His thread of reasoning was easy, clear, and solid. He was not only the best preacher of his age, but seemed to have brought preaching to perfection. His sermons were so well heard and liked, and so much read, that all the nation proposed him as a pattern, and studied to copy after him. His parts remained with him clear and unclouded; but the perpetual slanders, and other ill usage he had been followed with, for many years, most particularly since his advancement to that great post, gave him too much trouble, and too deep a concern: it could neither provoke him, nor fright him from his duty; but it affected his mind so much, that this was thought to have shortened his days. He died so poor, that if the king had not forgiven his first-fruits, his debts could not have been paid: so generous and charitable was he in a post, out of which Sancroft had raised an estate, which he left to his family. The queen settled three hundred pounds a year upon his widow, who had so little provision made for her, that the money which was raised by the sale of the copy of Tillotson's Sermons, published by Dr. Barker, amounting to two thousand five hundred pounds, (the largest sum that had till then been given for any copy,) was the greatest part of what was left her.

years had never been guilty of an indiscretion. She was ruffled by no passion, and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection: for she ascended, without compunction, the throne from which her father had been deposed, and treated her sister as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary seems to have imbibed the cold disposition and apathy of her husband; and to have centered all her ambition in deserving the epithet of an humble and obedient wife*.

The princess Anne being informed of the queen's dangerous indisposition, sent a lady of her bed-chamber, to desire she might be admitted to her majesty; but this request was not granted. She was thanked for her expression of concern; and given to understand, that the physicians had directed that the queen should be kept as quiet as possible. Before her death, however, she sent a forgiving message to her sister; and, after her decease, the earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the king and the princess, who visited him at Kensington, where she was received with uncommon civility†. He appointed the palace of St. James for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the queen's jewels. But a mutual jealousy and disgust subsisted under these exteriors of friendship and esteem.

WILLIAM III. ALONE.

IN 1695 an enquiry was made into the circumstances attending the cruel massacre of Glencoe. A motion was made, that the commissioners should exhibit an account of their proceedings in this affair: accordingly, a report, consisting of the king's instructions, Dalrymple's letters, the depositions of witnesses, and the opinion of the committee, was laid before the parliament. The written opinion of the commissioners, who were creatures of the court, imported, that Macdonald of Glencoe had been perfidiously murdered; that the king's intentions contained nothing to warrant the massacre; and that secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders. The parliament concurred with this report. They resolved, that Livingston was not to blame, for having given the orders contained in his letters to lieutenant colonel Hamilton: that this last was liable to prosecution: that the king should be addressed to give orders, either for examining major Duncanson in Flanders, touching his concern in this affair, or for sending him home to be tried in Scotland; as also, that Campbell of Glenlyon, captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindsay, ensign Lundy, and serjeant Barber, should be sent to Scotland, and prosecuted according to law, for the parts they had acted in that execution. In consequence of these resolutions, the parliament drew up an address to the king, in which they laid the whole blame of the massacre upon the excess in the master of Stair's letters concerning that transaction. They begged that his majesty would give such orders about him, as he should think fit for the vindication of his government; that the actors in that barbarous slaughter might be prosecuted by the king's advocate, according to law; and that some reparation might be made to the men of

Glencoe who escaped the massacre, for the losses they had sustained in their effects upon that occasion; as their habitations had been plundered and burned, their lands wasted, and their cattle driven away; so that they were reduced to extreme poverty. Notwithstanding this address of the Scottish parliament, by which the king was so solemnly exculpated, his memory is still loaded with the suspicion of having concerted, countenanced, and enforced this barbarous execution; especially as the master of Stair escaped with impunity, and the other actors of the tragedy, far from being punished, were preferred in the service. While the commissioners were employed in the enquiry, they made such discoveries concerning the conduct of the earl of Braidalbane, as amounted to a charge of high-treason; and he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh: but it seems he had dissembled with the highlanders, by the king's permission, and now sheltered himself under the shadow of a royal pardon.

This year a squadron was sent to the West-Indies, under the joint command of captain Robert Wilmot and colonel Lillingston, with twelve hundred land forces. They had instructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the French settlements on that island, and to destroy their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by seventeen hundred Spaniards raised by the president of St. Domingo; but instead of proceeding against Petit-Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took possession of Port François, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lillingston, who protested against his conduct. In a word, the sea and land officers lived in a state of perpetual dissention; and both became extremely disagreeable to the Spaniards, who soon renounced all connection with them and their designs. In the beginning of September the commodore set sail for England, and lost one of his ships in the gulf of Florida. He himself died in his passage; and the greater part of the men being swept off by an epidemical distemper, the squadron returned to Britain in a most miserable condition. Notwithstanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain such a number of different squadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade suffered severely from the French privateers, which swarmed in both channels, and made prize of many rich vessels. The marquis of Carmarthen, being stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, mistook a fleet of merchant ships for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford Haven. In consequence of this retreat, the privateers took a great number of ships from Barbadoes, and five from the East-Indies, valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamour against the commissioners of the admiralty, who produced their orders and instructions in their own defence. The marquis of Carmarthen had been guilty of flagrant misconduct on this occasion: but the chief source of these national calamities was the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France from time to time, by the malcontents of England.

* Her obsequies were performed with great magnificence. The body was attended from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey by all the judges, serjeants at law, the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and both houses of parliament; and the funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury: Dr. Kenn, the deprived bishop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her majesty on her death-bed to repent of the share she had in the revolution. This was answered by another pamphlet. (One of the Jacobite clergy insulted the queen's memory, by preaching on the following text: "Go now, see this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a king's daughter." On the other hand, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of London came to a resolution to erect her statue, with that of the king, in the Royal Exchange.

† On the decease of the queen the following letter was sent by the princess Anne to king William:

" Sir,

" I beg your majesty's favourable acceptance of my sincere and hearty sorrow for your great affliction in the loss of the queen. And I do assure your majesty, I am as sensibly touched with this sad misfortune, as if I had never been so unhappy, as to have fallen into her displeasure.

" It is my earnest desire, your majesty would give me leave to wait upon you, as soon as it can be without inconveniency to you, and without danger of increasing your affliction, that I may have an opportunity myself, not only of repeating this, but of alluring your majesty of my real intentions to omit no occasion of giving you constant proofs of my sincere respect and concern for your person and interest, as becomes,

Sir, Your majesty's
most affectionate sister, and servant,

ANNE.
King

King William, after having conferred with the states of Holland, and the elector of Brandenburg, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the 19th of October, this year; and arrived in safety at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the same day he summoned a council at Kensington, in which it was determined to convoke a new parliament; which was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 22d of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his confidants, laid his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to acquire popularity. He honoured the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the university of Cambridge. He afterwards, by the way of Woodstock, made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the city by the duke of Ormond, as chancellor of the university, the vice-chancellor, the doctors in their habits, and the magistrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin oration: he received from the chancellor on his knees, the usual presents of a large English Bible, and book of Common Prayer, the cuts of the university, and a pair of gold-fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but an anonymous letter being found in the street, importing, that there was a design to poison his majesty, William refused to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, the university chose Sir William Trumbull, secretary of state, as one of their representatives in parliament.

This year the commons resolved to take the case of the merchants, who loudly complained of their sufferings during the war, into consideration. In pursuance of this resolution, it resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the state of the nation with regard to commerce, and having duly weighed all circumstances, agreed to the following resolutions: "That a council of trade should be established by act of parliament, with powers to take measures for the more effectual preservation of commerce: that the commissioners should be nominated by parliament, but none of them have seats in the house: that they should take an oath, acknowledging the title of king William as rightful and lawful, and abjuring the pretensions of James, or any other person." The king considered these resolutions as an open attack upon his prerogative, and signified his displeasure to the earl of Sunderland, who patronised this measure: but it was so popular in the house, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the commons been diverted from it at this period by the detection of a new conspiracy. The friends of king James had, upon the death of queen Mary, renewed their practices for effecting a restoration of that monarch, on the supposition that the interest of William was considerably weakened by the decease of his consort. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overshot their discretion, formed a design to seize the person of king William, and convey him to France, or put him to death in case of resistance. They had sent emissaries to the court of St. Germain's to demand a commission for this purpose, which was refused. The earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery son to the marquis of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Freind, captain Charnock, was detached with a proposal to James, that he should procure a body of horse and foot from France, to make a descent in England, and they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but even to replace him on the throne of England. These offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French king could not spare such a number of troops at that juncture, the earl of Aylesbury went over in person, and was admitted to a conference with Lewis, in which the scheme of an invasion

was actually concerted. In the beginning of February, the duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conspirators, assured them that king James was ready to make a descent with a considerable number of French forces, distributed commissions, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horses, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the sea-side; a great number of transports were assembled at Dunkirk; Monsieur Gabaret had advanced as far as Calais with a squadron of ships, which, when joined by that of Dubart at Dunkirk, was judged a sufficient convoy; and James had come as far as Calais in his way to embark. Meanwhile, the Jacobites in England were assiduously employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Freind had very nearly completed a regiment of horse: considerable progress was made in levying another by Sir William Perkins: Sir John Fenwick had enlisted four troops: colonel Tempest had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons: colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curzon was commissioned for a third; and the malcontents intended to raise a fourth in Suffolk, where their interest chiefly prevailed.

While one part of the Jacobites proceeded against William, in the usual way of exciting an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, had formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot in the religion of Rome, yet close, circumspect, and determined, was landed, with other officers in Romney-Marsh, by one captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is said to have undertaken the task of seizing or assassinating king William. He imparted his design to Harrison, alias Johnstone, a priest; Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved, and he pretended to have a particular commission for this service. After various consultations, they resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their intended ambushade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. As it would be necessary to charge and disperse the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons for the enterprise. When their complement was full, they determined to execute their purpose on the 15th of February. They concerted the manner in which they should meet in small parties without suspicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, some of the underling actors, seized with horror at the reflection of what they had undertaken, or captivated with the prospect of reward, resolved to prevent the execution of the design by a timely discovery. On the 11th of February, one Fisher informed the earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. On the 13th, however, he returned with a circumstantial detail of all the particulars. Next day, the earl was accosted by one Pendergrafs, an Irish officer, who told his lordship he had just come from Hampshire, at the request of a particular friend, and understood that he had been called up to town with a view of engaging him in a design to assassinate king William. He said, he had promised to embark in the undertaking, though he detested it in his own mind, and took this opportunity of revealing the secret, which was of such consequence to his majesty's life. He owned himself a Roman catholic, but declared that he did not think any religion could justify such a treacherous purpose. At the same time he observed, that as he lay under obligations to some of the conspirators, his honour and gratitude would not permit him to accuse them by name; and that he would upon no consideration appear as an evidence. The king had been so much used to fictitious plots, and false discoveries, that

that he paid little regard to these informations, until they were confirmed by the testimony of another conspirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the same particulars to brigadier Levison, without knowing the least circumstance of the other discoveries. The king then believed there was something real in the conspiracy; and Pendergrafs and La Rue were severally examined in his presence. He thanked Pendergrafs in particular for this instance of his probity; but observed, that it must prove ineffectual, unless he would discover the names of the conspirators; for without knowing who they were, he should not be able to secure his life against these attempts. At length Pendergrafs was prevailed upon to give a list of those he knew, yet not before the king had solemnly promised that he should not be used as an evidence against them, except with his own consent. As the king did not go to Richmond on the day appointed, the conspirators postponed the execution of their design till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houses on the Friday, when every man received his instructions. There they agreed, that after the perpetration of the parricide, they should ride in a body as far as Hammer-smith, and then dispersing, enter London by different avenues. But, on the morning, when they understood that the guard were returned to their quarters, and the king's coaches sent back to the Mews, they were seized with a sudden damp, on the supposition that their plot was discovered. Sir George Barclay withdrew himself, and every one began to think of providing for his own safety. Next night, however, a great number of them were apprehended, and then the whole discovery was communicated to the privy-council. A proclamation was issued against those that absconded; and great diligence was used to find Sir George Barclay, who was supposed to have a particular commission from James for assassinating the prince of Orange; but he made good his retreat, and it was never proved that any such commission had been granted.

This design and the projected invasion proved equally abortive. James had scarcely reached Calais, when the duke of Wirtemberg dispatched his aid-du-camp from Flanders to king William, with an account of the purposed descent. Expresses with the same tidings arrived from the elector of Bavaria and the prince of de Vaudemont. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast with above fifty sail of the line. The enemy were confounded at his appearance, and hauled in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water that he could not follow and destroy them: but he absolutely ruined their design, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having staid some weeks at Calais, returned to St. German's. The forces were sent back to the garrisons from which they had been drafted. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conspirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been sent from France, with orders to obey Sir George Barclay, surrendered himself to Sir William Trumball, and confessed the scheme of assassination in which he had been engaged. Porter and Pendergrafs were apprehended together: the last insisted upon the king's promise, that he should not be compelled to give evidence; but, when Porter owned himself guilty, the other observed, he was no longer bound to be silent, as his friend had made a confession; and they were both admitted as evidence for the crown. After their examination, the king, in a speech to both houses, communicated the nature of the conspiracy against his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invasion: he explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design, and professed his confidence in their readiness and zeal to concur with him in every thing that should appear necessary for their common safety. That same evening the two houses waited upon him at Kensington, in a body, with an affectionate address, by which they

expressed their abhorrence of the villainous and barbarous design that had been formed against his sacred person, of which they besought him to take more than ordinary care. They voted an address, to desire, that his majesty would banish by proclamation, all papists to the distance of ten miles from the cities of London and Westminster; and give instructions to the judges going on the circuits, to put the laws in execution against Roman-catholics and nonjurors. They drew up an association, binding themselves to assist each other in support of the king and his government, and to revenge any violence that should be committed on his person.

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King William, after having conferred with the states of Holland, and the elector of Brandenburg, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the 19th of October, this year; and arrived in safety at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the same day he summoned a council at Kensington, in which it was determined to convoke a new parliament; which was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 22d of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his confidants, laid his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to acquire popularity. He honoured the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the university of Cambridge. He afterwards, by the way of Woodstock, made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the city by the duke of Ormond, as chancellor of the university, the vice-chancellor, the doctors in their habits, and the magistrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin oration: he received from the chancellor on his knees, the usual presents of a large English Bible, and book of Common Prayer, the cuts of the university, and a pair of gold-fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but an anonymous letter being found in the street, importing, that there was a design to poison his majesty, William refused to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, the university chose Sir William Trumbull, secretary of state, as one of their representatives in parliament.

This year the commons resolved to take the case of the merchants, who loudly complained of their sufferings during the war, into consideration. In pursuance of this resolution, it resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the state of the nation with regard to commerce, and having duly weighed all circumstances, agreed to the following resolutions: "That a council of trade should be established by act of parliament, with powers to take measures for the more effectual preservation of commerce: that the commissioners should be nominated by parliament, but none of them have seats in the house: that they should take an oath, acknowledging the title of king William as rightful and lawful, and abjuring the pretensions of James, or any other person." The king considered these resolutions as an open attack upon his prerogative, and signified his displeasure to the earl of Sunderland, who patronised this measure: but it was so popular in the house, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the commons been diverted from it at this period by the detection of a new conspiracy. The friends of king James had, upon the death of queen Mary, renewed their practices for effecting a restoration of that monarch, on the supposition that the interest of William was considerably weakened by the decease of his consort. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overshot their discretion, formed a design to seize the person of king William, and convey him to France, or put him to death in case of resistance. They had sent emissaries to the court of St. Germain's to demand a commission for this purpose, which was refused. The earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery son to the marquess of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Freind, captain Charnock, was detached with a proposal to James, that he should procure a body of horse and foot from France, to make a descent in England, and they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but even to replace him on the throne of England. These offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French king could not spare such a number of troops at that juncture, the earl of Aylesbury went over in person, and was admitted to a conference with Lewis, in which the scheme of an invasion

was actually concerted. In the beginning of February, the duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conspirators, assured them that king James was ready to make a descent with a considerable number of French forces, distributed commissions, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horses, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the seaside; a great number of transports were assembled at Dunkirk; Monsieur Gabaret had advanced as far as Calais with a squadron of ships, which, when joined by that of Dubart at Dunkirk, was judged a sufficient convoy; and James had come as far as Calais in his way to embark. Meanwhile, the Jacobites in England were assiduously employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Freind had very nearly completed a regiment of horse: considerable progress was made in levying another by Sir William Perkins: Sir John Fenwick had enlisted four troops: colonel Tempest had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons: colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curzon was commissioned for a third; and the malcontents intended to raise a fourth in Suffolk, where their interest chiefly prevailed.

While one part of the Jacobites proceeded against William, in the usual way of exciting an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, had formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot in the religion of Rome, yet close, circumspect, and determined, was landed, with other officers in Romney-Marsh, by one captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is said to have undertaken the task of seizing or assassinating king William. He imparted his design to Harrison, alias Johnstone, a priest; Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved, and he pretended to have a particular commission for this service. After various consultations, they resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their intended ambushade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. As it would be necessary to charge and disperse the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons for the enterprize. When their complement was full, they determined to execute their purpose on the 15th of February. They concerted the manner in which they should meet in small parties without suspicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, some of the underling actors, seized with horror at the reflection of what they had undertaken, or captivated with the prospect of reward, resolved to prevent the execution of the design by a timely discovery. On the 11th of February, one Fisher informed the earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. On the 13th, however, he returned with a circumstantial detail of all the particulars. Next day, the earl was accosted by one Pendergrafs, an Irish officer, who told his lordship he had just come from Hampshire, at the request of a particular friend, and understood that he had been called up to town with a view of engaging him in a design to assassinate king William. He said, he had promised to embark in the undertaking, though he detested it in his own mind, and took this opportunity of revealing the secret, which was of such consequence to his majesty's life. He owned himself a Roman catholic, but declared that he did not think any religion could justify such a treacherous purpose. At the same time he observed, that as he lay under obligations to some of the conspirators, his honour and gratitude would not permit him to accuse them by name; and that he would upon no consideration appear as an evidence. The king had been so much used to seditious plots, and false discoveries, that

that he paid little regard to these informations; until they were confirmed by the testimony of another conspirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the same particulars to brigadier Levison, without knowing the least circumstance of the other discoveries. The king then believed there was something real in the conspiracy; and Pendergrafs and La Rue were severally examined in his presence. He thanked Pendergrafs in particular for this instance of his probity; but observed, that it must prove ineffectual, unless he would discover the names of the conspirators; for without knowing who they were, he should not be able to secure his life against these attempts. At length Pendergrafs was prevailed upon to give a list of those he knew, yet not before the king had solemnly promised that he should not be used as an evidence against them, except with his own consent. As the king did not go to Richmond on the day appointed, the conspirators postponed the execution of their design till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houses on the Friday, when every man received his instructions. There they agreed, that after the perpetration of the parricide, they should ride in a body as far as Hammer-smith, and then dispersing, enter London by different avenues. But, on the morning, when they understood that the guard were returned to their quarters, and the king's coaches sent back to the Mews, they were seized with a sudden damp, on the supposition that their plot was discovered. Sir George Barclay withdrew himself, and every one began to think of providing for his own safety. Next night, however, a great number of them were apprehended, and then the whole discovery was communicated to the privy-council. A proclamation was issued against those that absconded; and great diligence was used to find Sir George Barclay, who was supposed to have a particular commission from James for assassinating the prince of Orange; but he made good his retreat, and it was never proved that any such commission had been granted.

This design and the projected invasion proved equally abortive. James had scarcely reached Calais, when the duke of Wirtemberg dispatched his aid-du-camp from Flanders to king William, with an account of the purposed descent. Expresses with the same tidings arrived from the elector of Bavaria and the prince of de Vaudemont. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast with above fifty sail of the line. The enemy were confounded at his appearance, and hauled in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water that he could not follow and destroy them: but he absolutely ruined their design, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having staid some weeks at Calais, returned to St. German's. The forces were sent back to the garrisons from which they had been drafted. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conspirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been sent from France, with orders to obey Sir George Barclay, surrendered himself to Sir William Trumball, and confessed the scheme of assassination in which he had been engaged. Porter and Pendergrafs were apprehended together: the last insisted upon the king's promise, that he should not be compelled to give evidence; but, when Porter owned himself guilty, the other observed, he was no longer bound to be silent, as his friend had made a confession; and they were both admitted as evidence for the crown. After their examination, the king, in a speech to both houses, communicated the nature of the conspiracy against his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invasion: he explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design, and professed his confidence in their readiness and zeal to concur with him in every thing that should appear necessary for their common safety. That same evening the two houses waited upon him at Kensington, in a body, with an affectionate address, by which they

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Soon after the discovery of the plot, several of the conspirators were brought to trial. The first who suffered was Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen-College, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the protestant religion: the next were lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys, which last had been formerly a trumpeter, but of late servant to captain Porter: they were found guilty of high-treason, and executed at Tyburn. They delivered papers to the sheriff, in which they solemnly declared, that they had never seen nor heard of any commission from king James for assassinating the prince of Orange: Charnock, in particular, observed, that he had received frequent assurances of the king's having rejected such proposals when they had been offered; and that there was no other commission but that for levying war in the usual form. Sir John Freind and Sir William Perkins were tried in April: the first, from mean beginnings had acquired great wealth and credit, and always firmly adhered to the interests of king James. The other was likewise a man of fortune, violently attached to the same principles, though he had taken the oaths to the present government, as one of the six clerks in chancery. Porter, another evidence, deposed, that Sir John Freind had been concerned in levying men under a commission from king James; and that he knew of the assassination plot, though not engaged in it as a personal actor. He endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of Blair, by proving him guilty of the most shocking ingratitude. He observed, that both the evidences were reputed papists. The curate of Hackney, who officiated as chaplain in the prisoner's house, declared upon oath, that after the revolution he used to pray for king William; and that he had often heard Sir John Freind say, that though he could not comply with the present government, he would live peaceably under it, and never engage in any conspiracy. Mr. Hoadly, father of the bishop of Winchester, added, that the prisoner was a good protestant, and frequently expressed his detestation of king-killing principles. Freind himself owned he had been with some of the conspirators at a meeting in Leadenhall-street, but heard nothing of raising men, or any design against the government. He likewise affirmed, that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and that his being at a treasonable consultation could amount to no more than a misprision of treason. Lord chief justice Holt declared, that although a bare conspiracy, or design to levy war, was not treason within the statute of Edward III. yet if the design or conspiracy be to kill, or depose, or imprison the king, by the means of levying war, then the consultation and conspiracy to levy war becomes high-treason, though no war be actually levied. The same inference might have been drawn against the authors and instruments of the revolution. The judge's explanation influenced the jury, who after some deliberation found the prisoner guilty. Next day Sir William Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the testimony of Porter, Ewebank, his own groom, and Haywood, a notorious informer, was convicted of having been concerned not only in the invasion, but also in the design against the king's life. The evidence was scanty, and the prisoner having been bred to the law, made an artful and vigorous defence: but the judge acted as council for the crown; and the jury decided by the hints they

received from the bench. He and Sir John Freind underwent the sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn on the 3d of April, 1696*.

In the course of the same month, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried as conspirators, by a special commission, in the King's-Bench; and convicted on the joint testimony of Porter, Harris, La Rue, Bertram, Fisher, and Pendergrafs. Some favourable circumstances appeared in the case of Lowick. The proof of his having been concerned in the design against the king's life was very defective; many persons of reputation declared he was an honest, good-natured, inoffensive man: and he himself concluded his defence with the most solemn protestation of his own innocence. Great intercession was made for his pardon by some noblemen: but all their interest proved ineffectual. Cranborne died in a transport of indignation, leaving a paper which the government thought proper to suppress. Lowick and Rookwood likewise delivered declarations to the sheriff, the contents of which, as being less inflammatory, were allowed to be published. Both solemnly denied any knowledge of a commission from king James, to assassinate the prince of Orange; the one affirming, that he was incapable of granting such an order; and the other asserting that he, the best of king's, had often rejected proposals of that nature. Lowick owned that he would have joined the king at his landing: but declared, he had never been concerned in any bloody affair during the whole course of his life. Rookwood alledged, he was engaged by his immediate commander, whom he thought it his duty to obey, though the service was much against his judgement and inclination. He professed his abhorrence of treachery even to an enemy. He forgave all mankind, even the prince of Orange, who, as a soldier, he said, ought to have considered his case before he signed his death warrant: he prayed God would open his eyes, and render him sensible of the blood that was from all parts crying against him, so as he might avert a heavier execution than that which he now ordered to be inflicted. The next person brought to trial, was Mr. Cooke, son of Sir Miles Cooke, one of the six clerks in chancery. Porter and Goodman deposed, that he had been present at two meetings at the King's-Head Tavern, Leadenhall-street, with the lords Aylesbury, and Montgomery, Sir William Perkins, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Freind, Charnock, and Porter. The evidence of Goodman was invalidated by the testimony of the landlord, and two drawers belonging to the tavern, who swore that Goodman was not there while the noblemen were present. The prisoner himself solemnly protested that he was ever averse to the introduction of foreign forces: that he did not so much as hear of the intended invasion, until it became the common topic of conversation, and that he had never seen Goodman at the King's-Head. He declared his intention of receiving the blessed sacrament, and wished he might perish in the instant, if he now spoke untruth. No respect was paid to these asseverations. The solicitor-general Hawles, and lord chief-justice Treby, treated him with

great severity in the prosecution and charge to the jury, by whom he was capitally convicted. After his condemnation the court-agents tampered with him to make further discoveries; and after his fate had been protracted by divers short reprieves, he was sent into banishment.

When the above conspiracy was first discovered, Sir George Rooke had received orders to return from Cadiz; and he arrived in the latter end of April. While he took his place at the board of admiralty, lord Berkeley succeeded to the command of the fleet; and in June set sail towards Ushant, in order to insult the coast of France. He pillaged and burned the villages on the islands Grouais, Houat, and Heydic; made prize of about twenty vessels; bombarded St. Martin's on the isle of Rhé, and the town of Olonne, which was set on fire in fifteen different places with the shells and carcasses. Though these appear to have been enterprizes of small import, they certainly kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm. The ministry of that kingdom were so much afraid of invasion, that between Brest and Goulet they ordered above one hundred batteries to be erected, and above sixty thousand men were continually in arms, for the defence of the maritime places. In May rear-admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron, in order to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that famous adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and steering to the eastward, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Baltic, under a convoy of five frigates. These last he took, together with half the number of the trading ships; but, falling in with the outward-bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, he was obliged to burn four frigates, turn the fifth adrift, and part with all his prizes except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk.

The attention of the commons was transferred to the case of Sir John Fenwick, who had been apprehended in June at New Romney, in the way to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who accompanied him; but this man being seized, the letter was found, containing such a confession as plainly evinced him guilty. He then entered into a treaty with the court for turning evidence, and delivered a long information in writing, which was sent abroad to his majesty. He made no discoveries that could injure any of the Jacobites, who, by his account, and other concurring testimonies, appeared to be divided into two parties, known by the names of Compounders and Noncompounders†. King William having sent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unless he should make more material discoveries, the prisoner, with a view to amuse the ministry, until he could take other measures for his own safety, accused the earls of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Bath, lord Godolphin, and admiral Russel, of having made their peace with king James, and engaged to act for his interest. Meanwhile his lady and relations tampered with the two witnesses, Porter and Goodman. The first of these discovered those practices to the government; and one Clancey, who acted as agent for lady Fenwick, was tried, con-

* Freind protested before God, that he knew of no immediate descent purposed by king James, and therefore had made no preparation: that he was utterly ignorant of the assassination scheme: that he died in the communion of the church of England, and laid down his life cheerfully in the cause for which he suffered. Perkins declared, upon the word of a dying man, that the tenor of the king's commission, which he saw, was general, directed to all his loving subjects, to raise and levy war against the prince of Orange and his adherents, and to seize all forts, castles, &c. but that he neither saw nor heard of any commission particularly levelled against the person of the prince of Orange. He owned, however, that he was privy to the design: but believed it was known to few or none but the immediate undertakers. These two criminals were in their last moments attended by Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, who absolved them in the view of the populace, with an imposition of hands: a public insult on the government, which did not pass unnoticed. These three cler-

gymen were presented by the grand jury, for having countenanced the treason by absolving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other persons to disturb the peace of the kingdom. An indictment being preferred against them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate; but Collier absconded, and published a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the imposition of hands was the general practice of the primitive church. On the other hand, the two metropolitans and twelve other bishops subscribed a declaration, condemning the administration of absolution without a previous confession made, and abhorrence expressed, by the prisoners, of the heinous crimes for which they suffered.

† The first, headed by the earl of Middleton, insisted upon receiving security from king James, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved: whereas, the other party, at the head of which was the earl of Melford, resolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his own honour and generosity.

victed of subornation, fined, and set in the pillory: but they had succeeded better in their attempts upon Goodman, who disappeared; so that one witness only remained, and Fenwick began to think his life was out of danger. Admiral Russel acquainted the house of commons, that he and several persons of quality had been reflected upon in some informations of Sir John Fenwick: he therefore desired, that he might have an opportunity to justify his own character. Mr. secretary Trumbull produced his papers, which having been read, the commons ordered, "That Sir John Fenwick should be brought to the bar of the house. There he was exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery; which, however, he declined, except with the proviso, that he should first receive some security that what he might say should not prejudice himself. He was ordered to withdraw, until they should have deliberated on his request. He was then called in again, and the speaker told him, he might deserve the favour of the house, by making a full discovery. He desired he might be indulged with a little time to recollect himself, and promised to obey the command of the house. This favour being denied, he again insisted upon having security; which they refusing to grant, he chose to be silent, and was dismissed from the bar^a. A motion being made, for leave to bring in a bill to attain him of high-treason, a warm debate ensued, and the question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. He was furnished with a copy of the bill, and allowed the use of pen, ink, paper, and counsel. When he presented a petition, praying that his counsel might be heard against passing the bill, they made an order, that his counsel should be allowed to make his defence at the bar of the house; so that he was surprized into an irregular trial, instead of being indulged with an opportunity of offering objections to their passing the bill of attainder. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the house; and the bill being read in his hearing, the speaker called upon the king's counsel to open the evidence. The prisoner's counsel objected to their proceedings to trial, alledging, that their client had not received the least notice of their purposes, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence; but they came to offer their reasons against the bill. The house, after a long debate resolved, that he should be allowed further time to produce witnesses in his defence; that the counsel for the king should likewise be allowed to produce evidence to prove the treasons of which he stood indicted; and an order was made for his being brought to the bar again in three days. In pursuance of this order he appeared, when the indictment which had been found against him by the grand jury was produced; and Porter was examined as evidence. The record of Clancey's conviction was then read; and one Roe testified, that Deighton, the prisoner's solicitor, had offered him an annuity of one hundred pounds, to discredit the testimony of Goodman. The king's counsel moved that Goodman's examination, as taken by Mr. Vernon, clerk of the council, might be read. Sir J. Powis, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, the prisoner's counsel, warmly opposed this proposal: they affirmed, that a deposition, taken when the party affected by it was not present to cross-examine the deposer, could not be admitted in a case of five shillings value. The dispute between the lawyers gave rise to a very violent debate among the members of the house. At length, the question was put, whether or not the information of Goodman should be read? and was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-three voices. Two of the grand jury who had found the indictment, then recited the evidence which had been given to them by Porter and Goodman: lastly, the king's counsel insisted upon producing the record of Cooke's conviction, as he had

been tried for the same conspiracy. The prisoner's counsel objected, that, if such evidence was admitted, the trial of one person in the same company would be the trial of all; and it could not be expected that they who came to defend Sir John Fenwick only, should be prepared to answer the charge against Cooke. This article produced another vehement debate among the members; and the Whigs obtained the second victory. The house resolved to hear such evidence as the prisoner had to produce that night. His counsel declared, that they had nothing then to produce but the copy of the record; and the second resolution was, that he should be brought up again next day at noon. He accordingly appeared at the bar, and Sir J. Powis proceeded on his defence. He observed, that the bill under consideration affected the lives of the subjects, and such precedents were dangerous: that Sir John Fenwick was forth-coming, in order to be tried by the ordinary methods of justice: that he was actually under process, had pleaded, and was ready to stand trial: that if there was sufficient clear evidence against him, as the king's serjeant had declared, there was no reason for his being deprived of the benefit of such a trial as was the birthright of every British subject; and if there was a deficiency of legal evidence, he thought this was a very odd reason for the bill. He took notice that even the regicides had the benefit of such a trial: that the last act for regulating trials in cases of treason proved the great tenderness of the laws which affected the life of the subject: and he expressed his surprize that the very parliament which had passed that law, should enact another for putting a person to death without any trial at all. He said, they had introduced evidence to prove circumstances not alledged in the bill, and defective evidence of those that were: that Porter was not examined upon oath: that nothing could be more severe than to pass sentence of death upon a man, corrupt his blood, and confiscate his estate, upon parole evidence, especially of such a wretch, who, by his own confession, had been engaged in a crime of the blackest nature, not a convert to the dictates of conscience, but a coward, shrinking from the danger by which he had been environed, and even now drudging for a pardon. He invalidated the evidence of Goodman's examination. He concluded with saying, "We know at present on what ground we stand; by the statute of Edward III. we know what treason is; by the two statutes of Edward VI. and the late act, we know what is proof; by *Magna Charta* we know we are to be tried *per legem terræ & per judicium parium*, by the law of the land and judgement of our peers; but, if bills of attainder come into fashion, we shall neither know what is treason, what is evidence, nor how, nor where we are to be tried." He was seconded by Sir Bartholomew Shower, who spoke with equal energy and elocution; and their arguments were answered by the king's counsel. The arguments in favour of the bill imported, that the parliament would not interpose, except in extraordinary cases; that here the evidence necessary in inferior courts being defective, the parliament, which was not tied down by legal evidence, had a right to exert their extraordinary power in punishing an offender, who would otherwise escape with impunity: that as the law stood, he was but a sorry politician that could not ruin the government, and yet elude the statute of treason: that if a plot, after being discovered, should not be thoroughly prosecuted, it would strengthen and grow upon the administration, and probably at length subvert the government: that it was notorious that parties were forming for king James; persons were plotting in every part of the kingdom, and an open invasion was threatened; therefore, this was a proper time for the parliament to exert their extraordinary power:

^a The house voted, that his informations, reflecting upon the fidelity of several noblemen, members of the house, and others, upon hearsay, were false and scandalous, contrived to

undermine the government, and create jealousies between the king and his subjects, in order to stifle the conspiracy.

that the English differed from all other nations, in bringing the witnesses and the prisoner face to face, and requiring two witnesses in cases of treason: nor did the English law itself require the same proof in some cases, as in others; for one witness was sufficient in felony, as well as for the treason of coining: that Fenwick was notoriously guilty, and deserves to feel the resentment of the nation: that he would have been brought to exemplary punishment in the ordinary course of justice, had he not eluded it, by corrupting evidence, and withdrawing a witness. If this reasoning be just, says Smollett, the house of commons has a right to act in diametrical opposition to the laws in being; and is vested with a despotic power over the lives and fortunes of their constituents, for whose protection they are constituted. Let us, therefore, reflect upon the possibility of a parliament debauched by the arts of corruption, into servile compliance with the designs of an arbitrary prince, and tremble for the consequence. The debate being finished, the prisoner was, at the desire of admiral Russel, questioned with regard to the imputations he had fixed upon that gentleman and others, from hearsay; but he desired to be excused on account of the risque he ran while under a double prosecution, if any thing which should escape him might be turned to his prejudice. After he was removed from the bar, Mr. Vernon, at the desire of the house, recapitulated the arts and practices of Sir John Fenwick and his friends, to procrastinate the trial. The bill was read a second time; and the speaker asking, if the question should be put for its being committed, the house was immediately kindled into a new flame of contention*. Sir Richard Temple, in arguing against the bill, observed, that the power of parliament is to make any law, but the jurisdiction of parliament is to govern itself by the law: to make a law, therefore, against all the laws of England, was the *ultimum remedium & pessimum*, never to be used but in case of absolute necessity. He affirmed, that by this precedent the house overthrew all the laws of England; first, in condemning a man by one witness; secondly, in passing an act without any trial. The commons never did, nor can, assume a jurisdiction of trying any person: they may, for their own information, hear what can be offered; but it is not a trial where witnesses are not upon oath. All bills of attainder have passed against persons that were dead or fled, or without the compass of the law: some have been brought in after trials in Westminster-hall; but none of those have been called trials, and they were generally reversed. He denied that the parliament had power to declare any thing treason which was not treason before. When inferior courts were dubious, the case might be brought before the parliament, to judge whether it was treason or felony; but then they must judge by the laws in being; and this judgement was not in the parliament by bill, but only in the house of lords. Lord Digby, Mr. Harley, and colonel Granville, spoke to the same purpose. But their arguments and remonstrances had no effect upon the majority, by whom the prisoner was devoted to destruction. The bill was committed, passed, and sent up to the house of lords, where it produced the

longest and warmest debates which had been known since the reformation †.

At length it was carried by a majority of seven voices: and one-and-forty lords, including eight prelates, entered a protest, couched in the strongest terms, against the decision. When the bill received the royal assent, another act of the like nature passed against Barclay, Holmes, and nine other conspirators who had fled from justice, in case they should not surrender themselves on or before the 25th of March next ensuing. Sir John Fenwick solicited the mediation of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The peers gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend upon the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for a pardon; and they insisted upon his depending on their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death, which last he at length chose to undergo, rather than incur the disgraceful character of an informer, on the 28th of January, 1697 ‡.

April 26, 1697, William embarked for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negotiation for a general peace. By this time the preliminaries were settled, between Callieres the French minister, and Mr. Dykvelt, in behalf of the States-General, who resolved, in consequence of the concessions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. The emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not satisfied with those concessions: yet, his imperial majesty declared he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Westphalia should be re-established; and provided the king of Sweden would engage to join his troops with those of the allies, in case France should break through this stipulation. This proposal being delivered, the ministers of England and Holland at Vienna presented a joint memorial, pressing his imperial majesty to accept the mediation without reserve, and name a place at which the congress might be opened. The emperor complied with reluctance. On the 14th of February, all the ministers of the allies, except the ambassador of Spain, agreed to the proposal; and next day signified their assent in form to Mr. Lillienroot, the Swedish plenipotentiary. Spain demanded, as a preliminary, that France should agree to restore all the places, mentioned in a long list, which the minister of that crown presented to the assembly. The emperor proposed, that the congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Frankfort, or some other town in Germany. The other allies were more disposed to negotiate in Holland. At length the French king suggested, that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to king William, called Newbourg-house, situated between the Hague and Delft, close by the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. The negotiations at Ryswick proceeded very slowly for some time. The imperial minister demanded, that France should make restitution of all the places and dominions she had wrested from the empire since the peace of Munster, whether by

* On this occasion Mr. Harcourt said, he knew no trial for treason but what was confirmed by *Magna Charta*, by a jury, the birthright and darling privilege of an Englishman, or *per legem terræ*, which includes impeachments in parliament: that it was a strange trial where the person accused had a chance to be hanged, but none to be saved: that he never heard of a jurymen who was not on his oath, nor of a judge who had not power to examine witnesses upon oath, and who was not empowered to save the innocent, as well as to condemn the guilty.

† Bishop Burnet signalized his zeal for the government, by a long speech in favour of the bill, contradicting some of the fundamental maxims which he had formerly avowed in behalf of the liberties of the people.

‡ In the paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he took God to witness, that he knew not of the intended invasion, until it was the common subject of discourse; nor was he en-

gaged in any shape for the service of king James. He thanked those noble and worthy persons who had opposed his attainder in parliament; protested before God, that the information he gave to the ministry he had received in letters and messages from France; and observed, that he might have expected mercy from the prince of Orange, as he had been instrumental in saving his life, by preventing the execution of a design which had been formed against it; a circumstance which in all probability induced the late conspirators to conceal their purpose of assassination from his knowledge. He professed his loyalty to king James, and prayed Heaven for his speedy restoration. Smollett.—The death of Fenwick may serve to prove the insufficiency of any laws to protect the subject, when a majority of the powerful shall think proper to dispense with them. Dr. Goldsmith.

force of arms or pretence of right. The Spaniards claimed all they could demand by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of the Pyrenees. The French affirmed, that if the preliminaries offered by Callieres were accepted, these propositions could not be taken into consideration. The Imperialists persisted in demanding a circumstantial answer, article by article. The Spaniards insisted upon the same manner of proceeding, and called upon the mediator and Dutch ministers to support their pretensions. The plenipotentiaries of France, declared they would not admit any demand or proposition, contrary to the preliminary articles; but were willing to deliver in a project of peace, in order to shorten the negotiations; and the Spanish ambassadors consented to this expedient. During these transactions, the earl of Portland held a conference with marshal Boufflers, near Halle, in sight of the two opposite armies, which was continued in five successive meetings. On the 2d of August they retired together to a house in the suburbs of Halle, and mutually signed a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjusted. Next day king William quitted the camp, and retired to his house at Loo, confident of having taken such measures for a pacification as could not be disappointed. Before the congress was opened, king James had published two manifestos, addressed to the catholic and protestant princes of the confederacy, representing his wrongs, and craving redress; but his remonstrances being altogether disregarded, he afterwards issued a third declaration, solemnly protesting against all that might or should be negotiated, regulated, or stipulated with the usurper of his realms, as being void of all rightful and lawful authority. On the 20th of July the French ambassadors produced their project of a general peace, declaring at the same time, that should it not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herself bound for the conditions she now offered: but Cawnitz, the emperor's plenipotentiary, protested he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the 30th of August, however, he delivered to the mediators an *ultimatum*; importing, that he adhered to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Strasbourg with its appurtenances; that he insisted upon the restitution of Lorraine to the prince of that name: and demanded, that the church and chapter of Liege should be re-established in the possession of their incontestable rights. Next day the French plenipotentiaries declared, that the month of August being now expired, all their offers were vacated: that, therefore, the king of France would reserve Strasbourg, and unite it, with its dependencies, to his crown for ever: that in other respects he would adhere to the project, and restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to recede. The ministers of the electors and princes of the empire joined in a written remonstrance to the Spanish plenipotentiaries, representing the inconveniences and dangers that would accrue to the Germanic body from France's being in possession of Luxembourg, and

exhorting them in the strongest terms to reject all offers of an equivalent for that province. They likewise presented another to the States-general, requiring them to continue the war according to their engagements, until France should have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was paid to either of these addresses. Then the Imperial ambassador demanded the good offices of the mediator, on certain articles: but all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjusting the peace between her and the emperor should be prolonged till the 1st of November, and in the mean time an armistice be punctually observed. Yet even these concessions were made, on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland should be signed on that day, even though the emperor and empire should not concur. Accordingly, on the 20th of September, the articles were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French ambassadors, while the Imperial ministers protested against the transaction, observing, This was the second time that a separate peace had been concluded with France; and that the states of the empire, who had been imposed upon through their own credulity, would not for the future be so easily persuaded to engage in confederacies*. A remonstrance in favour of the French protestant refugees in England, Holland, and Germany, was delivered by the earl of Pembroke to the mediators, in the name of the protestant allies, on the day that preceded the conclusion of the treaty; but the French plenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their master, that as he did not pretend to prescribe rules to king William about the English subjects, he expected the same liberty with respect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of those conscientious exiles: the treaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed at Paris and London. King William having finished this important transaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London, amidst the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they must have been inevitably impoverished and ruined.

As a period was now put to the war, the standing army began to raise discontent in the nation; and this discontent was so universal, that the dependents of the court in the house of commons durst not openly oppose the reduction of the forces. After very tedious debates, three hundred and fifty thousand pounds were allotted for the maintenance and support of ten thousand men; and they afterwards obtained an addition of three thousand marines. The king was extremely mortified at these resolutions of the commons; and even declared to his particular friends, that he would never have intermeddled with the affairs of the nation, had he foreseen they would make such returns of ingratitude and distrust.

The house of commons, in order to sweeten the unpalatable cup they had presented to the king, voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds *per annum* for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services. They then passed an act prohibiting the currency of silver hammered coin, including a clause for making

* In certain preparatory articles settled between England and France, king William promised to pay a yearly pension to queen Mary D'Este, of fifty thousand pounds, or such sum as should be established for that purpose by act of parliament. The treaty itself consisted of seventeen articles. The French king engaged, that he would not disturb or disquiet the king of Great Britain in the possession of his realms or government: nor assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person. This obligation was reciprocal. A free commerce was restored. Commissioners were appointed to meet at London, and settle the pretensions of each crown, to Hudson's-Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the English in the course of the war; and to regulate the limits of the places to be restored as well as the exchanges to be made. It was likewise stipulated, that in case of a rupture, six months should be allowed to the subjects of each power for removing their effects: that the separate articles of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, should be entirely executed; and, that the ratifications should be exchanged

in three weeks from the day of signing. The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a mutual restitution, reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, a confirmation of the peace with Savoy, a re-establishment of the treaty concluded between France and Brandenburg, in 1679, a comprehension of Sweden, and all those powers that should be named before the ratification, or in six months after the conclusion of the treaty. Besides, the Dutch ministers concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution. Spain had great reason to be satisfied with the pacification, by which she recovered Gironne, Roses, Barcelona, Luxembourg, Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories taken by the French in the province of Luxembourg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two towns and villages, claimed by the French; this dispute was left to the decision of commissaries; or, in case they should not agree, to the determination of the States-general.

cut new exchequer-bills in lieu of those which were or might be filled up with endorsements: they framed another to open the correspondence with France, under a variety of proviso's; a third for continuing the imprisonment of certain persons who had been concerned in the late conspiracy: a fourth granting further time for administering oaths with respect to tallies and orders in the exchequer and bank of England. These bills having received the royal assent, they resolved to grant a supply, which together with the funds already settled for that purpose, should be sufficient to answer and cancel all exchequer bills, to the amount of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds. Another supply was voted for the payment and reduction of the army, including half-pay to such commission-officers as were natural-born subjects of England. They granted one million four hundred thousand pounds to make good deficiencies. They resolved, that the sum of two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and two pounds was necessary to pay off arrears, subsistence, and garrisons; of which sum eight hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and two pounds remained in the hands of the paymaster. They then took into consideration the subsidies due to foreign powers, and the sums owing to contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-two thousand seven hundred and forty-two pounds. That of the ordnance was equal to two hundred and four thousand one hundred and fifty-seven pounds. The transport debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland, and other services, did not fall short of four hundred and sixty-six thousand four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed nine-and-forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds, for quartering and cloathing the army, which had been raised by one act of parliament in the year 1677, and disbanded by another in the year 1679. As this enormous load of debt could not be discharged at once, the commons passed a number of votes for raising sums of money, by which it was considerably lightened; and settled the funds for those purposes by the continuation of the land-tax, and other impositions. With respect to the civil list, it was raised by a new subsidy of tonnage and poundage, the hereditary and temporary excise, a weekly portion from the revenue of the post-office, the first-fruits and tenths of the clergy, the fines in the alienation office, and post-fines, the revenue of the wine licence, money arising by sheriffs' proffers, and compositions in the exchequer, and seizures, the income of the duchy of Cornwall, the rents of all other crown-lands in England or Wales, and the duty of four and a half *per cent.* upon specie from Barbadoes and the Leeward-Islands. The bill imported, that the overplus arising from these funds should be accounted for to parliament. Six hundred thousand pounds of this money was allotted for the purposes of the civil list; the rest was granted for the jointure of fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, to be paid to queen Mary D'Esté, according to the stipulation at Ryſwick; and to maintain a court for the duke of Gloucester, son of the princess Anne of Denmark, now in the ninth year of his age: but the jointure was never paid; nor would the king allow above fifteen thousand pounds *per annum* for the use of the duke of Gloucester, to whom Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, was appointed preceptor.

In the spring of 1698 the subscribers to the East-India company had been examined about advancing a sum of money for the public service, by way of loan, in consideration of a parliamentary settlement; and they offered to raise seven hundred thousand pounds on that condition: but, before they formed this resolution, another body of merchants, under the auspices of Montague, offered to lend two millions at eight *per cent.*

provided they might be gratified with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East-Indies. This proposal was very well received by the majority in the house of commons. A bill for this purpose was brought in, with additional clauses of regulation. A petition was presented by the old company, representing their rights and claims under so many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thousand families interested in the stock: as also to the company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds of yearly revenue. They alledged they had expended a million in fortifications; that during the war they had lost twelve great ships, worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds: that since the last subscription they had contributed two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds to the customs, with above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes; that they had furnished six thousand barrels of gunpowder on a very pressing occasion; and eighty thousand pounds for the circulation of exchequer-bills, at a very critical juncture, by desire of the lords of the treasury, who owned that their compliance was a very important service to the government. No regard being paid to their remonstrance, they undertook to raise the loan of two millions, and immediately subscribed two hundred thousand pounds as the first payment. The two proposals being compared and considered by the house, the majority declared for the bill, which was passed, and sent up to the house of lords. There the old company delivered another petition, and was heard by counsel; nevertheless, the bill made its way, though not without opposition, and a formal protestation by one-and-twenty lords, who thought it was a hardship upon the present company; and doubted whether the separate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint stock, might not prove such an inconsistency as would discourage the subscription. This act, by which the old company was dissolved, in a great measure blasted the reputation of the Whigs, which had for some time been on the decline with the people. They had stood up as advocates for a standing army, they now unjustly superseded the East-India company; they were accused of having robbed the public by embezzling the national treasure, and amassing wealth by usurious contracts, at the expence of their fellow-subjects, groaning under the most oppressive burthens. Certain it is, they were at this period the most mercenary and corrupt undertakers that ever had been employed by any king or administration since the first establishment of the English monarchy.

About this time Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan for propagating the Gospel in foreign countries. Missionaries, catechisms, liturgies, and other books for the instruction of ignorant people, were sent to the English colonies in America. This laudable design was supported by voluntary contributions; and the bill having been brought into the house of commons, for the better discovery of estates bequeathed to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, praying, that some part of these estates might be set apart for the propagation of the reformed religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leeward Islands. About this period, a society for the reformation of manners was formed under the king's countenance and encouragement. Considerable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worship, and administer the sacrament every Sunday. The members of this society resolved to inform the magistrates of all vice and immorality that should fall under their cognizance; and with that part of the fines allowed by law to the informer constitute a fund of charity. The business of the session being terminated, the king, on the 3d of July, prorogued the parliament, after having thanked them, in a short speech, for the many testimonies of their affection he had received, and in two days after the prorogation it was dissolved*.

* On the 5th of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the carelessness of a laundress, the whole body of the palace, together with the new gallery, council-chamber, and

several adjoining apartments, was entirely consumed; but the banquetting-house was not affected.

On the 20th of July, this year, the king embarked at Margate, and landed in Holland on the day following. In concert with the French king William made the first treaty of partition of the Spanish monarchy: it was concluded at the Hague on the 19th of August, and was signed on the 11th of October, between the ministers of England, France, and the United Provinces*. Having settled his affairs on the continent he returned to England on the 3d of December following.

The commons having previously effected a dissolution of the army voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet, for the security of the kingdom: they granted one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand fifteen pounds, for the services of the year; to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon land, personal estates, pensions, and offices. A great number of priests and Roman-catholics, who had been frightened away by the revolution, were now encouraged by the treaty of Ryswick to return, and appeared in all public places of London and Westminster; with remarkable effrontery. The enemies of the government whispered about, that the treaty contained a secret article in favour of those who professed that religion, and some did not even scruple to insinuate, that William was a papist in his heart. The commons, alarmed at the number and insolence of those religionists, desired the king, in an address, to remove by proclamation all papists and nonjurors from the city of London and parts adjacent, and put the laws in execution against them, that the wicked designs they were always hatching might be effectually disappointed. The king gratified them in their request of a proclamation, which was not much regarded: but a remarkable law was enacted against papists in the course of the ensuing session.

The old East-India company, about this period, petitioned the lower house, to make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years, granted by his majesty's charter: that the payment of five pounds *per cent.* by the late act for settling the trade to the East-Indies, might be settled and adjusted in such a manner, as not to remain a burthen on the petitioners; and that such further considerations might be had for their relief, and for the preservation of the East-India trade, as should be thought reasonable. A bill was brought in upon the subject of this petition; but rejected at the second reading. Discontents had arisen to such a height, that some members began to assert, they were not bound to maintain the votes and credit of the former parliament; and, upon this maxim, would have contributed their interest towards a repeal of the act made in favour of the new company: but such a scheme was of too dangerous a consequence to the public credit, to be carried into execution.

In 1700 the Lancashire clergy presented a petition to the house of commons; complaining of the insolence and attempts of popish priests; they appointed a committee to enquire how far the laws against popish refugees had been put in execution; and upon their report a bill was brought in; complying with the prayer of the petition. It decreed a further reward to such persons as should discover and convict popish priests and jesuits; and perpetual imprisonment for those convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses†.

This year the old East-India company presented a petition to the house, praying that they might be continued by parliamentary authority during the remaining part of the time prescribed in their charter. They, at the same time, published a state of their case, in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had undergone. The new company drew up an answer to this remonstrance, exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries: but the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montague, was now vanished; the supply was not yet discussed, and the ministry would not venture to provoke the commons, who seemed propitious to the old company, and actually passed a bill in their favour. This, meeting with no opposition in the upper house, was enacted into a law, renewing their establishment: so that now there were two rival companies of merchants trading to the East-Indies.

During the above transactions the negotiation for a partition-treaty had been carried on in London by the French minister, Tallard; in conjunction with the earls of Portland and Jersey, and was soon brought to perfection. On the 21st of February the treaty was signed in London; and on the 25th of the next month it was subscribed at the Hague by Briord, the French envoy, and the plenipotentiaries of the States-general‡. When the new partition-treaty was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable construction. The people of Spain were exasperated at the insolence of the three foreign powers who pretended to parcel out their dominions. Their pride took the alarm, at the prospect of the monarchy's being dismembered; and their grandees repined at the thought of losing so many lucrative governments which they now enjoyed. The king's life became every day more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his disorder. The ministry was weak and divided, the nobility factious, and the people discontented. At last recourse was had, by the machinations of France, to pope Innocent XII. the sovereign pontiff; who, having taken the advice of a college of cardinals, determined that the renunciation of Maria Theresa was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulsion, and contrary to the fun-

* This treaty of partition was one of the most impudent schemes of encroachment that tyranny and injustice ever planned. Lewis, who had made a practice of sacrificing all ties of honour and good faith to the interest of his pride, vanity, and ambition, foresaw that he should never be able to accomplish his designs upon the crown of Spain, while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy against them. He therefore resolved to amuse him with a treaty, in which he should seem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. He knew that William was too much a politician to be restricted by notions of private justice; and that he would make no scruple to infringe the laws of particular countries, or even the rights of a single nation, when the balance of power was at stake. He judged right in this particular. The king of England lent a willing ear to his proposals, and engaged in a plan for dismembering a kingdom, in despite of the natives, and in a violation of every law human or divine. Smollett, book i. chap. vi.

† Among other things it enacted, "That no person born after the 25th of March next ensuing, being a papist, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; and, that no papist should be capable of purchasing any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either in his own name, or in the name of any other person in trust for him.

Several alterations were made in this first draft, before it was finished and sent up to the lords, some of whom proposed amendments: these, however, were not adopted; and the bill obtained the royal assent, contrary to the expectation of those who prosecuted the measure, on the supposition that the king was a favourer of the papists. After all, the bill was deficient in necessary clauses to enforce execution; so that the law was very little regarded in the sequel.

‡ By this convention the treaty of Ryswick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed, that in case of his catholic majesty's dying without issue, the dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of St. Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Talamore, Porto Longone, Piombino, the city and marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar; in exchange for which last, the duke of Lorraine should enjoy the duchy of Milan; but that the county of Biche should remain in sovereignty to the prince of Vaudemont: that the archduke Charles should inherit the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but in case of his dying without issue, it should devolve to some other child of the emperor or king of the Romans: that this monarchy should never descend to a king of France or dauphin; and that three months should be allowed to the emperor, to consider whether or not he would accede to this treaty.

damental laws of the Spanish monarchy. He, therefore, exhorted king Charles to contribute to the propagation of the faith, and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will in favour of a grandson of the French monarch. This admonition was seconded by the remonstrances of cardinal Portocarrero; and the weak prince complied with the proposal. The nature of the partition was no sooner known in England, than condemned by the most intelligent part of the nation. The clamour was so great in England, that Sir Christopher Musgrave, and others of the Tory faction, began to think in earnest of establishing the succession of the English crown upon the person of the prince of Wales. They are said to have sent over Mr. Graham to St. Germain's with overtures to this purpose, and an assurance that a motion would be made in the house of commons, to pass a vote that the crown should not be supported in the execution of the partition-treaty.

In the beginning of November William received an account of the king of Spain's decease. He could not be surprized at this event, which had been so long expected; but it was attended with a circumstance which he had not foreseen. Charles by his last will*, had declared the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, the sole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without issue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed, that Spain should devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him, and children, to the arch-duke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom to the duke of Savoy and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the duke of Anjou, and one of the arch-duchesses. When this testament was first notified to the French court, Lewis seemed to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to William and the States-general. Madame de Maintenon is said to have joined her influence to that of the dauphin, in persuading the king to accept of his will; and Portchartrain was engaged to support the same measure. A cabinet-council was called in her apartment. The rest of the ministry declared for the treaty of partition: the king affected a kind of neutrality. The dauphin spoke for his son, with an air of resolution he had never assumed before: Portchartrain seconded his argument: Madame de Maintenon asked what the duke of Anjou had done to provoke the king, that he should be barred of his right to that succession? Then the rest of the members espoused the dauphin's opinion; and the king owned himself convinced by their reasons. In all probability, the decision of this council was previously settled in private. After the will was accepted, Lewis closeted the duke of Anjou, to whom he said, in presence of the marquis des Rois, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a king. The grandes demand you; the people wish for you; and I give my consent. Remember only, you are a prince of France. I recommend to you to love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and to render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to ascend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood: nevertheless, the duke of Orleans and his son protested against the will, because the arch-duke was placed next in succession to the duke of Berry, in bar of their rights as descendants of Anne of Austria, whose renunciation could be of no more force than that of Maria-Theresa. On the 4th of December, the new king set out for Spain, to the frontiers of which he was accompanied by his two brothers. When the will was accepted, the French minister de Torcy, endeavoured

to justify his master's conduct to the earl of Manchester, who resided at Paris in the character of ambassador from the court of London.

Early in 1701 the king told the parliament, that the loss of the duke of Gloucester, lately deceased, made it absolutely necessary to make some provision for the settlement of the throne. Having deliberated on the subject, they resolved, that for the preservation of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the protestant religion, it was become requisite that a further declaration should be made of the limitation and succession of the crown in the protestant line, after his majesty and the princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: and, that further provision should be first made for the security of the rights and liberties of the people. Mr. Harley moved, that some conditions of government might be settled as preliminaries, before they should proceed to the nomination of the person, that their security might be complete. Accordingly, they deliberated on this subject, and agreed to the following resolutions: "That whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown, shall join in communion with the church of England as by law established: that, in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament: that no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament: that from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy-council, by the laws and customs of the realm, shall be transacted there; and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy-council as shall advise and consent to the same: that, after the limitation shall take effect, no person born out of this kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, and made a denizen, (except such as are born of English parents,) shall be capable to be of the privy-council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or to any other in trust for him: that no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as member of the house of commons: that, after the limitation shall take effect, judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but, upon the address of both houses of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them: that no pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament." Having settled these preliminaries, they resolved, "That the princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, in the protestant line, after his majesty, and the princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively; and, that the further limitation of the crown be to the said princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants." A bill being formed on these resolutions, was sent up to the house of lords, where it met with some opposition from the marquis of Normanby: a protest was likewise

* The following clause of this will, serves to shew the superstition of the bigoted adherents to the religion of the church of Rome: "I order, that on the day of my death, all the priests and religious persons of the place, where I shall die, say mass for the repose of my soul, and that during three days they celebrate as many masses as they can at the privileged altars. And further, it is my will, that they say one hundred thousand masses for me; and my design is, that those of which by the

mercy of God I shall not stand in need, be applied to my fathers and other predecessors, and in case they don't need them neither, to the souls in purgatory that are least taken care of; and the executors of my will shall recommend it to those who are to say them, to do the same according to my intentions, and to regulate the alms that they are to give for that end." King of Spain's Will.

entered against it by the earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the lords Guildford and Jefferies. Nevertheless, it passed without amendments, and on the 12th of June received the royal assent: the king was extremely mortified at the preliminary limitations, which he considered as an open insult on his own conduct and administration; not but that they were necessary precautions, naturally suggested by the experience of those evils to which the nation had been already exposed, in consequence of raising a foreign prince to the throne of England. As the Tories lay under the imputation of favouring the late king's interest, they exerted themselves zealously on this occasion, to wipe off the aspersion, and insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people; hoping, that in the sequel they should be able to restrain the nation from engaging too deeply in the affairs of the continent, without incurring the charge of disaffection to the present king and government. The act of settlement being passed, the earl of Macclesfield was sent to notify the transaction to the electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the order of the garter*.

On the 16th of September, this year, king James expired, at St. Germain's, after having laboured under a tedious indisposition. This unfortunate monarch, says Smollett, since the miscarriage of his last attempt for recovering his throne, had laid aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Though he could not prevent the busy genius of his queen from planning new schemes of restoration, he was always best pleased when wholly detached from such chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diversion: but religion was his constant care. Nothing could be more harmless than the life he led; and in the course of it, he subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortification†. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seem to have vanished with his greatness. He became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and his religion certainly opened and improved the virtues of his heart, though it seemed to impair the faculties of his soul; yet, says Tindal, he was not so apt to pardon, as one ought to be, that is the vicegerent of that God, who is slow to anger, and ready to forgive: in his last illness he conjured his son to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage, and even to renounce all thoughts of a crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of justice and Christian forgiveness; he himself declaring, that he heartily forgave the prince of Orange, the emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the

English Benedictines in Paris, without any pompous funeral solemnity. Before his death he was visited by the French king, who seemed touched with his condition, and declared, that, in case of his death, he would own his son as king of England. This promise James's queen had already extorted from him, by the interest of Madame de Maintenon and the dauphin. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended prince of Wales was proclaimed king of England at St. Germain's, and treated as such at the court of Versailles. His title was likewise recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the Pope. William was no sooner informed of this transaction, than he dispatched a courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryswick, to complain of this manifest violation. At the same time, he recalled the earl of Manchester from Paris, and ordered him to return home without taking an audience of leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having intimated to the marquis de Torcy the order he had received. Lewis, in vindication of his own conduct, dispersed through all the courts of Europe a manifesto, in which he affirmed, that in owning the prince of Wales as king of England, he had not infringed any article of the treaty of Ryswick. He confessed, that in the fourth article he had promised, that he would not disturb the king of Great Britain in the peaceable possession of his dominions; and he declared his intention was to observe that promise punctually. He observed, that his generosity would not allow him to abandon the prince of Wales or his family; that he could not refuse him a title which was due to him by birth; that he had more reason to complain of the king of Great-Britain, and the States-general, whose declarations and preparations in favour of the emperor might be regarded as real contraventions to treaties: finally, he quoted some instances from history, in which the children enjoyed the titles of kingdoms which their fathers had lost. These reasons, however, would hardly have induced the French king to take such steps, had not he perceived that a war with England was inevitable; and that he should be able to reap some advantages in the course of it, from espousing the cause of the Pretender.

The substance of the French manifesto was published in London, by Pouffin, the secretary of Tallard, who had been left in England, as agent for the court of Versailles. He was now ordered to leave the kingdom, which was filled with indignation at Lewis, for having pretended to declare who ought to be their sovereign. The city of London presented an address to the lords-justices, expressing the deepest resentment of the French king's presumption; assuring his majesty, that they would, at all times, exert the utmost of their abilities for the preservation of his person, and the defence of his

* The act of succession, as may be easily imagined, gave umbrage to all the popish princes who were more nearly related to the crown than this lady, whom the parliament had preferred to all others. The duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter to king Charles I. by her mother, ordered her ambassador, count Maffei, to make a protestation to the parliament of England, in her name, against all resolutions and decisions contrary to her title, as sole daughter to the princess Henrietta, next in succession to the crown of England, after king William and the princess Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this protest Maffei sent in letters to the lord-keeper, and the speaker of the lower house, by two of his gentlemen, and a public notary to attest the delivery; but no notice was taken of the declaration.

† Father Bretonneau tells us, "That the king's confessor, after he had the honour to serve him and be near his person nine years, thought he might safely affirm, that, in the most reformed state of Christianity, and the most virtuous and pious souls, it is very rare to find more unspotted intentions, a more exact watchfulness, and a greater delicacy and tenderness of conscience with respect to the least faults and the smallest imperfections." The same writer likewise observes, "That his self abhorrence and holy confusion for his sins inspired him with such a spirit of mortification, as would have carried him

too far, if his confessor had not opposed it, and moderated his austerities. He kept very severe fasts, and would upon certain days bind his body with a very sharp-pointed iron chain. His self-discipline was very rigorous, and withal he took such care to conceal those exercises of penance, that having once by chance left his instrument of discipline in a place, where the queen found it, he so blushed upon that occasion, that her majesty never saw him in such a confusion in her life. Notwithstanding all which he did not yet mortify himself to his mind. All the penances of this life seemed too light and easy for him. This made him ask his confessor a question, which has somewhat very particular in it, and shews the extreme desire he had to satisfy the Divine justice. Considering the life I have led, (said he in a question, which he had set down in writing,) and seeing my age and condition will not let me practise all the penances and mortifications, which are necessary to expiate my sins, and to testify my repentance of them to God, ought I not, reverend father, to be content to have my pains abridged, in charities for the relief of the poor, and prayers for the dead? His confessor could not enough admire the principles which had inspired him with such a sentiment; but presently convinced him, that it carried him a little too far, and that one cannot desire to see God too soon."

just rights, in opposition to all invaders of his crown and dignity. Addresses of the same nature were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, and could not but be agreeable to William. He had now concerted measures for acting with vigour against France; and he resolved to revisit his kingdom, after having made a considerable progress in a treaty of perpetual alliance between England and the States-general, which was afterwards brought to perfection by his plenipotentiary, the earl of Marlborough. The king's return, however, was delayed a whole month by a severe indisposition, during which, the Spanish minister de Quiros, hired certain physicians, to consult together upon the state and nature of his distemper. They declared, that he could not live many weeks; and this opinion was transmitted to Madrid. But William baffled the prognostic, though his constitution had sustained such a rude shock, that he himself perceived his end was near. He told the earl of Portland he found himself so weak, that he could not expect to live another summer: but charged him to conceal this circumstance until he should be dead. Notwithstanding this near approach to dissolution, he exerted himself with surprizing diligence and spirit in establishing the confederacy, and settling the plan of operations. A subsidiary treaty was concluded with the king of Prussia, who engaged to furnish a certain number of troops. The emperor agreed to main-

tain ninety thousand men in the field against France, the proportion of the states was limited to one hundred and two thousand; and that of England did not exceed forty thousand, to act in conjunction with the allies.

On the 4th of November the king arrived in England, which he found in a strange ferment, produced from the mutual animosity of the two factions. Hereupon he dissolved the parliament; and this step he was the more easily induced to take, as the commons were become extremely odious to the nation in general, which breathed nothing but war and defiance against the French monarch. Another parliament was summoned to meet on the 30th of December. When the parliament met, the choice of the speaker fell upon Mr. Harley. His majesty's speech on their meeting was received with universal applause. It was so much admired by the well-wishers to the revolution, that they printed it with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French languages. It appeared as a piece of furniture in all their houses, and as the king's last legacy to his own and all protestant people*. The lords immediately drew up a warm and affectionate address, in which they expressed their resentment of the proceedings of the French king, in owning the pretended prince of Wales for king of England. They assured his majesty, they would assist him to the utmost of their power against all his enemies: and when it should please God to deprive them of his

* This speech, which was so celebrated at the time, is really excellent, and therefore we shall not withhold from our readers the pleasure of perusing it: and we cannot but recommend the general sentiments it contains, to our legislators, and to all who own the name of Briton.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I promise myself you are met together full of that just sense of the uncommon danger of Europe, and the resentment of the late proceedings of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people.

"The owning and setting up the pretended prince of Wales for England, is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the nation, but does so nearly concern every man, who has a regard for the protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider what further effectual means may be used, for securing the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and secret abettors.

"By the French king's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual methods be taken. Under this pretence, he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it, as of his own dominions, and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that, though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniences of war.

"This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the variable branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part, which England ought to take in the preservation of the liberty of Europe.

"In order to obviate the general calamity, with which the rest of Christendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given me by both houses of parliament, which I will direct shall be laid before you, and which I doubt not, you will enable me to make good.

"There are some other treaties still depending, that shall be likewise communicated to you as soon as they are perfected.

"It is fit I should tell you, the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament; all matters are at a stand, till your resolutions are known, and therefore no time ought to be lost.

"You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.

"In order to do your part, it will be necessary to have a great strength at sea, and to provide for the security of our ships in harbour; and also that there be such a force at land, as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness, which their importance requires. At the same time I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preserved but by keeping that sacred maxim, that they shall never be losers, who trust to a parliamentary security.

"It is always with regret, when I do ask aids of my people; but you will observe, that I desire nothing, which relates to any personal expence of mine; I am only pressing you to do all you can for your own safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a time; and am willing, that what is given, should be wholly appropriated to the purposes for which it is intended.

"And since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that, during the late war I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before the parliament, and also gave assent to several bills for taking the public accounts, that my subjects might have the satisfaction, how the money given for the war was applied; and I am willing that matter may be put in any further way of examination, that it may appear, whether there were any misapplications and mismanagements; or whether the debt, that remains upon us, has really arisen from the shortness of the supplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

"I have already told you, how necessary dispatch will be for carrying on that great public business, whereupon our safety, and all that is valuable to us depends. I hope, what time can be spared, will be employed about those other very desirable things, which I have so often recommended from the throne; I mean, the forming some good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the further suppressing of vice.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences; and resolved to act with a general and hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session.

"I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest offences committed against me.

"Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies, by your unanimity. I have shewn, and will always shew, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of amongst us for the future, but of those, who are for the protestant religion, and the present establishment, and of those, who mean a popish prince, and a French government.

"I will only add this, if you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity."

majesty's

majesty's protection, they would vigorously assist and defend against the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatsoever, every person and persons who had right to succeed to the crown of England, by virtue of the acts of parliament for establishing and limiting the succession. On the 5th of January, an address to the same effect was presented by the commons, and both met with a very gracious reception from his majesty.

The king thinking it the best way to secure a protestant successor to the throne, recommended an union of the whole island as indispensably necessary. The king had this affair so much at heart, that even when he was disabled from going to the parliament in person, he sent a letter to the commons, expressing an eager desire that a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, and earnestly recommending this affair to the consideration of the house: but as a new parliament in Scotland could not be called without a great risque, while the nation was in such a ferment, the project was postponed to a more favourable opportunity. William's constitution was by this time almost exhausted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exercise. On the 21st of February, in riding to Hampton-Court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground with such violence, as produced a fracture in his collar-bone. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat, his serjeant-surgeon. In the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been disunited by the jolting of the carriage, were placed under the inspection of Bidloo, his physician. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovering till the 1st of March, when his knee appeared to be inflamed, with great pain and weakness. Next day he granted a commission under the great seal to several peers, for passing the bills to which both houses of parliament had agreed, namely, the act of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales, and another in favour of the Quakers, enacting, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form.

On the 4th of March the king was so well recovered of his lameness, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but, sitting down on a couch where he fell asleep, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhoea. He was attended by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Theodore Colledon, Dr. Bidloo, and other eminent physicians: but their prescriptions proved ineffectual. On the 6th he granted another commission for passing the bill for the malt-tax, and the act of abjuration; and being so weak that he could not write his name, he, in presence of the lord-keeper and the clerks of parliament, applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad: but he received his informations with great coldness, and said, "*Je tire vers ma fin.*—I approach the end of my life." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying, "I know that you and the other learned physicians have done all that you can do for my relief; but finding all means ineffectual, I submit." He received spiritual consolation from archbishop Tenison, and Burnet, bishop of Salisbury: on Sunday morning the sacrament was administered to him. The lords of the privy-council, and several other noblemen attended in the adjoining apartments, and to some of them who were admitted he spoke a little. He thanked lord Auverquerque for his long and faithful services: he delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutoire, telling him he knew what to do with them. He enquired for the earl of Portland; but, being speechless before that nobleman arrived, he grasped his hand, and laid it to his heart, with marks of the most tender affection. On the 8th of March he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned

thirteen years. The lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived the king was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing some hair of the late queen Mary. The body being opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington; and on the 12th of April was deposited in a vault of Henry the Seventh's chapel in Westminster-Abbey. In the beginning of May, a will which he had entrusted with monsieur Schuylenberg was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his cousin prince Frison of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the States-general his executors. By a codicil annexed, he had bequeathed the lordship of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the earl of Albemarle.

King William had a thin and weak body; his hair brown, and his constitution delicate. He had a Roman eagle nose, bright and sparkling eyes, a large front, and a countenance composed to gravity and authority. All his senses were critical and exquisite. He was always asthmatical; and, the dregs of the small-pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant deep cough. His behaviour was solemn and serious, seldom chearful, and but with a few. He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his character at all times, except in a day of battle; for then he was all fire, though without passion, and was every where, and looked to every thing. He had no great advantage from his education. De Witt's discourses were of great use to him; and, he being apprehensive of the observation of those, who were looking narrowly into every thing he said or did, had brought himself under an habitual caution, that he could never shake off, though in another scene it proved as hurtful, as it was then necessary to his affairs. He spoke Dutch, French, English, and German, equally well; and he understood the Latin, Spanish, and Italian, so that he was well fitted to command armies composed of several nations. He had a memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him. He was an exact observer of men and things. His strength lay rather in a true discerning and a sound judgement, than in imagination or invention. His designs were always great and good; but it was thought he trusted too much to that, and did not descend enough to the humours of his people, to make himself and his notions more acceptable to them. This, in a government, that has so much of freedom in it as ours, was more necessary than he was inclined to believe. His reservedness grew on him, so that it disgusted most of those who served him; but he had observed the errors of too much talking more than those of too cold a silence. He did not like contradiction, nor to have his actions censured, but he loved to employ and favour those, who had the arts of complacence; yet he did not love flatterers. His genius lay chiefly to war, in which his courage was more admired than his conduct. Great errors were often committed by him, but his heroical courage set things right, as it animated those who were about him. He was too lavish of money on some occasions, both in his buildings and to his favourites; but too sparing in rewarding services, or in encouraging those who brought intelligence. He was apt to take ill impressions of people, and these stuck long with him; but he never carried them to indecent revenges. He gave too much way to his own humour almost in every thing, not excepting that which related to his own health. He knew all foreign affairs well, and understood the state of every court in Europe very particularly. He instructed his own ministers himself, but he did not apply enough to affairs at home. He tried how he could govern us by balancing the two parties one against another, but he came at last to be persuaded, that the Tories were irreconcilable to him; and he was resolved to try and trust them no more. He believed the truth of the Christian religion very firmly, and he expressed an horror at Atheism and blasphemy; and though there was much of both at his court, yet it

was always denied to him, and kept out of sight. He was most exemplarily decent and devout in the public exercises of the worship of God; only on week-days he came too seldom to them. He was an attentive hearer of sermons, and was constant in his private prayers, and in reading the Scriptures; and, when he spoke of religious matters, which he did not often, it was with a becoming gravity. He was much possessed with the belief of absolute decrees, because he did not see, how the belief of Providence could be maintained upon any other supposition. His indifference as to the forms of church-government, and his being zealous for toleration, together with his cold behaviour towards the clergy, gave them generally very ill impressions of him. In this deportment towards all about him, he seemed to make little distinction between the good and the bad; and those who served well, and those who served him ill. He loved the Dutch, and was much beloved among them; but the ill returns he met with from the English nation, their jealousies of him, and their per-

verseness towards him, had too much soured his mind, and had in a great measure alienated him from them, which he did not take care enough to conceal, though he saw the ill effects this had upon his business. He grew in his last years too remiss and careless as to all affairs, till the treacheries of France awakened him, that the dreadful conjunction of the French and Spanish monarchies gave so loud an alarm to all Europe; for the watching over the French court, and the opposing of their practices, was the prevailing passion of his whole life. Few men had the art of concealing and governing a passion more than he had, yet few men had stronger passions, which were seldom felt but by inferior servants, to whom he usually made such recompences for any sudden or indecent vents he might give his anger, that they were glad every time it broke upon them. In short, he appeared to be a person raised up by God to resist the power of France, and the progress of tyranny and persecution.

B O O K IX.

THE UNION OF THE TWO KINGDOMS.

Containing the Reigns of Queen Anne, King George I. King George II. and to the End of the Year 1792 of the Reign of King George III.

C H A P. I.

A N N E.

ON the death of king William, the nation was thrown into great consternation, and the loss which it sustained was thought irretrievable; but the kingdom soon found that the happiness of any reign is to be estimated as much from the general manners of the times, as from the private virtues of the monarch. Queen Anne, his successor, with no very shining talents, and few exalted virtues, yet governed with glory, and left her people happy. She was married to prince George of Denmark*, ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. The late king, whose whole life had been spent in one continued opposition to the king of France, and all whose politics consisted in forming alliances against him, had left England at the eve of a war

with that monarch. The present queen, who generally took the advice of her ministry in every important transaction, was upon this occasion urged by opposing counsels; a part of her ministry were for war, while another part as sincerely declared for peace. At the head of those who opposed a war with France was the earl of Rochester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, first cousin to the queen, and the chief of the Tory faction. This minister proposed in council, that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and at most act as auxiliaries only. He urged the impossibility of England's reaping any advantage by the most distinguished success upon the continent, and exposed the folly of loading the nation with debts to increase the riches of its commercial rivals. In the van of those who declared for prosecuting the late king's intentions of going to war with France, was the earl, since better known by the title of the duke of Marlborough†. Marlborough, though much beloved by Anne, had still another hold upon the queen's affections and esteem. He was mar-

* The circumstances respecting the marriage of the prince of Denmark with the lady Anne are as follow: Upon the marriage of the princess Mary to the prince of Orange, her father was very pressing with the king his brother, to leave him the disposal of his other daughter the princess Anne; but the king thought it more advisable to hearken to the importunities of his parliament, and marry her also to a protestant prince. In the year 1681, the prince of Hanover (afterwards king George I. of England,) came over to make his addresses to her: but he was scarcely arrived, when he received orders from his father not to proceed in that design, for he had agreed upon a match for him with his brother the duke of Zell's daughter; which, at that time, was more advantageous to the family. Two years after prince George of Denmark, second son of Frederic III. and younger brother to Christian V. kings of Denmark, came into England, in order to marry the princess Anne. Accordingly, eleven days after his arrival, they were solemnly married by the bishop of London, in the Chapel Royal at St. James's, on the 28th of July, 1683. This marriage, at first, did by no means please the nation: for it was known that the proposition came from France, and therefore it was apprehended that the English and French courts reckoned, they were sure, he would change his religion. But these ap-

prehensions were, by experience, found to be entirely groundless. He had now lived, in all respects, the happiest with his princess that was possible, except in one point. For though there was a child born almost every year for many years, yet they all died: so that the most fruitful marriage of the age was fatally blasted as to the effect of it.

† This nobleman had begun life as a court-page, and was raised by king James to a peerage. Having deserted his old master, he attached himself in appearance to king William; but had still a secret partiality in favour of the Tories, from whom he had received his first employments. Ever willing to thwart and undermine the measures of William, he became a favourite of Anne for that very reason; she loved a man who still professed reverence and veneration for her father, and paid the utmost attention to herself. King William speaking of the duke of Marlborough, said, that he had the coolest head and warmest heart he ever knew; which from so good a judge, might seem the greatest eulogy: were it not, that, in another respect, what was the most true of the earl of Marlborough, could not be said of any other general, either ancient or modern, that he never sure before a town, which he did not take, nor ever fought a battle, which he did not win.



ANNE



GEORGE
Prince of Denmark.

ried to a lady who was the queen's peculiar confidante, and who governed her in every action of life, with unbounded authority. By this canal Marlborough actually directed the queen in all her resolutions; and while his rivals strove to advance their reputation in the council, he was more effectually securing it in the closet. It was not, therefore, without private reasons that Marlborough inclined for war. It first, not only gave him an opportunity of taking a different side of the question from the earl of Rochester, whose influence he desired to lessen; but he had, in the next place, hopes of being appointed general of the forces that should be sent over to the continent; and he observed in council, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements. He affirmed, that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless England would enter as a principal in the quarrel. His opinion preponderated; the queen resolved to declare war, and communicated her intentions to the house of commons, by whom it was approved, and war was declared accordingly on the 4th of May, 1702*.

Lewis XIV. once arrived at the summit of glory, but long since grown familiar with disappointment and disgrace, still kept spurring on an exhausted kingdom to second the views of his ambition. He now, upon the death of William, expected to enter upon a field open for conquest and fame. The vigilance of his late rival had blasted all his laurels, and circumscribed his power, for even though defeated, William still was formidable. At the news of his death, the French monarch could not suppress his rapture; and his court at Versailles seemed to have forgotten their usual decency in the effusions of their satisfaction. The people at Paris openly rejoiced at the event; and the whole kingdom testified their rapture by every public demonstration of joy. But their pleasure was soon to have an end. A much more formidable enemy was now rising up to oppose them; a more refined politician, a more skilful general, backed by the confidence of his mistress, and the efforts of the nation.

The declaration of war, on the part of the English, was seconded by similar declarations by the Dutch and Germans. The French monarch could not suppress his anger at such a combination, but his chief resentment fell upon the Dutch. He declared, that as for those gentlemen pedlars, the Dutch, they should one day repent their insolence and presumption, in declaring war against one whose power they had formerly felt and dreaded. However, the affairs of the allies were no way influenced by his threats. Marlborough had his views gratified, in being appointed general of the English forces; and he was still farther flattered by the Dutch, who appointed him generalissimo of the allied army.

A great part of the history of this reign consists in battles fought upon the continent, which though of very little advantage to the interests of the nation, were very great additions to its honour. These triumphs, it is true, are passed away, and nothing remains of them; but they are too recent to be passed over in silence, and the fame of them, though it be empty, still continues to be loud. The duke of Marlborough had learned the first rudiments of the art of war, under marshal Turenne, having been a volunteer in his army. He was, at first, rather more remarkable for the beauty of his person, than the greatness of his talents, and he went in the French camp, by the name of the handsome Englishman; but Turenne, who saw deeper into mankind, perceived the superiority of his talents, and prognosticated his future greatness. The first attempt that

Marlborough made to deviate from the general practices of the army which were founded in error, was to advance the subaltern officers, whose merit had hitherto been neglected. Regardless of seniority, wherever he found abilities, he was sure to promote them; and thus he had all the upper-ranks of commanders, rather remarkable for their skill and talents, than for their age and experience. In his first campaign, the beginning of July, he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he found himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries, and long disciplined by the best officers of the age. He was opposed on the side of France, by the duke of Burgundy, grandson to the king, a youth more qualified to grace a court than to conduct an army; but the real acting general was the marshal Boufflers, who commanded under him, an officer of courage and activity. But wherever Marlborough advanced, the French were obliged to retire before him, leaving all Spanish Guelderland at his discretion. The duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving Boufflers to command alone. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of the enemies' progress, retired towards Brabant, where Marlborough had no design to pursue; contented with ending the campaign by taking the city of Liege, in which was found an immense sum of money, and a great number of prisoners. By the success of this campaign, Marlborough raised his military character, and confirmed himself in the confidence of the allies. Marlborough, upon his return to London, was received with the most flattering testimonies of public approbation. He was thanked for his services by the house of commons, and was created a duke by the queen.

The good fortune of the duke of Marlborough, seemed to console the nation for some unsuccessful expeditions at sea. Sir John Munden had permitted a French squadron of fourteen ships to escape him, by taking shelter in the harbour of Corunna, for which he was dismissed the service by prince George. An attempt was also made upon Cadiz by sea and land, Sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of Ormond the land-forces; but this also miscarried. Yet the English arms were crowned with success at Vigo, where the duke of Ormond landed with two thousand five hundred men, at the distance of six miles from the city; while the fleet forcing their way into the harbour, the French fleet that had taken refuge there were burned by the enemy, to prevent falling into the hands of the English. Eight ships were thus burned and ran ashore; but ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons, and above a million of money in silver, which was of more benefit to the captors than the public. The advantage which was acquired by this expedition was counterbalanced by the base conduct of some officers in the West-Indies. Thither admiral Benbow had been detached with a squadron of ten sail, in the course of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence, that monsieur Du Casse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, and resolved to beat up to that island. At Leogane he fell in with a French ship of fifty guns, which her captain ran ashore and blew up. He took several other vessels, and having alarmed Petit Guayas, bore away for Donna Maria bay, where he understood that Du Casse had sailed for the coast of Carthage. Benbow resolved to follow the same course; and on the 19th of August discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, consisting of ten sail, steering along shore. He formed the line, and an en-

* The king of France was, in the queen's declaration of war, taxed with having taken possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe; to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; and with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen
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and her throne, by acknowledging the title of the pretender. He was accused of attempting to unite the crown of Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandson upon the throne of that kingdom, and thus endeavouring to destroy the equality of power that subsisted among the states of Europe.

agement ensued, in which he was very ill seconded by some of his captains. Nevertheless, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ships at the distance of three or four miles astern, except the Ruby, commanded by captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chase guns. On the 21st these two ships engaged the French squadron; and the Ruby was so disabled, that the admiral was obliged to send her back to Jamaica. Next day the Greenwich, commanded by Wade, was five leagues astern: and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather-gage. On the 23d the admiral renewed the battle with his single ship, unsustained by the rest of the squadron. On the 24th his leg was shattered by a chain-shot, notwithstanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French bearing down upon the admiral with their whole force, shot away his main-top-mast-yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and refit, while they took their disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a council of the captains, and expostulated with them on their behaviour. They observed, that the French were very strong, and advised him to desist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmost reluctance returned to Jamaica, having not only lost a leg, but also received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, while he in person attempted to board the French admiral. Exasperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commission to rear-admiral Whetstone, and other officers, to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson, of the Pendenis, died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and sentenced to be shot; Constable, of the Windsor, was cashiered and imprisoned: Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain of the Breda, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command; but, as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. Captain Walton had likewise joined in the conspiracy, while he was heated with the fumes of intoxication; but he afterwards renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage until his ship was disabled. The boisterous manners of Benbow had produced the base confederacy. He was a rough seaman, but remarkably brave, honest, and experienced*. He took this miscarriage so much to heart, that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the Bristol; and, on their arrival at Plymouth, were shot on board of the ship, by virtue of a dead warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. The same precaution had been taken in all the western ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour.

During these transactions, the queen convened a parliament, which was highly pleased with the glare of success which attended the English arms on the conti-

ment. The house of commons was mostly made up of the Tory party, and consequently much more liberal in their supplies than a Whig parliament would have been. They voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land-forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. A short time after, the queen gave the house of commons to understand, that the allies pressed her to augment her forces. The commons were as ready to grant as she to demand, and it was resolved, that ten thousand men more should be added to the army, on the continent, but upon condition that the Dutch should break off all commerce with France and Spain. The Dutch complied without hesitation; sensible that while England fought their battles, they might a little relax their industry.

The duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of April, 1706, and assembling the allied army, resolved to shew that his former successes only spurred him on to new triumphs. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne, the residence of the elector of Cologne. This held out but a short time against the successive attacks of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, the celebrated Coehorn, and general Fagel. He next retook Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered prisoners of war. The siege of Limburg being then undertaken, the place surrendered in two days; and, by the conquest of this place the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the designs of the enemy. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which, in all probability, would have produced events of greater importance, had not the duke of Marlborough been restrained by the Dutch, who began to be influenced by the Lovestein faction, ever averse to a war with France. The duke was resolved, however, in his next campaign, to act more offensively; and, furnished with proper powers from the queen, he informed the Dutch that it was his intention to march to the relief of the empire, that had been for some time oppressed by the French forces. The States-general, either willing to second his efforts, or fearing to weaken the alliance by distrust, gave him full power to march as he thought proper, with assurances of their assistance in all his endeavours.

The French king perceiving the motions of the allies, appointed marshal Villeroy † to head the army of opposition; for Boufflers was no longer thought an equal to the enterprising Marlborough, who was peculiarly famous for studying the disposition and abilities of the general he was to oppose. Having no very great fears from his present antagonist, instead of pressing forward to meet him, he flew to the succour of the emperor, as had been already agreed at the commencement of the campaign. The English general, who was resolved to strike a vigorous blow for his relief, took with him about thirteen thousand English troops, traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians, stationed at Donavert to oppose him, then passed the Danube with his triumphant army, and laid the dukedom of Bavaria, that had sided with the enemy, under contributions. Villeroy, who at first attempted to follow his motions, seemed all at once to have lost sight of his enemy; nor was he apprized of his route, till informed of his successes. Marshal Tallard prepared by another route to obstruct the duke of

* When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too, (replied the gallant Benbow,) but I had rather have lost them both than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But, do you hear? If another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." When Du Cassé arrived at Carthage, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:

"Sir,

"I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am

thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deserve it.

"Yours, "DU CASSE."

† Villeroy was son to the king of France's governor, and had been educated with that monarch. He had been always the favourite of Lewis, and had long been a shew in his amusements, his campaigns, and his glory. He was brave, generous, and polite, but unequal to the great task of commanding an army; and still more so, when opposed to so great a rival.

Marlborough's

Marlborough's retreat with an army of thirty thousand men. He was soon after joined by the duke of Bavaria's forces, so that the French army in that part of the continent amounted to sixty thousand veterans, and commanded by the two best reputed generals then in France.

Marshal Tallard had established his reputation by many former victories; he was active and penetrating, and had risen by his merits alone to the first station in the army. But his ardour often rose to impetuosity; and he was so short-sighted as to be incapable of seeing objects at a very small distance. The duke of Bavaria was equally experienced in the field, and had still stronger motives for his activity. His country was ravaged and pillaged before his eyes, and nothing remained of his possessions but the army which he commanded. It was in vain that he sent entreaties to the enemy to stop the fury of their incursions, and to spare his people; the only answer he received was, that it lay in his own power to make his enemies friends, by alliance or submission. To oppose these powerful generals, Marlborough was now joined by a body of thirty thousand men, under the conduct of prince Eugene, whose troops were well disciplined; but still more formidable by the conduct and fame of their general. Prince Eugene had been bred up from his infancy in camps; he was almost equal to Marlborough in intrigues, and as superior in the art of war. Their talents were of a similar kind; and instead of any mean rivalry or jealousy between such eminent persons, they concurred in the same designs; for the same good sense determined them always to bend their course towards the same object. This allied army, with Eugene and Marlborough at their head, amounted to about fifty-two thousand men, troops that had been long accustomed to conquer, and that had seen the French, the Turks, and the Russians, fly before them. The French, as was already observed, amounted to sixty thousand, who had shared in the conquests of their great monarch, and had been familiar with victory. Both armies, after many marchings and countermarchings, approached each other. The French were posted on a hill near the town of Hochstadt; their right covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the generals resolved to attack them immediately, rather than lie inactive until their forage and provision should be consumed. They were moreover stimulated to this hazardous enterprize, by an intercepted letter to the elector of Bavaria from marshal Villeroy, giving him to understand, that he had received orders to ravage the country of Wirtemberg, and intercept all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the forces advanced into the plain on the 13th of August, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued on both sides till one in the afternoon. Marshal Tallard commanded on the right, and posted seven-and-twenty battalions, with twelve squadrons, in the village of Blenheim, supposing that there the allies would make their chief effort: their left was conducted by the elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marfin, a French general of experience and capacity. The right of the confederate army was under the direction of prince Eugene, and the left was commanded by the duke of Marlborough. At noon the action was begun by a body of Hessians, under major-general Wilkes, who having passed the rivulet with difficulty, and filed off to the left in the face of the enemy, attacked the village of Blenheim with great vigour; but were repulsed after three successive attempts. Mean while the troops in the center, and part of the right wing, passed the rivulet on planks in different places; and formed on the other side without any molestation

from the enemy. At length they were charged by the French horse with such impetuosity, and so terribly galled in flank by the troops posted at Blenheim, that they fell into disorder, and part of them repassed the rivulet: but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broke in their turn, and driven to the very hedges of the village of Blenheim. The left wing of the confederates being now completely formed, ascended the hill in a firm compacted body, charging the enemy's horse, which could no longer stand their ground, but rallied several times as they gave way. Tallard, in order to make a vigorous effort, ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals of his cavalry. The duke, perceiving his design, sent three battalions of the troops of Zell to sustain his horse. Nevertheless, the line was a little disordered by the prodigious fire from the French infantry, and even obliged to recoil about sixty paces: but the confederates advancing to the charge with redoubled ardour, routed the French horse; and their battalions being thus abandoned, were cut in pieces. Tallard, having rallied his broken cavalry behind some tents that were still standing, resolved to draw off the troops he had posted in the village of Blenheim, and sent an aid du camp to Marfin, who was with the elector of Bavaria on the left, to desire he would face the confederates with some troops to the right of the village of Oberklau, so as to keep them in play, and favour the retreat of the forces from Blenheim. That officer assured him, he was so far from being in a condition to spare troops, that he could hardly maintain his ground. The fate of the day was now more than half decided. The French cavalry being vigorously attacked in flank were totally defeated. Part of them endeavoured to gain the bridge which they had thrown over the Danube between Hochstadt and Blenheim; but they were so closely pursued, that those who escaped the slaughter threw themselves into the river, where they perished. Tallard, being surrounded, was taken near a mill behind the village of Sonderen, together with the marquis de Montperouz, general of horse, the major-generals de Seppeville, de Scilly, de la Valiere, and many other officers of distinction. Whilst these occurrences passed on the left wing, Marfin's quarters at the village Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the prince of Holstein-beck, who passed the rivulet with undaunted resolution: but, before he could form his men on the other side, he was overpowered by numbers, mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His battalions being supported by some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, renewed the charge, and were again repulsed: at length, the duke of Marlborough in person brought up some fresh squadrons from the body of reserve, and compelled the enemy to retire. By this time prince Eugene had obliged the left wing of the enemy to give ground, after having surmounted a great number of difficulties, sustained a very obstinate opposition, and seen his cavalry, in which his chief strength seemed to lie, three times repulsed. The duke of Marlborough had no sooner defeated the right wing, than he made a disposition to reinforce the prince, when he understood from an aid du camp, that his highness had no occasion for assistance; and that the elector, with monsieur de Marfin, had abandoned Oberklau and Lutzingen. They were pursued as far as the villages of Morfelingen and Teiffenhoven, from whence they retreated to Dillingen and Lawingen. The confederates being now masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, in which, as we have already observed, seven-and-twenty battalions and twelve squadrons were posted, amounting to about thirteen thousand men. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of their army, and despairing of being able to force their way through the allies, capitulated about eight in the evening, laid down their arms, delivered their colours and standards, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that the officers should not be killed. Thus ended

ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the most glorious and complete victories that ever was obtained*.

The day following, when the duke of Marlborough visited his prisoner, the marshal, intending a compliment, assured him that he had overcome the best troops in the world. "I hope, Sir, replied the duke, you will except those troops by whom they were conquered?" A country of a hundred leagues extent fell by this defeat into the hands of the victors. Not satisfied with these conquests, the duke soon after the finishing of the campaign, repaired to Berlin, where he procured a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians to serve under prince Eugene in Italy. Thence he proceeded to negotiate for succours at the court of Hanover, and soon after returned to England, where he found the people in a phrenzy of joy†.

During these transactions the arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the banks of the Danube. The ministry of England receiving information that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron at Brest, sent Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and Sir George Rooke, to watch their motions. Sir George, however, had further orders to convoy a body of forces in transport-ships to Barcelona, upon which a fruitless attack was made by the prince of Hesse. Finding no hopes, therefore, from this expedition, in two days after the troops were reembarked, Sir George, joined by Sir Cloudesley, called a council of war on board the fleet as they lay off the coast of Africa. In this they resolved, July 17, to make an attempt upon Gibraltar‡. Thither then they sailed, and on the 21st the prince of Hesse landed on the isthmus with eighteen hundred marines: he immediately summoned the governor to surrender, and was answered, that the place would be defended to the last extremity.

Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town: perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head, he commanded captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. The captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be nearest the mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about a hundred men, were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains took possession of a platform, and kept their ground until they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the mole and the town. The governor then capitulated; and the prince of Hesse entered the palace, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army. A sufficient garrison being left with his highness, the admiral returned to Tetuan, to take in wood and water; and when he sailed, on the 9th of August, he descried

the French fleet, to which he gave chase. On the 13th he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga ready to receive him, to the number of two-and-fifty great ships, and four-and-twenty galleys, under the command of the count de Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue divisions. The English fleet consisted of three-and-fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates; but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and altogether unprovided of galleys, from which the enemy reaped great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning the battle begun, with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way; nevertheless, the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifting before morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but they made no use of this advantage: for two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the count de Thoulouse declined, and at last he disappeared. The loss was nearly equal on both sides, though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either: but the honour of the day certainly remained with the English. Besides the disadvantages we have enumerated, the bottoms of the British ships were foul, and several large ships had expended all their shot long before the battle ceased; yet the enemy were so roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the whole war. After the battle Sir George Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake, set sail for England on the 24th of August. He arrived in September, and was received by the ministry and the people in general, with those marks of esteem and veneration which were due to his long services and signal success: but he was still persecuted with a spirit of envy and detraction. Philip, king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, sent the marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The siege lasted four months, during which the prince of Hesse exhibited many shining proofs of courage and ability. The place was supplied with men and provisions by convoys from Lisbon, until monsieur de Pointis put a stop to that communication, by entering the bay with a strong squadron: but he was obliged to retire at the approach of Sir John Leake and admiral Vanderdussen; and the marquis de Villadarias, having made little or no progress on land, thought proper to abandon the enterprise. When the news of the conquest of Gibraltar was brought to England, it was for some time in debate whether it was a capture worth thanking the admiral for. It was at last considered as unworthy public gratitude; and while the duke of Marlborough was extolled for his military services, Sir George Rooke was left to neglect, and soon displaced from his command, for having lo

* Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle: the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons perished in the river Danube: thirteen thousand were made prisoners: one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and seventy-one standards, seventeen pair of kettle-drums, three thousand six hundred tents, four-and-thirty coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, fifteen barrels and eight casks filled with silver. Of the allies, about four thousand five hundred men were killed, and about eight thousand wounded or taken. Smollet.

† He was received as the deliverer of the state, as one who had retrieved the glory of the nation. The parliament and the people were ready to second him in all his designs. The manor of Woodstock was conferred upon him, for his services, by both houses; an eulogium was pronounced upon his important services by the lord-keeper as he entered the house of lords. The queen was not only pleased with these marks of respect shewn him, but also ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodstock-park a magnificent palace for the duke, which remains to this day a monument, as the best judges now

begin to think, not less of his victories, than of the skill of the architect who raised it.

‡ Gibraltar is a strong town of Andalusia in Spain, near a mountain of the same name, formerly called Calpe, and supposed to be one of Hercules's pillars, and which he looked upon to be the end of the world. Tarick a general of the Moors, built a fortress here, which he called Gibel-Tarick, i. e. Mount Tarick. Since that time a town has been built at the foot of this rock, which is very well fortified; it can only be approached by a very narrow passage between the mountain and the sea, across which the Spaniards have drawn a line, and fortified it, to prevent the garrison from having any communication with the country. Those that have courage enough to climb to the top of the rock, will find a plain on the summit, from whence they may have a prospect of the sea on each side the strait, and the kingdoms of Barbary, Fez, and Morocco, besides Seville, and Granada, in Spain. The garrison here are cooped up in a very narrow compass, and have no provisions but what are brought from Barbary and England. It is twenty-five miles N. of Ceuta, and forty-five S. E. of Cadiz. Lon. 5, 17. W. lat. 36, 6. N.

essentially served his country. A striking instance that, even in the most enlightened age, popular applause is frequently misplaced! Gibraltar has ever since remained in the possession of the English, and continues of the utmost use in refitting that part of the navy destined to annoy an enemy, or protect our trade in the Mediterranean. Here the English have a repository capable of containing all things necessary for the repairing of fleets, or the equipment of armies.

While the English were thus victorious, by land and sea, a new scene of contention was opened on the side of Spain, where the ambition of the European princes exerted itself with the same fury that had filled the rest of the continent. Philip IV. grandson of Lewis XIV. had been placed upon the throne of that kingdom, and had been received with the joyful concurrence of the greatest part of his subjects. He had also been nominated successor to the crown by the late king of Spain's will. But in a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guaranteed by France herself, though she now resolved to reverse that consent in favour of a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles was still farther led on to claim the crown of Spain by the invitation of the Catalonians, who declared in his favour, and by the assistance of the English and the Portuguese, who promised to arm in his cause. Upon his way to his newly assumed dominion he landed in England, where he was received on shore by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor. The queen's deportment to him was equally noble and obliging, while, on his side, he gave general satisfaction, by the politeness and affability of his conduct. He was furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and nine thousand men, for the conquest of that extensive empire. But the earl of Peterborough, a man of domestic bravery*, offered to conduct them; and his single service was thought equivalent to armies. His first attempt upon landing in Spain was to besiege Barcelona, a strong city, with a garrison of five thousand men, while his own army amounted to little more than nine thousand. The operations were begun by a sudden attack on fort Monjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded that city. The outworks were taken by storm; and a shell chancing to fall into the body of the fort, the powder magazine was blown up. This struck the garrison that defended the fort with such consternation, that they surrendered without farther resistance. The town still remained unconquered, but batteries were erected against it, and after a few days the governor capitulated. During the interval, which was taken up in demanding and signing the necessary form upon these occasions, a body of Germans and Catalonians, belonging to the English army, entered the town and were plundering all before them. The governor, who was treating then with the English general, thought himself betrayed, and upbraided that nobleman's treachery. Peterborough, struck with the suddenness of the transaction, left the writings unfinished, and flying among the plunderers drove them from their prey, and then returned calmly back, and signed the capitulation. The Spaniards were equally amazed at the generosity of the English, and the baseness of their own countrymen, who had led them on to the spoil. The conquest of all Valencia succeeded the taking of this important place. The enemy endeavoured indeed to retake Barcelona; but were repulsed with loss, and the affairs of Philip seemed desperate. The party that acknowledged Charles was every day increasing. He became master of Arragon, Carthage, and Granada. The way to Madrid, the capital of Spain, lay open to

him. The earl of Galway entered that city in triumph, and there proclaimed Charles king of Spain, without any opposition. Such was the beginning of the war, as conducted by the allies in Spain; but its end was more unfortunate.

The English paid very little regard to these victories; for their whole attention was taken up by the splendor of their conquests in Flanders; and the duke of Marlborough took care that they should still have something to wonder at. He had early in the spring opened the campaign, and brought an army of eighty thousand men into the field, which was greater than what he had hitherto been able to muster; and still he expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia. The court of France having received intelligence that the Danish and Prussian troops had not yet joined the confederates, ordered the elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Villeroy to attack them before the junction could be effected. In pursuance of this order they passed the Deule on the 19th of May, and posted themselves at Tirlemont, being superior in number to the allied army. There they were joined by the horse of the army, commanded by marshal Marfin, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoign. On Whit Sunday, 1706, early in the morning, the duke of Marlborough advanced with his army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being now joined by the Danes; and he learned that the enemy were marching to give him battle. Next day the French generals perceiving the confederates so near them, took possession of a strong camp, the right extending to the tomb of Hautemont, on the side of Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk; and the village of Ramillies being near their centre. The confederate army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz on the brook of Yause, and the left by the village of Franquencies, which the enemy had occupied. The duke ordered lieutenant-general Schult, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, to begin the action, by attacking Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery. At the same time Velt-marshall D'Auverquerque, on the left, commanded by colonel Wertmüller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge the enemy's infantry posted among the hedges of Franquencies. Both these orders were successfully executed. The Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing charged with great vigour and intrepidity, but were so roughly handled by the troops of the French king's household, that they began to give way, when the duke of Marlborough sustained them with the body of reserve, and twenty squadrons drawn from the right, where a morass prevented them from acting. In the mean time, he in person rallied some of the broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge, when his own horse falling, he was surrounded by the enemy, and must have been either killed or taken prisoner, had not a body of infantry come seasonably to his relief. When he remounted his horse, the head of colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horse, was carried off by a cannon-ball while he held the duke's stirrup. Before the reinforcement arrived, the best part of the French mousquetaires were cut in pieces. All the troops posted in Ramillies were either killed or taken. The rest of the enemy's infantry began to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry on their left wing, which formed themselves in three lines between Ofluz and Anderkirk; but the English horse having found means to pass the rivulet which divided them from the enemy, fell upon them with such impetuosity, that they abandoned their foot, and were terribly slaughtered in the village of Anderkirk. They now gave way on all sides. The horse fled three different ways: but were so closely pursued, that very few escaped. The elector

* The earl of Peterborough was one of the most singular and extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. When yet but fifteen he fought against the Moors in Africa; at twenty he assisted in compassing the revolution; and he now

carried on the war in Spain almost at his own expence; his friendship for the duke Charles being one of his chief motives to this great undertaking. He was deformed in his person; but of a mind the most generous, honourable, and active.

of Bavaria, and the marshal de Villeroy, saved themselves with the utmost difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's van-guard breaking down in a narrow pass, obstructed the way in such a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horse being informed of this accident, pressed on them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms and submitted. The pursuit was followed through Judoign till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvain. In a word, the confederates obtained a complete victory*. After the battle the French generals retired with precipitation to Brussels, while the allies took possession of Louvain, and next day encamped at Bethlem†. After the battle of Ramillies Lewis entreated for peace, but he entreated in vain: the allies carried all before them. At length, what neither his power, his armies, nor his politics could effect, was brought about by a party in England. The dissention between the Whigs and Tories in our own country saved France, now tottering on the brink of destruction.

The spirit of Toryism began to prevail; and the Whigs, who had raised the queen into greatness, were the first that were likely to fall by their own success. The Tories, though joining in vigorous measures against France, were, however, never ardently their enemies; they rather secretly hated the Dutch, as of principles very opposite to their own; and only longed for an opportunity of withdrawing from their friendship. They began to meditate schemes of opposition to the duke of Marlborough. They were taught to regard him as a self-interest man, who sacrificed the real advantages of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war for his own private emolument and glory. They saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which, by a continuance of the war, must inevitably become an intolerable burthen. Their secret discontents, therefore, began to spread; and the Tories wanted only a few determined leaders to conduct them in removing the present ministry.

In the mean time a succession of losses began to dissipate the conquering phrenzy which had seized the nation, and incline them to wish for peace. The army under Charles in Spain was then commanded by the lord Galway. This nobleman having received intelligence that the enemy, under the command of the duke of Berwick, was posted near the town of Almanza, he advanced thither to give him battle. The conflict began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, seemed at first victorious; but the Portuguese horse, by whom they were supported, betaking themselves to flight on the first charge, the English troops were flanked and surrounded on every side. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant of the country, and destitute of all supplies, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, to the number of ten thousand men. This victory was complete and decisive; and all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, returned to their duty to Philip.

An attempt was likewise made upon Toulon, by the

duke of Savoy and prince Eugene by land, and the English fleet by sea, but with as little success as in the former instance. The prince, with a body of thirty thousand men, took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole. But the French king sending an army to the relief of the place, and the duke of Savoy perceiving no hopes of compelling the city to a speedy surrender, he resolved to abandon his enterprize; and, having embarked his artillery, he retreated by night without any molestation.

The fleet under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel was still more unfortunate. Having left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, he set sail for England with the rest of the fleet, and was in soundings on the 22d of October, 1707. About eight o'clock at night his own ship, the *Association*, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, and perished with every person on board. This was likewise the fate of the *Eagle* and the *Romney*: the *Firebrand* was dashed in pieces on the rocks; but the captain and four-and-twenty men saved themselves in the boat: the *Phoenix* was driven on shore: the *Royal Anne* was saved by the presence of mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers: and the *St. George*, commanded by lord Dursley, struck upon the rocks, but a wave set her afloat again. The admiral's body, being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but being afterwards discovered, it was brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster-Abbey‡.

The allies were not more prosperous on the Upper Rhine, in Germany. Marshal Villars, the French general, carried all before him, and was upon the point of restoring the elector of Bavaria. The only hopes of the people lay in the activity and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who opened the campaign at Underluch, near Brussels, about the middle of May. But even here they were disappointed, as in all the rest. That general, either really willing to protract the war, or receiving intelligence that the French army was superior in numbers, declined an engagement; and rather endeavoured to secure himself than annoy the enemy. Thus, after several marchings and counter-marchings, which it would be tedious to relate, both armies retired into winter-quarters, at the latter end of October. The French made preparations for the next campaign with recruited vigour. The duke of Marlborough returned to England, to meet with a reception which he did not at all expect.

We are now to relate a measure of the greatest importance to the nation, a measure which was ardently wished for by many, which met with great opposition, and which was not settled without much difficulty: we mean

THE UNION OF THE TWO KINGDOMS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND;

Which, though they were governed by one sovereign since the accession of James the First, yet were still ruled by their respective parliaments, and often professed to pursue opposite interests and different designs. An union of both parliaments was at one time passion-

* The spoils taken by the confederates were, the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours, or standards, six hundred officers, six thousand private soldiers, and about eight thousand were killed or wounded. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men.

† The battle of Ramillies was attended with the immediate conquest of all Brabant. The cities of Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, submitted without resistance, and acknowledged him Charles. Ostend, though secured by a strong garrison, was surrendered after a siege of ten days. Menin, esteemed the most finished fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by six thousand men, met with the same fate. The garrison of Deudenmonde surrendered

themselves prisoners of war; and Aeth submitted on the same conditions. The French troops were dispirited. The city of Paris was overwhelmed with consternation. Lewis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmness and composure: but the constraint had such an effect upon his constitution, that his physicians thought it necessary to prescribe frequent bleeding, which he accordingly underwent. At his court no mention was made of military transactions: all was solemn, silent, and reserved. Smollett.

‡ Sir Cloudesley Shovel was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; but raised himself to the chief command at sea, by his industry, valour, skill, and integrity.

ately desired by James. King Charles his son, took some steps to effect this measure; but many apparently insurmountable objections lay in the way. This great task was reserved for queen Anne to accomplish, at a time when both nations were in good humour at their late successes; and the queen's title and administration were admitted and approved by men of all ranks.

The attempt for an union was begun at the commencement of this reign; but some disputes arising relative to the trade to the East, the conference was broke up, and it was thought that an adjustment would be impossible. It was revived by an act in either parliament, granting power to commissioners named on the part of both nations, to treat on the preliminary articles of an union, which should afterwards undergo a more thorough discussion by the legislative body of both kingdoms. The choice of these commissioners was left to the queen.

Accordingly, the queen having appointed commissioners on both sides, they met in the council-chamber of the Cock-pit, near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for their conferences. Their commissions being opened, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord-keeper of England, and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, the conference began.

As the account of this conference given by Smollett is very circumstantial and concise, we shall present our readers with the important citation. Hitherto, says that historian, the articles of the union had been industriously concealed from the knowledge of the people: but the treaty being recited in parliament, and the particulars divulged, such a flame was kindled through the whole nation, as had not appeared since the restoration. The Cavaliers or Jacobites had always foreseen that this union would extinguish all their hopes of a revolution in favour of a pretender. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce saddled with heavy duties and restrictions, and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations as a precarious and uncertain prospect of advantage. The barons, or gentlemen, were exasperated at a coalition, by which their parliament was annihilated, and their credit destroyed. The people in general exclaimed, that the dignity of their crown was betrayed: that the independency of their nation had fallen a sacrifice to treachery and corruption: that whatever conditions might be speciously offered, they could not expect they would be observed by a parliament in which the English had such a majority. They exaggerated the dangers to which the constitution of their church would be exposed from a bench of bishops, and a parliament of episcopals. This consideration alarmed the presbyterian ministers to such a degree, that they employed all their power and credit in waking the resentment of their hearers against the treaty, which produced an universal ferment among all ranks of people. Even the most rigid puritans joined the Cavaliers in expressing their detestation of the union; and, laying aside their mutual animosities, promised to co-operate in opposing a measure so ignominious and prejudicial to their country. In parliament the opposition was headed by the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the marquis of Annandale. The first of these noblemen had wavered so much in his conduct, that it is difficult to ascertain his real political principles. He was generally supposed to favour the claim of the pretender; but he was afraid of embarking too far in his cause, and avoided violent measures in the discussion of this treaty, lest he should incur the resentment of the English parliament, and forfeit the estate he possessed in that kingdom. Athol was more forward in his professions of attachment to the court St. Germain's; but he had less ability, and his zeal was supposed to have been enflamed by resentment against the ministry. The debates upon the different articles of the treaty were carried on with great heat and vivacity; and many shrewd

arguments were used against this scheme of an incorporating union. One member affirmed, that it would furnish a handle to any aspiring prince to overthrow the liberties of all Britain; for, if the parliament of Scotland could alter, or rather subvert its constitution, this circumstance might be a precedent for the parliament of Great-Britain to assume the same power: that the representatives for Scotland would, from their poverty, depend upon those who possessed the means of corruption: and having expressed so little concern for the support of their own constitution, would pay very little regard to that of any other. "What! (said the duke of Hamilton,) shall we in half an hour give up what our forefathers maintained with their lives and fortunes for many ages? Are there here none of the descendants of those worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their country against all invaders; who assisted the great king Robert Bruce to restore the constitution; and revenge the falsehood of England, and the usurpation of Baliol? Where are the Douglasses and Campbells? Where are the peers, where are the barons, once the bulwark of the nation? Shall we yield up the sovereignty and independency of our country, when we are commanded by those we represent to preserve the same, and assured of their assistance to support us?" The duke of Athol protested against an incorporating union, as contrary to the honour, interest, fundamental laws; and constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, the birthright of the peers; the rights and privileges of the barons and boroughs, and to the claim of right, property, and liberty of the subjects. To this protest nineteen peers and forty-six commoners adhered. The earl marshal entered a protest, importing, that no person being successor to the crown of England should inherit that of Scotland; without such previous limitations as might secure the honour and sovereignty of the Scottish parliament, the religion, liberty; and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence. He was seconded by six-and-forty members. With regard to the third article of the union, stipulating, that both kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament; the country party observed, that, by assenting to this expedient; they did in effect sink their own constitution, while that of England underwent no alteration: that in all nations there are fundamentals, which no power whatever can alter: that the rights and privileges of parliament being one of these fundamentals among the Scots, no parliament, or any other power, could ever legally prohibit the meeting of parliaments, or deprive any of the three estates of its right of sitting or voting in parliament: but that by this treaty the parliament of Scotland was entirely abrogated, its rights and privileges sacrificed, and those of the English parliament substituted in their place. They argued, that though the legislative power in parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices; yet the giving up the constitution, with the rights and privileges of the nation, was not subject to suffrage, being founded on dominion and property; and therefore could not be legally surrendered without the consent of every person who had a right to elect and be represented in parliament. They affirmed, that the obligation laid on the Scottish members to reside so long in London, in attendance on the British parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoverish the members, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted. Another protest was entered by the marquis of Annandale against an incorporating union, as being odious to the people, subversive of the constitution, sovereignty, and claim of right, and threatening ruin to the church as by law established. Fifty-two members joined in this protestation. Almost every article produced the most inflammatory disputes. Lord Belhaven enumerated the mischiefs which would attend the union, in a pathetic speech, that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked upon as a prophecy by great part of the Scottish nation. Addresses against the treaty were presented to parliament by the convention

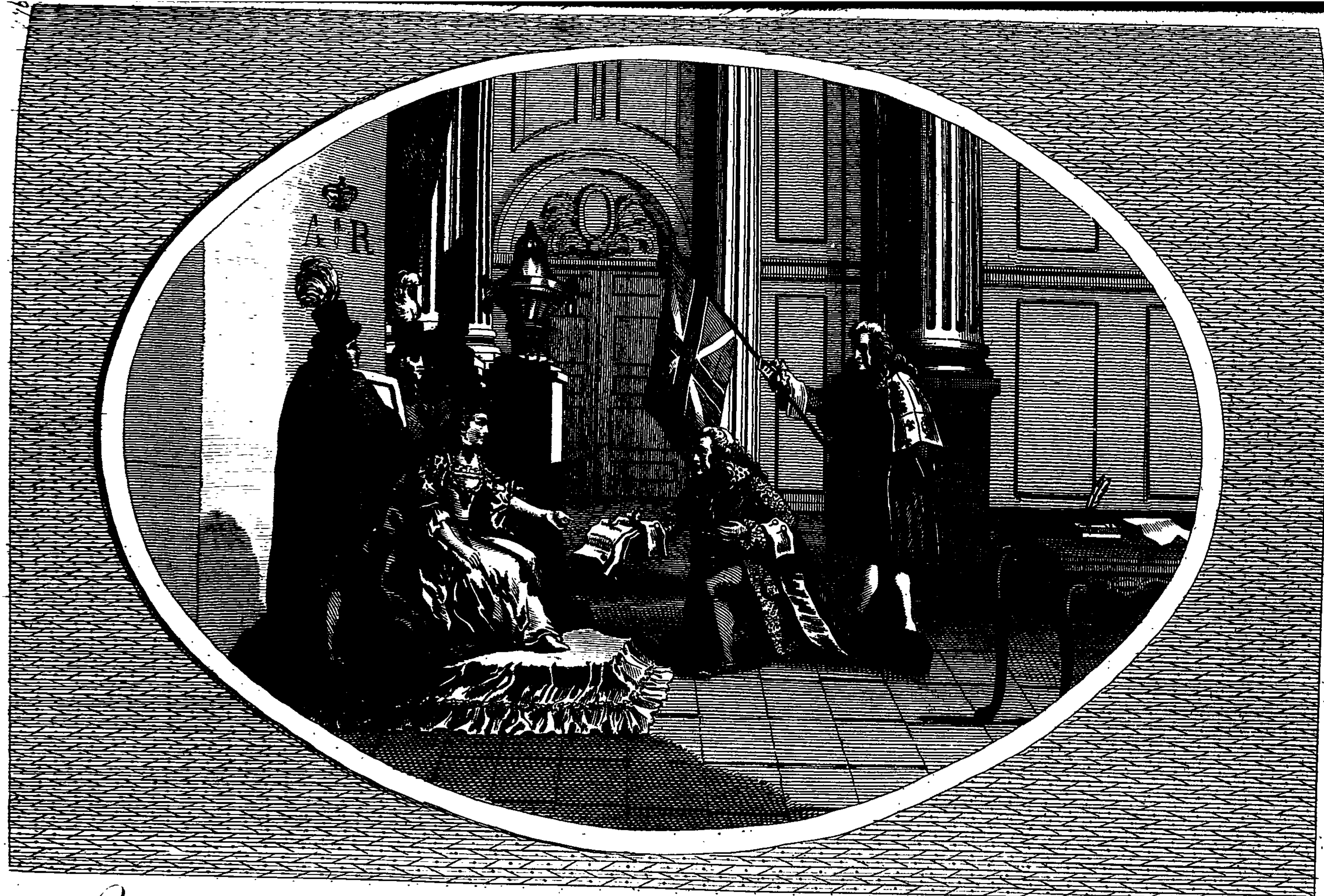
convention of boroughs, the commissioners of the general assembly, the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from several shires, stewartries, boroughs, towns, and parishes, in all the different parts of the kingdom, without distinction of Whig or Tory, episcopalian or presbyterian. The earl of Buchan for the peers, Lockhart of Carnwath for the barons, Sir Walter Stuart in behalf of the peers, barons, and boroughs; the earls of Errol and Marishal for themselves, as high-constable and earl-marshal of the kingdom, protested severally against the treaty of Union.

While this opposition raged within doors, the resentment of the people rose to transports of fury and revenge. The Cameronians, or more rigid presbyterians, chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition, and marching to Dumfries, burned the articles of the Union at the Market-cross, justifying their conduct in a public declaration. They made a tender of their attachment to duke Hamilton, from whom they received encouragement in secret. They reconciled themselves to the episcopalians and the Cavaliers: they resolved to take the route to Edinburgh, and dissolve the parliament; while the duke of Athol undertook to secure the pass of Stirling with his highlanders, so as to open the communication between the western and northern parts of the kingdom. Seven or eight thousand men were actually ready to appear in arms at the town of Hamilton, and march directly to Edinburgh, under the duke's command, when that nobleman altered his opinion, and dispatched private couriers through the whole country, requiring the people to defer their meeting till further directions. The more sanguine Cavaliers accused him of treachery; but perhaps he was actuated by prudential motives. He alledged, in his own excuse, that the nation was not in a condition to carry on such an enterprize, especially as the English had already detached troops to the border, and might in a few days have wafted over a considerable reinforcement from Holland. During this commotion among the Cameronians, the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumults. Sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh, who had been one of the commissioners for the Union, was besieged in his own house by the populace, and would have been torn in pieces, had not the guards dispersed the multitude. The privy-council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum shall beat; ordering the guards to fire upon those who should disobey this command, and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming or slaying the lieges. These guards were placed all round the house in which the peers and commons were assembled, and the council received the thanks of the parliament, for having thus provided for their safety. Notwithstanding these precautions, the commissioner was constantly saluted with the curses of the people as he passed along: his guards were pelted, and some of his attendants wounded with stones as they sat by him in the coach, so that he was obliged to pass through the streets on full gallop.

Against all this national fury, the dukes of Queensbury and Argyle, the earls of Montrose, Seafield, and Stair, and the other noblemen attached to the Union, acted with equal prudence and resolution. They argued strenuously against the objections that were started in the house. They magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the privileges of trading to the English plantations, and being protected in their commerce by a powerful navy; as well as from the exclusion of a popish pretender, who they knew was odious to the nation in general. They found means, partly by their promises, and partly by corruption, to bring over the earls of Roxburgh and Marchmont, with the whole squadron who had hitherto been unpropitious to the court. They disarmed the resentment of the clergy, by promoting an act to be inserted in the Union, declaring the presbyterian discipline to be the

only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the treaty. They soothed the African company with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained. They amused individuals with the hope of sharing the rest of the equivalent. They employed emissaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and disunite them from the Cavaliers, by demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger of such a coalition. These remonstrances were reinforced by the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which the queen privately lent to the Scottish treasury, and which was now distributed by the ministry in the best manner. By these practices they diminished, though they could not silence, the clamour of the people, and obtained a considerable majority in parliament, which out-voted all opposition. On the 25th of March, 1706, the commissioners adjourned the parliament, after having taken notice of the honour they had acquired in concluding an affair of such importance to their country. Having thus accomplished the great purpose of the court, he set out for London, in the neighbourhood of which he was met by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and about four hundred gentlemen on horseback. Next day he waited upon the queen at Kensington, by whom he was well received. Perhaps there is not another instance upon record, of a ministry's having carried a point of this importance against such a violent torrent of opposition, and contrary to the general sense and inclination of a whole exasperated people. The Scots were persuaded that their trade would be destroyed, their nation oppressed, and the country ruined, in consequence of the union with England; and indeed their opinion was supported by very plausible arguments. The majority of both nations believed that the treaty would produce violent convulsions, or, at best, prove ineffectual. But we now see it has been attended with none of the calamities that were prognosticated: that it quietly took effect, and fully answered all the purposes for which it was intended. Hence we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmounted, because they are not seen by those who direct the execution of any great project; and that many schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will yet succeed in the experiment.

The queen repaired to the English parliament on the 28th of January, 1707, and told both houses, that the treaty of Union, with some additions and alterations, was ratified by an act of the Scottish parliament: that she had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation. She desired the commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in case the treaty should be approved. She observed to both houses, that now they had an opportunity of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms; and that she should look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which had been so often attempted without success, could be brought to perfection in her reign. When the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottish act of ratification, the Tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start some objections. Notwithstanding the opposition, all the articles were examined and approved. On the 15th of February, the debates concerning the Union began in the house of lords, the queen being present, and the bishop of Salisbury chairman of the committee. Here the treaty of Union likewise met with great opposition; yet it passed the house of peers; and, when it received the royal assent, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction. She said she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. She desired that her subjects of both kingdoms should from henceforward behave with all possible respect and kindness towards one another, that so it might appear to all the world



Queen Anne receiving the Act of Union from the Duke of Queensbury and Dover.

world they had hearts disposed to become one people. The Act of Union took place May 1, 1707*.

The English Tories had for some time obtained the majority in the kingdom, and being displeased with the Union, they found themselves strongly opposed by a powerful coalition at court. The duchess of Marlborough had long been in possession of the queen's confidence and favour, and turned the easiness of her mistress's temper to her own advantage, as well as to that of her party. The duke of Marlborough, her husband, was at the head of the army, which was devoted to him. Lord Godolphin, his son-in-law, was at the head of the treasury, which he managed so as to co-operate with the ambition of the duke. But an unexpected alteration in the queen's affections, owing to her own mismanagement, took place. Among the number of those whom the duchess had introduced to the queen, to contribute to her private amusement, was one Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had raised from indigence and obscurity. The duchess having gained the ascendant over the queen, became petulant and insolent, and relaxed in those arts by which she had risen. Mrs. Masham, who had her fortune to make, was more humble and assiduous; she flattered the foibles of the queen, and assented to her prepossessions and prejudices.

* The following is an abstract of the articles of the Union:

1. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland shall, upon the 1st of May, 1707, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN, &c. 2. That the succession to the monarchy, &c. after her most sacred majesty, and in default of issue of her majesty, be, remain, and continue to the most excellent princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants, &c. And that all papists, and persons marrying papists, shall be excluded from, and for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the imperial crown of Great Britain, &c. 3. That the united kingdom of Great Britain be represented by one and the same parliament, to be stiled the Parliament of Great Britain. 4. That all the subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain shall, from and after the Union, have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, to and from any port or place within the said united kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, which do, or may belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these articles. 5. That all ships or vessels belonging to her majesty's subjects of Scotland, at the time of ratifying the treaty of Union of the two kingdoms, in the parliament of Scotland, though foreign built, be deemed and pass as ships of the build of Great Britain, &c. 6. That all parts of the united kingdom, for ever, from and after the Union, shall have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties on import and export, &c. 7. That all parts of the united kingdom be for ever, from and after the Union, liable to the same excises upon all exciseable liquors, &c. 8. That, from and after the Union, all foreign salt, which shall be imported into Scotland, shall be charged, at the importation there, with the same duties as the like salt is now charged with being imported into England, and to be levied and secured in the same manner, &c. 9. That whenever the sum of one million nine hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-three pounds eight shillings and four-pence halfpenny shall be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain, to be raised in that part of the united kingdom now called England, on land and other things usually charged in acts of parliament there, for granting an aid to the crown by a land-tax; that part of the united kingdom, now called Scotland, shall be charged by the same act, with a further sum of forty-eight thousand pounds free of all charges, as the quota of Scotland to such tax, &c. 10. That, during the continuance of the respective duties on stamped paper, vellum, and parchment, by the several acts now in force in England, and Scotland, shall not be charged with the same respective duties. 11. That, during the continuance of the duties payable in England on windows and lights, which determines on the 1st of August, 1710, Scotland shall not be charged with the same duties. 12. That, during the continuance of the duties payable in England on coals, culm, and cinders, which determines the 30th of September, 1710, Scotland shall not be charged therewith for coals, culm, and cinders consumed there, but shall be charged with the same duties as in England for all coals, culm, and cinders not consumed in Scotland.

No. LXV.

She soon saw the queen's inclination to the Tory opinions, their divine right and passive obedience; and instead of attempting to thwart her as the duchess had done, she joined with her partiality, and even outwent her in her own way. She began to insinuate to the queen, that the Tories were by far the majority of the people; that they were displeased with a ministry that attempted to rule their sovereign, and had lavished the treasures of the nation on wars which they chose rather to carry on in order to continue in power. Mrs. Masham was the tool of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, who had likewise insinuated himself into the queen's good graces; and who determined to sap the credit of Godolphin and Marlborough. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own shelter, and to expel the Whigs from the advantages which they had long enjoyed under government. In his career of ambition he chose for his coadjutor Henry St. John, afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence, but of little principle. To this junto, was added Sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer of great abilities. These uniting, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the scattered body of the Tories; and diffused assurances among the partizans, that the queen would no longer bear the tyranny of a Whig ministry. She had ever

13. That, during the continuance of the duty payable in England on malt, which determines the 24th of June, 1707, Scotland shall not be charged with that duty. 14. That the kingdom of Scotland be not charged with any other duties laid on by the parliament of England before the Union, except these consented to in this treaty, &c. 15. That whereas by the terms of this treaty the subjects of Scotland, for preserving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to several customs and excises now payable in England, which will be applicable towards payment of the debts of England, contracted before the Union; it is agreed, that Scotland shall have an equivalent for what the subjects thereof shall be so charged towards payment of the said debts of England in all particulars whatsoever, &c. 16. That, from and after the Union, the coin shall be of the same standard and value throughout the united kingdom, as now in England, and a mint shall be continued in Scotland under the same rules as the mint in England, and the present officers of the mint continued, subject to such regulations and alterations, as her majesty, her heirs or successors, or the parliament of Great Britain shall think fit. 17. That, from and after the Union, the same weights and measures shall be used throughout the united kingdom, as are now established in England, &c. 18. That the laws concerning regulation of trade, customs, and such exercises to which Scotland is, by virtue of this treaty to be liable, be the same in Scotland, from and after the Union, as in England, &c. 19. That the court of session, or college of justice, do, after the Union, and notwithstanding thereof, remain in all time coming within Scotland, as it is now constituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the same authority and privileges as before the Union, subject nevertheless to such regulations, for the better administration of justice, as shall be made by the parliament of Great Britain, &c. 20. That all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, be reserved to the owners thereof, as rights of property, in the same manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, notwithstanding this treaty. 21. That the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland, as they now are, do remain entire after the union, and notwithstanding thereof. 22. That, by virtue of this treaty, of the peers of Scotland at the time of the Union, sixteen shall be the number to sit and vote in the house of lords, and forty-five the number of the representatives of Scotland in the house of commons, of the parliament of Great Britain, &c. 23. That the aforesaid sixteen peers of Scotland, mentioned in the last preceding article, to sit in the house of lords of the parliament of Great Britain, shall have all privileges of parliament, which the peers of England now have, and which they, or any peers of Great Britain, shall have after the Union, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers, &c. 24. That, from and after the Union, there be one great seal for the united kingdom of Great Britain, which shall be different from the great seal now used in either kingdom, &c. 25. That all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they are contrary to, or inconsistent with, the terms of these articles, or any of them, shall, from and after the Union, cease and become void, and shall be so declared to be by the respective parliaments of the said kingdoms.

been, they did, a friend in her heart to the Tory and High-church party, by which appellation this faction now chose to be distinguished; and to convince them of the truth of their assertions, the queen herself shortly after bestowed two bishopricks on clergymen, who had openly condemned the revolution.

The Whig ministry now began to decline. To them they imputed the burthens under which they groaned, burthens which they had been hitherto animated to bear by the pomp of triumph; but the load of which they felt in a pause of success. No new advantage had of late been shewn them from the Netherlands: and France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, as they had been taught to expect, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow. The English merchants had lately sustained repeated losses, for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished, and the public credit began to decline. The ministry were for a long time ignorant of those secret murmurings, or pretended to despise them. Instead, therefore, of attempting to mitigate the censures propagated against them, they continued to tease the queen with remonstrances against her conduct; and upbraided her with ingratitude for those services which had secured her glory. The murmurs of the nation first found vent in the house of lords, where the earl of Wharton, seconded by lord Somers, expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy. This complaint was backed by a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of the city, aggravating their losses by sea for want of convoys, and these complaints were proved by witnesses. The war with France was now canvassed and condemned. Oxford was at the bottom of all these complaints; and though they did not produce an immediate effect, yet they did not fail of a growing and steady operation.

The Whig party of the ministry at length opened their eyes to the intrigues of their pretending conductor. The duchess of Marlborough perceived when it was too late, that she was supplanted by her kinswoman; and her husband found no other means of re-establishing his credit, but by openly opposing Oxford, whom he could not otherwise displace. The secretary had lately incurred some suspicions, from the secret correspondence which one Gregg, an under clerk in his office, kept up with the court of France*. The duke of Marlborough took advantage of this opportunity to remove Oxford. He accordingly wrote to the queen, that he and lord Godolphin could serve her no longer, should the present secretary be continued in his place. The queen, not regarding the secret intrigues of her ministers, endeavoured to appease the duke's resentment by every art of persuasion: but he was too confident of his own power, and continued obstinate in his refusal. The earl of Godolphin and the duke went so far as to retire from court, and the queen saw herself in danger of being deserted by her whole ministry. A sullen silence prevailed through the cabinet-council; and some were even heard to say, that no deliberations could be pur-

sued in the absence of the duke and the lord Godolphin. Next day she sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office; and it was accordingly conferred on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer.

Thus the first efforts of the Tory party were frustrated, and Bolingbroke was resolved to share in his friend Harley's disgrace, as also Sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, and Sir Thomas Mansell, comptroller of the household, who all voluntarily relinquished their employments. Bolingbroke's employment of secretary at war was conferred upon Robert Walpole, who made a great figure in the two succeeding reigns. The duke seemed to triumph in the success of his resentment, not considering that he now lost the confidence of the queen. He returned to prosecute his victories on the continent, where a new harvest of glory attended him, which, however, did not re-establish his power: this violent measure, which seemed at first favourable to the Whig ministry, laid the foundation of its ruin. Harley was now enabled to throw off the mask of friendship, and to take more vigorous measures for the prosecuting of his designs. In him the queen reposed all her trust, though he now had no visible concern in the administration. The first triumph of the Tories, in which the queen discovered a public partiality in their favour, was seen in a transaction of no great importance in itself, but from the consequences it produced. The parties of the nation were eager to engage, and they seemed to want but the watch-word to begin.

Henry Sacheverel, a clergyman, had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-church men, and had taken all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby he had held forth in that strain before the judges. On the 5th of November, in St. Paul's Church, he, in a violent declaration, defended the doctrine of non-resistance, inveighed against the toleration of dissenters, declared the church was dangerously attacked by its enemies, and slightly defended by its false friends. He sounded the trumpet for the zealous, and exhorted people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Gerrard, lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which was published under his protection, and extolled by the Tories. Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, laid a complaint before the house of commons against these rhapsodies, and thus gave force to what would have soon been forgotten. The most violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel was brought to the bar of the house; and he, far from disowning the writing of them, gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement he had received to publish them from the lord-mayor, who was then present. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors at the bar of the house of lords; and Mr. Dolben was fixed upon to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeach-

* When his practices were detected, he made an ample confession, and pleading guilty to his indictment at the Old-Bailey, was condemned to death for high-treason. At the same time, John Bara and Alexander Valiere were committed to Newgate, for corresponding with the enemy; and Claude Baud, secretary to the duke of Savoy's minister, was, at the request of his master, apprehended for traitorous practices against her majesty and her government. A committee of seven lords being appointed to examine these delinquents, made a report to the house, which was communicated to the queen, in an address, importing, that Gregg had discovered secrets of state to the French ministers: that Alexander Valiere and John Bara had managed a correspondence with the governors and commissaries of Calais and Boulogne; and, in all probability, discovered to the enemy the stations of the British cruizers, the strength of their convoys, and the times at which the merchant-ships proceeded on their voyages; that all papers

in the office of Mr. secretary Harley had been for a considerable time exposed to the view of the meanest clerks; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners, had been chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. The queen granted a reprieve to this man, in hope of making some important discovery; but he really knew nothing of consequence to the nation. He was an indigent Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own country, and now offered his services to Chamillard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery: he was discovered before he had reaped any fruits from his correspondence. As he had no secrets of importance to impart, he was executed at Tyburn, on the 28th of April, 1708, where he delivered a paper to the sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley entirely ignorant of all his treasonable connections, notwithstanding some endeavours that were made to engage him in an accusation of that minister.

ment. Sacheverel was taken into custody, and a day appointed for his trial before the lords in Westminster-hall. Mean while the Tories, who approved his principles, were as violent in his defence as the commons had been in his prosecution. They affirmed, that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. The clergy did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, arising from a scarcity of provisions, which at that time prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The dangers were magnified to which the church was exposed from Dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm Prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, that brought on that very dearth which they were then deploring. Such an extensive party declaring in favour of Sacheverel, after the articles were exhibited against him, the lords thought fit to admit him to bail. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this very extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks, and excluded all other public business for the time. The queen herself was every day present as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed, or silently praying for his success. The managers for the commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl; Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general; Sir Peter King, recorder; general Stanhope; Sir Thomas Parker; and Mr. Walpole. The doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Phipps, assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Freind. While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace*. When the commons had gone through their charge, the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. In his defence he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government. He spoke in the most respectful terms of the revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church, in which he was brought up; and in a pathetic conclusion endeavoured to excite the pity of his audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was favoured by the queen herself, who could not but approve a doctrine that confirmed her authority and enlarged her power. Those who are removed from the interests of that period may be apt to regard with wonder so great a contest from so slight a cause; but the spirit of contention was before laid in the nation, and this person only happened to set fire to the train. The lords, when they retired to consult upon his sentence, were divided, and continued undetermined for some time. At length, after much obstinate dispute, and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; but no less than four and thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for three years; and his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the lord-mayor and the two sheriffs†.

Major-general Stanhope having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from

count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese: at the head of these he embarked at Barcelona with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by brigadier Wade, and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the island, about ten miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-sixth of August, 1708, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thousand. Next day they erected batteries; and general Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats, that all the garrison should be sent to the mines, if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished. The garrison consisted of a thousand Spaniards and six hundred French marines, commanded by colonel la Jonquire, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand, so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the fort: they then made a breach in the outward wall, through which brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers stormed a redoubt, with such extraordinary valour as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, that they should march out with the honours of war; that the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. These last, however, were detained, by way of reprisal for the garrison of Denia‡. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquire was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all Europe, and the garrison of Fort Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for king Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges. General Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy governor of the whole island.

The parliament being dissolved, the queen thought proper to summon a new one; and being a friend to the Tories herself, she gave the people an opportunity of indulging themselves in choosing representatives to their mind. Very few were returned but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration. The Whigs were no longer able to keep their ground against the voice of the people, and the power of the queen. Though they had entrenched themselves behind a formidable body in the house of lords, and though by their wealth and family connections they had in a manner fixed themselves in office, yet they were now upon the edge of dissolution, and required but a breeze to blow them from their height, where they imagined themselves so secure.

It should be noticed, the duke had for some time before gone back to Flanders, where he led on the united armies to great, though dear-bought, victories. The French were dispirited indeed, and rather kept upon the defensive; but still, when forced to engage, they fought with great obstinacy, and seemed to gather courage as

* They surrounded the queen's sedan, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwellings of many eminent dissenters, and even proposed to attack the Bank. The queen, in compliance with the request of the commons, published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were tried for high treason. Two were convicted, and sentenced to die; but were not executed.

† The lenity of this sentence, which was, in a great measure, owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by the Tories as a triumph. They declared their joy in bonfires and illuminations, and openly avowed their rage against

his persecutors. Soon after, he was presented to a benefice in North Wales, where he went with all the pomp of a sovereign. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and many noblemen in his way. He was received in several towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots, edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. "The church, and Dr. Sacheverel," was the universal cry, and a spirit of religious enthusiasm spread through the whole nation.

‡ The garrison of Denia were, contrary to capitulation, made prisoners of war.

the dangers of their country became more nearly threatened. Peace had more than once been offered; and treaties had been entered upon, and frustrated. After the battle of Ramillies, the king of France had employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough, containing proposals for opening a congress. He offered to give up either Spain and its dominions, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to Charles of Austria, and to give a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands. But these terms were rejected. The Dutch were intoxicated with success; and the duke of Marlborough had every motive to continue the war, as it gratified not only his ambition but his avarice; a passion that obscured his shining abilities. The duke was resolved to push his fortune. At the head of a numerous army he came to the village of Oudenarde, which the French had resolved to reduce. Oudenarde was the only pass possessed by the allies on the Schelde. The French invested it on the 9th of July, 1708, hoping to get possession of it before the confederates could be reinforced. The duke of Marlborough, however, being joined by a reinforcement, posted himself at the strong camp of Lessines, which the French had intended to occupy, in order to cover the siege of Oudenarde. Thus disappointed, the French generals altered their resolution, abandoned Oudenarde, and began to pass the Schelde at Gavre. The two generals of the confederates were bent upon bringing them to an engagement. Cadogan was sent with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Schelde below Oudenarde. The army was in motion at eight o'clock, and marched with such expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges over which Cadogan and his detachment were passing. The enemy had posted seven battalions in the village of Heynem, situated on the banks of the Schelde, and the French household-troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, opposite to a body of troops under major-general Rantzaw, who were posted behind a rivulet that ran into the river. The duke de Vendôme intended to attack the confederates when one half of their army should have passed the Schelde: but he was thwarted by the duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be perplexed and irresolute. This prince had ordered the troops to halt in their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet formed any resolution; and now he recalled the squadrons from the plain, determined to avoid a battle. Vendôme remonstrated against this conduct, and the dispute continued till three in the afternoon, when the greater part of the allied army had passed the Schelde without opposition. Then the duke of Burgundy declared for an engagement, and Vendôme submitted to his opinion with great reluctance, as the opportunity was now lost, and the army unformed. Major-general Grimaldi was ordered to attack Rantzaw with the horse of the king's household, who, finding the rivulet marshy, refused to charge, and retired to the right. Meanwhile Cadogan attacked the village of Heynem, which he took with three of the seven battalions by which it was guarded. Rantzaw passing the rivulet, advanced into the plain, and drove before him several squadrons of the enemy. In this attack the electoral prince of Hanover, his late majesty, George II. charged at the head of Bulau's dragoons with great intrepidity. His horse was shot under him, and colonel Laschky killed by his side. Several French regiments were broken, and a great many officers and standards fell into the hands of the Hanoverians. The confederates continued still passing the river: but few or none of the infantry were come up till five in the afternoon, when the duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which immediately sustained a vigorous assault from the enemy. By this time the French were drawn up in order of battle; and the allies being formed as they passed the river, both armies were engaged through the whole extent of their lines about seven in the evening. Europe had not for many years produced two such noble armies: above one hun-

dred general officers appeared in the field, and two hundred and fifty colonels fought at the head of their respective regiments. The number of the French exceeded that of the allies by twelve thousand: but their generals were divided; their forces ill-disposed; and the men dispirited by the uninterrupted success of their adversaries. They seemed from the beginning averse to an engagement, and acted in hurry and trepidation. Nevertheless, the action was maintained until general D'Auverquerque and count Tilly, who commanded on the left of the allies, obliged the right of the enemy to give ground; and the prince of Orange, with count Oxenstiern, attacked them in flank with the Dutch infantry. Then they began to give way, and retired in great confusion. The duke de Vendôme, alighting from his horse, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, conjured them to maintain the honour of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example. But, notwithstanding all his endeavours, they were forced back among the enclosures in great confusion. Some regiments were cut in pieces; others desired to capitulate; and, if the darkness had not interposed, their whole army would have been ruined. The night coming on, so that it became impossible to distinguish friends from enemies, the two generals ordered the troops to cease firing, and the enemy took this opportunity of escaping by the road which leads from Oudenarde to Ghent. The duke de Vendôme seeing the French forces flying in the utmost precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about five-and-twenty squadrons, and as many battalions, with which he secured the retreat. To this precaution the safety of their army was entirely owing; for at day-break the duke of Marlborough sent a large detachment of horse and foot, under the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives; but the hedges and ditches that skirted the road were lined with French grenadiers in such a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to desist. The French reached Ghent about eight in the morning, and marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal. There they thought proper to cast up entrenchments, upon which they planted their artillery, which they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle; two thousand deserted; and about seven thousand were taken, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above an hundred standards and colours, and four thousand horses. The loss of the allies did not amount to two thousand men; nor was one officer of distinction killed on their side during the whole engagement. After the confederates had rested two days on the field of battle, a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between Ypres and the Lys: another was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras: they ravaged the country, and struck terror even into the citizens of Paris. While the allies plundered the province of Picardy, a detachment from the French army, under the chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption upon Dutch Flanders, broke through the lines of Bervliet, which had been left unguarded, and made a descent upon the island of Cadzandt, which they laid under contribution.

The generals of the allies now undertook an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the French generals, favoured of rashness. This was the siege of Lille, the strongest town in Flanders, provided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and a garrison reinforced with one-and-twenty battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by marshal de Boufflers in person. But these were not the principal difficulties which the allies encountered. The enemy had cut off the communication between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Saffan-Ghent; so that they were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which they sat down before Lille. On the 13th of August it was invested on one side by prince Eugene, and on the other by the prince of Orange-Nassau, stad-

holder of Friesland; while the duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin, to cover the siege. The trenches were opened on the 22d of August, and carried on with vigour and alacrity. The dukes of Brandy and Vendôme being now joined by the duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place; and made several marches and counter-marches for this purpose. Marlborough being apprized of his intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle, being reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege, including Augustus, king of Poland, and the landgrave of Hesse, as volunteers: but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an entrenchment. On the 7th of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lille, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded; and the duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle: but their design was only to harass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. They endeavoured to surprise the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants; but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. They then cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong entrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon; so that now all the stores and necessaries were sent to the camp of the confederates from Ostend on the 21st of September, prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgement they had made on the counterscarp of the Tenaile, rallied and led them back to the charge: but being wounded over the left eye with a musquet-shot, he was obliged to retire, and for some days the duke of Marlborough sustained the whole command, both in the siege, and of the covering army. On the 23d the Tenaile was stormed, and a lodgement made along the covered-way. Marshal Boufflers having found means to inform the duke de Vendôme that his ammunition was almost expended, this general detached the chevalier de Luxembourg, with a body of horse and dragoons, to supply the place with gunpowder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds upon the crupper. They were discovered in passing through the camp of the allies, and pursued to the barrier of the town, into which about three hundred were admitted: but a great number were killed by the confederates, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they carried. On the 22d of October, marshal Boufflers desired to capitulate for the town of Lille: next day the articles were signed: on the 25th the allies took possession of the place, and the marshal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garrison, which from twelve thousand, was reduced to less than half that number. A negotiation was begun for the surrender of the citadel: but Boufflers made such extravagant demands as were rejected with disdain. Hostilities were renewed on the 29th of the month: and the earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the districts of Furnes and Dixmude. The besiegers having made lodgements and raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, sent a message to Boufflers, intimating, that if he would surrender before the opening of the batteries, he should have an honourable capitulation; otherwise he and his garrison must be made prisoners of war. He chose to avoid the last part of the alternative; hostages were exchanged on the 8th of December, and the articles signed on the 10th; when the marshal and his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conducted to Douay. In this great enterprise, spirit and perseverance made amends for want of foresight and skill, which was flagrant on the side of the confederates; yet their success was owing, in a great measure, to the improvidence and misconduct of the besieged. Ghent was taken soon afterwards, while Bruges, and the other smaller towns in French Flanders,

were abandoned by their defenders. Thus this campaign ended with fixing a barrier to the Dutch dominions, and it now only remained to force a way into the provinces of the enemy.

The repeated successes of the allies once more induced the French king to offer terms of peace. In these he was resolved to sacrifice all considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interests of his grandson of Spain, to a measure become so necessary and indispensable. A conference ensued, in which the allies role in their demands, without, however, stipulating any thing in favour of the English. The demands were rejected by France, and that exhausted kingdom once more prepared for another campaign.

Commodore Wager gained this year a considerable advantage over the Spaniards, by taking several of their galleons. He had on the 22d of December, 1707, returned to Jamaica, from the coast of Hispaniola, upon some advices of the arrival of monsieur Du Casse, with a French squadron, in order to make some attempt upon Jamaica. The next day the commodore, being then with his squadron in Port-Royal harbour, held a council of war, to consider of the several advices he had received. Upon advice, that the Spanish galleons were gone from Carthagena for Porto-Bello, the commodore sailed with such ships as were ready, leaving directions, how and where the rest should join him. On the 25th of February, 1708, they came to an anchor off the Isle of Pines. In March, the commodore received advice at two several times from captain Pudner, who was stationed near Porto-Bello, that the galleons with the king's money, could not sail before the 1st of May; upon which it was resolved to return to Jamaica, but it was given out, that they were only gone to cruize. On the 6th of April, the commodore anchored at Port-Royal key, and having taken in provisions, he sailed again on the 14th, and, about eight or ten days after, gave chase to several ships off Bocca Chica, some of which escaped into Carthagena, and others he lost sight of in hazy weather. On the 23d of May, the Anne sloop joined the commodore from the Bastimentes, and brought a letter from captain Pudner, with advice that the galleons, being thirteen sail, were at sea, coming from Carthagena. The commodore had then with him the Expedition, Kingston, Portland, and Vulture fire-ships, and cruized till the 27th, in expectation of the galleons; but, not meeting with them, he began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coast, and were gone for the Havanna. On the 28th, about noon, the galleons, in all seventeen sail, were discovered from his top-mast-head; and, at the same time, they discovered him, but, despising so small a force, resolved to proceed. He chased them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the Baru, a small island, which lay in their passage to Carthagena, resolved to dispute the matter there, and, stretching therefore to the Northward with an easy sail, they drew as well as they could into a line a battle. The commodore instantly made his disposition; he resolved to attack the admiral himself; gave orders to captain Simon Bridges, who commanded the Kingston, to engage the vice-admiral, and sent his boat to the Portland, commanded by captain Edward Windsor, with orders to attack the rear-admiral; and, as there was no immediate occasion for the fire-ship, she plied to the windward. The sun was just setting, when commodore Wager came up with the admiral, and then beginning to engage, in about an hour and a half's time (it being dark) she blew up, not without great danger to the Expedition, from the splinters and planks, which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blast. Hereupon the commodore put aboard his signal lights for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue in sight of some of the enemy's ships; but finding, after this accident, they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made sail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened

to fit his broad-side into her stern, which did so much damage, that it seemed to disable her from making sail; and being then to leeward, he, tacking on the Spaniards, got to windward of him, and the Kingston and Portland following his lights, soon after came up with him, and assisted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ship he sent his boats to bring to him the chief officers; and, before the rising of the sun, he saw one large ship on the weather-bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off, lying then with their heads to the north, the wind being at north-east, an easy gale. He then put out the signal for the Kingston and Portland to chase to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than three hundred prisoners aboard his own ship. On the 30th the Kingston and Portland had left off chase; but the commodore made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fire-ship still continuing with him; and he having lain by some time, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when the Kingston and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chased was the vice-admiral, to which, as they said, they came so near, as to fire their broadsides into her, but were so far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a shoal off Carthage, that they were forced to tack, and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneasiness, and determined him to call the captains of these ships to account; but, in the mean time, he sent them orders to take or destroy a galleon of forty guns, which he understood by a Swedish ship, that had been trading at Baru, had taken shelter in that island. She was just coming out of port, as the Kingston and Portland appeared; upon which her crew ran her ashore, set her on fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be got out of her, as the captains affirmed, and, as it appeared to the commodore afterwards, was true. On the 2d of June, the commodore finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in those parts, resolved to set the Spanish prisoners ashore, according to their request, on the island of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly; and the Spanish rear-admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful sense of the commodore's civility.

The French king perceiving the misery of his subjects daily increase, and all his resources fail, continued to humble himself before the allies; and by means of Petkum, who still corresponded from the Hague with his ministers, implored the Dutch that the negotiation might be resumed. A conference was at length begun at Gertruydenburgh, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorff, who were all, from private motives, averse to the treaty. Upon this occasion, the French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. Spies were placed upon all their conduct. Their master was insulted, and their letters were opened. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. The French commissioners offered to satisfy every complaint that had given rise to the war. They consented to abandon Philip of Spain; they even were willing to grant a supply towards the dethroning of Philip; but all their offers were treated with contempt. They were, therefore, compelled to return home, after having sent a letter to the states, in which they declared that the proposals made by their deputies were unjust and impracticable, and complained of the unworthy treatment they had received. Lewis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope that some lucky incident in the event of war, or some happy change in the ministry of England, might procure him more favourable concessions. But though the duke by this means protracted his power on the continent, all his influence at home was at an end. The members of the house of commons, that had been

elected just after Sacheverel's trial, were almost all Tories. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were sent and presented to the queen, confirming the doctrine of non-resistance; and the queen did not scruple to receive them with some pleasure. But when the conferences were ended at Gertruydenburgh, the avarice of the duke, and self-interested conduct of the Dutch, were too obvious not to be perceived. The writers of the Tory faction pretended, that while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests for the benefit of other nations, she was losing her liberty at home. They asserted, that her ministers were not contented with sharing the plunder of an impoverished state, but by controlling their queen, were resolved to seize upon its liberties also. The insolence of the duchess of Marlborough was now become insupportable to the queen, who had entirely withdrawn her confidence from her; and she was resolved to seize the first opportunity of shewing her resentment. Upon the death of the earl of Essex, who was colonel of a regiment under the duke of Marlborough, the queen resolved to bestow it on a person whom she knew was displeasing to him. She therefore sent him word, that she wished he would give it to Mr. Hill, brother to her favourite Mrs. Masham, as a person every way qualified for the command. The duke was struck with this request, which he considered as a previous step to his own disgrace. He represented to the queen the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of so young an officer, and the jealousy that would be felt by his seniors, never considering that he himself was a younger officer than many of those he commanded. He expostulated with her on this extraordinary mark of partiality in favour of Mrs. Masham's brother, who had treated him with such peculiar ingratitude. To all this the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. He retired in disgust. In the mean time the queen, who was conscious of the popularity of her conduct, went to the council, where she seemed not to take the least notice of the duke's absence. The whole junto of his friends, which almost entirely composed the council, did not fail to alarm her with the consequences of disobliging so useful a servant. She, therefore, for some time, dissembled her resentment; and sent the duke a letter, empowering him to dispose of the regiments as he thought proper. But still she was too sensibly mortified at many parts of his conduct, not to wish for his removal; though for the present she thought proper to continue him in his command. She acted with less duplicity towards the duchess, who supposing, from the queen's present condescension, that she was willing to be pacified, resolved once more to practise the long-forgotten arts by which she rose. She, therefore, demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, by tears, entreaties, and supplications. But her humiliations served only to render her more contemptible to herself. The queen heard her without exhibiting the least emotions of tenderness or pity. The only answer she gave to the other's entreaties, was a repetition of an insolent expression used in one of this lady's own letters to her: "You desired no answer, and you shall have none."

By insensible degrees, the queen seemed now to acquire courage enough to second her inclinations, and depose a ministry that had long been disagreeable to her. Harley, who still shared her confidence, did not fail to inculcate the popularity, the justice, and the security of such a measure; and upon his advice, she began the changes, by transferring the post of lord-chamberlain from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimate correspondence with Mr. Harley. Soon after the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was displaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room. Finding that she was rather applauded than condemned for this resolute proceeding, she resolved to free herself from those who

were become noxious to her. In these resolutions she was strengthened by the duke of Beaufort, who coming to court on this occasion, informed her majesty that he came once to pay his duty to the queen. The whole Whig party were in consternation; they influenced the directors of the bank, so far as to assure her majesty, that public credit would be entirely ruined by this change in the ministry. The Dutch presented memorials and threats, on account of this change; but the queen still went forward with her designs. Soon after the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, who was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and under-treasurer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers. The staff of lord-steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord-chancellor having resigned the great-seal, it was first put in commission, and then given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and that employment was conferred upon the duke of Ormond. Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary of war in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; and, in a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of the state, except the duke of Marlborough. He was still continued the reluctant general of the army; but he justly considered himself as a ruin entirely undermined, and just ready to fall. But the triumph was not yet complete, until the parliament was brought to confirm and approve the queen's choice. The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour. The parliament were ardent in their expressions of zeal and unanimity. They exhorted her to discountenance all such principles and measures as had so lately threatened the dignity of the crown. This was but an opening to what soon after followed. The duke of Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of their hatred. To mortify the duke, the thanks of the house of commons were voted to the earl of Peterborough for his services in Spain, when they were refused to him for those in Flanders.

In this ebullition of party-resentment, Harley, who first raised the ferment, still kept the appearance of moderation, and even became suspected by his more violent associates as a luke-warm friend to the cause. An accident increased his confidence with his own party, and fixed him for a time securely in the queen's favour*. The unsuccessful attempt upon his life by Guiscard, still more served to establish the credit of Harley; and as he appeared the enemy of France, no doubt was made but that he must be the friend of England.

The parish of Greenwich having petitioned the house of commons for assistance in rebuilding their church, a committee was appointed this year to examine the petition, and an instruction was given them to consider

what churches were wanting within the cities of London and Westminster. Upon this, the lower-house of convocation sent a solemn message by their prolocutors to the commons, to thank them for this instance of their regard to the welfare of the established church, and to offer such lights, as they were able to afford in relation to the extreme want of churches in London and Westminster. The commons immediately resolved, that they would receive all such informations; as should be offered in this case, by the lower-house of convocation; and would have a particular regard to such applications, as should at any time be made to them from the clergy in convocation assembled, according to the ancient usage, together with the parliament. Pursuant to this resolution, they passed a bill for the building fifty new churches, and gave the duty of one shilling a chaldron upon coals, from September 29, 1716, to September 29, 1719, for raising the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. This duty had been reserved for building St. Paul's, which was now finished.

Nothing now remained of the Whig system, upon which this reign was begun, but the war, which continued to rage as fierce as ever, and which increased in expence every year as it went on. It was the resolution of the present ministry to put an end to it at any rate, as it had involved the nation in debt almost to bankruptcy; and as it promised, instead of humbling the enemy, only to become habitual to the constitution. However, it was a very delicate point for the ministry, at present, to stem the tide of popular prejudice in favour of its continuance. The nation had been intoxicated with a childish idea of military glory; and panted for triumphs, which they neither saw nor felt the benefit of. The pleasure of talking at their entertainments and meetings of their distant conquests, and of extolling the bravery of their acquaintance, was all the return they were likely to receive for a diminished people, and an exhausted exchequer. The first doubts of the expedience of continuing the war, were introduced into the house of commons. The members made a remonstrance to the queen, in which they complained loudly of the former administration. They said, that in tracing the causes of the national debt, they had discovered great frauds and embezzlements of the public money. They affirmed, that irreparable mischief would have ensued, in case the former ministers had been continued in office; and they thanked the queen for their dismissal. Having thus prepared the nation, it remained only to remove the duke of Marlborough from his post, as he would endeavour to traverse all their negotiations. But here again a difficulty started; this step could not be taken without giving offence to the Dutch, who placed entire confidence in him; they were obliged, therefore, to wait for some convenient occasion. But in the mean time, the duke headed his army in Flanders, and led on his forces against marshal Villars, who seemed resolved to hazard a battle. His last attempt in the field is said, by those who understand the art of war, to have excelled every

* The marquis de Guiscard, alias abbot de la Bourlie, a French officer, who had made some useful informations relative to the affairs of France, thought himself ill rewarded for his services to the crown by a precarious pension of four hundred pounds a-year. He had often endeavoured to get to the speech of the queen, but was still repulsed, either by Harley, or St. John. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make peace with the court of France, and offered his service in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris. His letters, however, were intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high-treason. Conscious of his guilt, and knowing that the charge could be proved against him, he did not decline his fate, but resolved to sweeten his death by vengeance. Being conveyed before the council, convened at the Cock-pit, on the 8th of March, 1711, he perceived a poniard lying upon the table, and took it up without being observed by any of the attendants. When questioned before the members of the council, he endeavoured to evade his exami-

nation, and entreated to speak with Mr. secretary St. John in private. His request being refused, he said, "*Voilà qui est dur! pas un mot!*" "That's hard! not one word!" Upon which, as St. John was out of reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and crying out, "*J'en veux donc a toi!*" "Have at thee then!" he stabbed him in the breast with the poniard which he had concealed. The blade of the knife broke upon the rib, without entering the cavity of the breast; nevertheless he repeated his blow with such violence, that Harley fell to the ground. St. John perceiving what had happened, instantly drew his sword, and several others following his example, Guiscard was wounded in several places. But he still continued to strike and defend himself, till at last he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died in Newgate, of a gangrene, occasioned by the bruises which he had sustained, on the 17th of the same month.

former exploit. He contrived his measures so, that he induced the enemy, by matching and counter-marching, to quit a strong line of entrenchments without striking a blow, which he came and unexpectedly took possession of. The capture of Bouchain followed this enterprize, which capitulated after a siege of twenty days; and this was the last military expedition that the duke of Marlborough ever performed. And now, by a continuance of conduct and success, by ever advancing, and never losing an advantage, by gaining the enemies' posts without fighting, and the confidence of his own soldiers without generosity, the duke of Marlborough ended his campaigns, by leaving the allies in possession of a vast tract of country. They had reduced, under their command, Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault; they were masters of the Scarpe, and the capture of Bouchain had opened them a way into the very bowels of France. Upon his return from this campaign, he was accused of having taken a bribe of six thousand pounds a-year from a Jew, who contracted to supply the army with bread; and the queen thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, dated December 31, 1711, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received. She probably alluded to the insolence of his duchess; the subjection in which she had been kept by the late ministry owing to the intrigues of the duchess; and the pains lately taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct, and thwart her measures with respect to the peace. The duke wrote an answer to her majesty, vindicating himself from the charge which had been brought against his character; and his two daughters, the countess of Sunderland and the lady Railton, resigned their places of ladies in the bed-chamber. The ministry, in order to ascertain a majority in the house of lords, persuaded the queen to take a measure which nothing but necessity could justify. She created twelve peers * at once, and on the 2d of January, 1712, they were introduced into the upper house without opposition. The lord-keeper delivered to the house a message from the queen, desiring they would adjourn to the 14th of the month. The anti-courtiers alledged, that the queen could not send a message to any one house to adjourn, but ought to have directed it to both houses. This objection produced a debate, which was terminated in favour of the court by the weight of the twelve new peers.

The removal of the duke of Marlborough, says Tindal, was thought very extraordinary, after such long and eminent services; and was so little expected, that those, who looked for precedents, could find none since the disgrace of Belisarius in Justinian's time. The only thing pretended to excuse it was, his being considered as the head of those who opposed the peace, on which the court seemed to set their hearts.

For some time before the dismissal of Marlborough, a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministry. The ministers hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for all the subjects of Great Britain, as would silence all distraction. They were not so very mindful of the interests of the Dutch, as they knew that people to be but too attentive to those interests themselves. In order, therefore, to come as soon as possible to the end in view, the earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with

Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire for peace, and her wish for a renewal of the conference. This intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who was chaplain to the imperial ambassador, and a spy for the French court. The message was received with great pleasure at the court of France, and an answer was returned, ardently professing the same inclinations. This led the way to a reply, and soon after to a definitive memorial from the court of France, which was immediately transmitted to the Dutch by the queen, for their approbation. The states-general having perused the French memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would be more explicit in his offers towards settling the repose of Europe. In order to give the Dutch some satisfaction in this particular, a previous conference between the French and English courts took place. Matthew Prior, much more famous as a poet than a statesman, was sent over with proposals to France; and Menager, a man of no great station, returned with Prior to London, with full powers to treat upon the preliminaries. After many long and intricate debates, certain preliminary articles were at last agreed on, and signed by the English and French minister, in consequence of a written order from the queen.

Having proceeded thus far, the great difficulty still lay before the ministers, of making the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Stafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary Heinsius, the preliminary proposals, to signify the queen's approbation of them, and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The Dutch were averse to begin the conference, upon the inspection of the preliminaries. They sent over an envoy to attempt to persuade the queen from her resolution; but finding their efforts vain, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference, and they granted passports to the French ministers accordingly. Many were the methods made use of by the Dutch as well as by the Germans, to frustrate the negotiations of this congress. The emperor wrote circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their former engagements. His ambassador in London procuring a copy of the preliminary articles, had them inserted in a common news-paper, in order to throw blame upon the ministry, and render their proceedings odious to the people. The Dutch began to complain of perfidy, and laboured to raise a discontent in England against the measures then in speculation. The Whigs in London did not fail to second their efforts with all the arts of clamour, ridicule, and reproach. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were every day published by one faction, and the next were answered by the other. But the confederates took a step from which they hoped success from the greatness of the agent whom they employed. Prince Eugene, who had been long famous for his talents in the cabinet and in the field, was sent over with a letter from the emperor to the queen. But his intrigues, and his arts were unable to prevail; he found at court, indeed, a polite reception, such as was due to his merits and his fame; but at the same time such a repulse as the private proposals he carried seemed to deserve. Still measures for the conference were going forward, and the

* Lord Compton and lord Bruce, sons of the earl of Northampton and Aylesbury, were called up by writ to the house of peers. The other ten were these: lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created baron Hay of Bedwardin, in the county of Hereford; lord viscount Windsor, of Ireland, made baron Mountjoy, in the Isle of Wight; Henry Paget, son of lord Paget, created baron Burton, in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Mansel, baron Mansel of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willoughby, baron Middleton of Middleton, in the county of Warwick; Sir Thomas Trevor,

baron Trevor, of Bremham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, baron Lansdown, of Biddesford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Masham, baron Masham, of Oates, in the county of Essex; Thomas Foley, baron Foley, of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester; and Allen Bathurst, baron Bathurst, of Bathelden, in the county of Bedford. On the first day of their being introduced, when the question was put about adjourning, the earl of Wharton asked one of them, "Whether they voted by their foreman?"

ministers were determined to drive them on to a conclusion.

The conferences were begun at Utrecht, in January, 1712, under the conduct of Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Stafford, on the side of the English; of Buys and Vanderdussen, on the part of the Dutch; and of the marshal D'Uxelles, the cardinal Polignac, and M. Menager, in behalf of France. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy assisted, and the other allies sent also plenipotentiaries, though with the utmost reluctance. As England and France were the only two powers that were seriously inclined to peace, it may be supposed that all the other deputies served rather to retard than advance its progress. They met rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to quiet the dissensions of Europe. The emperor insisted upon his claim to the Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up his pretensions. The Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries, which Lewis had formerly rejected. They practised a thousand little arts to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Lewis, to blacken the characters of her ministry, and to keep up a dangerous ferment among the people. The English ministry were sensible of the dangerous and difficult task they had to sustain; therefore they hastened the peace, and this haste relaxed the English ministers' severity, in insisting upon such terms and advantages as they had a right to demand*. The French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht delivered their proposals in writing, under the name of specific offers, which the confederates treated with indignation and contempt, who, on the other hand, drew up their specific demands, which were considered as highly extravagant by the ministers of France. Conference followed conference; but still the contending parties continued as remote from each other as when they began. The English, willing to include their allies, if possible, in the treaty, departed from some of their secret pretensions, in order to gratify the Dutch with the possession of some towns in Flanders. They consented to admit that nation into a participation of some advantages in commerce. The queen, therefore, finding the confederates still obstinately attached to their first preliminaries, gave them to understand, that as they failed to co-operate with her openly and sincerely, and had made such bad returns for her condescension towards them, she looked upon herself as released from all engagements†.

The allies, deprived of the assistance of the English, still continued their animosity against the French, and were resolved to continue the war separately. They had the utmost confidence in prince Eugene, their general; and though lessened by the defection of the British forces, they were still superior to those of the enemy commanded by marshal Villars. But the loss of the British forces was soon severely felt by the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either destroyed or taken. The earl himself, and all the surviving officers, were made prisoners of war. These successes of Villars served to hasten the treaty of Utrecht. The great obstacle which retarded that peace which France and England seemed

so ardently to desire, was the settling the succession to the kingdoms of France and Spain. The danger that threatened the interests of Europe was, lest both kingdoms should be united under one sovereign; and Philip, who was now king of Spain, stood next in succession to the crown of France, except with the interposition of one child, (afterwards Lewis XV.) who was then sickly. Philip, however, after many expedients, at last resolved to wave his pretensions to the French monarchy, and the treaty went forward with rapidity and success.

In the beginning of August, 1712, secretary St. John, now created viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles to remove all obstructions to the separate treaty. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior, and the Abbé Guatier, and treated with the most distinguished marks of respect. He was caressed by the French king, and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria. This negotiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France. In the mean time the articles of the intended treaty were warmly canvassed among all ranks of people in London.

This year the Whigs affected to celebrate the anniversary of the late king's birth-day, in London, with extraordinary rejoicings. Mobs were hired by both factions; and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the lord-treasurer with some squibs in a band-box, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were alarmed, on the supposition that this nobleman favoured the pretender. Some disputes arising between the duke and lord Mohun, on the subject of a law-suit, furnished a pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the hector of the Whig party, sent a message by general Macartney to the duke, challenging him to single combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde Park, attended by Macartney and colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared, and escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy-council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the colonel seeing the duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raising the duke, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his Grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney, and the duchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The Tories exclaimed against this event as a party-duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin; and affirmed, that the Whigs had posted others of the same stamp all round Hyde Park, to murder the duke of Hamilton, in case he had triumphed over his

* With these views the English ministers, finding multiplied obstructions from the deliberations of their allies, set on foot a private negotiation with France. They stipulated certain advantages for the subjects of Great-Britain, in a concerted plan of peace. They resolved to enter into such mutual confidence with the French, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to the prejudice of the coalition. These articles were privately regulated between the two courts; but being the result of haste and necessity, they were not quite so favourable to the English interests as the sanguine parts of the nation were taught to expect.

† The first instance of displeasure which was shown to the confederates, was by an order given to the English army in Flanders not to act upon the offensive. Upon the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond had been

invested with the supreme command of the British forces; but with particular directions that he should not hazard an engagement. However, he joined prince Eugene at Tournay, who, not being made acquainted with the secret, advised the attacking Villars; but he soon found how affairs stood with his coadjutor. Ormond himself seemed extremely uneasy at his situation; and in a letter to the secretary in England, desired permission to return home. But the confederates were loud in their complaints; they expostulated with the ministers at Utrecht upon so perfidious a conduct; but they were told that letters had been lately received from the queen, in which she complained, that as the States-general had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprized, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures to obtain a peace for her own advantage.

antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs, on the other hand, affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The duke of Marlborough hearing himself accused as the author of those party mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, where he was followed by the dukes.

The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being agreed on by the plenipotentiaries on either side, and ratified by the queen, she acquainted her parliament of the steps she had taken. She informed them of her precautions to secure them the succession of a protestant king; and desired them to consider by her actions whether she ever meant to divide her interests from the house of Hanover. She left it to the commons to determine what forces, and what supplies might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. "Make yourselves safe, said she, and I shall be satisfied. The affection of my people, and the providence of Heaven, are the only guards I ask for my protection." Both houses returned warm addresses; and the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed on the 5th of May, 1713, to the inexpressible joy of the greater part of the nation*. The Dutch and Imperialists, after complaining of the desertion in their allies, resolved to hold out for some time. But they also soon after concluded a peace; the one by the barrier treaty, and the other by the treaty of Rastadt, in which their interests were ascertained, and the treaty of Utrecht confirmed.

The English now freed from their foreign enemies, had full leisure to indulge their domestic dissensions. The two parties never contended with greater animosity, nor greater injustice, against each other. No merit could be allowed in those of the opposite faction, and no knavery seen in their own. Whether it was at this time the wish of the ministers to alter the succession of the crown from the house of Hanover to the pretender, cannot now be clearly made out; but true it is, that the Whigs believed it as certain, and the Tories but faintly denied the charge. The suspicions of that party became every day stronger, particularly when they saw a total removal of the Whigs from all places of trust and confidence throughout the kingdom, and their employments bestowed on professed Tories, supposed to be maintainers of an unbroken hereditary succession. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending or affecting to apprehend, a design in favour of the pretender; nay, their reports went so far as to assert that he was actually concealed in London, and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state†. Be this as it will, the chief of the Whig party held secret conferences with baron Schutz, resident from the court of Hanover. They communicated their fears

and apprehensions to the elector, who, before he arrived in England, or considered the spirit of parties, was thoroughly prejudiced against the Tories. In return they received his instructions, and were taught to expect his favour in case of his succession. The house of lords seemed to share in the general apprehension. The queen was addressed to know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain. They begged she would give them a list of such persons as having been once attainted for their political misconduct, had obtained licences to return into Great-Britain since the revolution. Mr. Steele, afterwards the celebrated Sir Richard Steele, was not a little active in raising and spreading these reports. In a pamphlet written by him, called the Crisis, he bitterly exclaimed against the ministry, and the immediate danger of their bringing in the pretender. The house of commons considered this performance as a scandalous and seditious libel; and Steele was expelled the house, of which he was a member. But while the Whigs were attacking the ministers from without, these were in much greater danger from their own internal dissensions. Harley was created lord Oxford, and St. John lord Bolingbroke. Though they had started with the same principles and designs, yet having vanquished other opposers, they now began to turn their strength against each other. Never were two tempers worse matched to carry on business together. Oxford, cautious, slow, diffident, and reserved; Bolingbroke, hot, eager, impetuous, and proud; the first of great erudition, the latter of great natural capacity; the first obstinate in command, the other reluctant to obey; the first bent on maintaining that rank in the administration, which he had obtained upon the dissolution of the last ministry; the other disdaining to act as a subaltern to a man whom he thought himself able to instruct. Both, therefore, began to form separate interests, and adopt different principles. Oxford's plan was the more moderate, Bolingbroke's the more vigorous, but the less secure. Oxford, it is thought, was entirely for the Hanover succession; Bolingbroke had some hopes of bringing in the pretender. But though they hated each other most sincerely, yet they were for a while kept together by the good offices of their friends and adherents, who had the melancholy prospect of seeing the citadel of their hopes, while openly besieged from without, secretly undermining within. This was a mortifying prospect to the Tories; but it was more particularly displeasing to the queen, who daily saw her favourite ministry declining, while her own health kept pace with their contentions. Her constitution was now quite broken. One fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind. The council-chamber was for some time turned into a scene of obstinate dispute, and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. As Oxford foresaw that the Whig ministry would force themselves in, he was for moderate mea-

* The first stipulation was, that Philip, now acknowledged king of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of Europe. It was agreed that the duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and after him in succession, should also renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in case he became king of France. It was stipulated that the duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily, with the title of king, together with Fenestrelles, and other places on the continent; which increase of dominion was, in some measure, made out of the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had that barrier granted them, which they so long sought after; and if the crown of France was deprived of some dominions to enrich the duke of Savoy, on the other hand the house of Austria was taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to England, its glory and its interests were secured. The fortifications of Dunkirk, an harbour that might be dan-

gerous to their trade in time of war, were ordered to be demolished, and its port destroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. France resigned her pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but they were left in possession of Cape Breton, and the liberty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among those articles glorious to the English nation, their setting free the French protestants confined in the prisons and galleys for their religion was not the least meritorious. For the emperor it was stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The king of Prussia was to have Upper Guelder; and a time, the 1st of June, was fixed for the emperor's acceding to these articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negotiation.

† While the conferences were carried on at Utrecht, the chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonstrance to the ministers at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prejudice.

fores. Bolingbroke, on the contrary, was for setting the Whigs at defiance, and flattered the queen, by giving way to all her favourite attachments. At length, their animosities coming to an height, Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of public transactions, in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the duke of Marlborough to return home from his voluntary exile, and of maintaining a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this, and the intrigues of lady Masham, who now seconded the aims of Bolingbroke, Oxford was removed from his employments, and his rival seemed to triumph in his new victory. This paltry triumph was but of short duration. Bolingbroke for a while seemed to enjoy the confusion he had made; and the whole state being driven into disorder by the suddenness of the treasurer's fall, he sat secure, considering that he must be called upon to remedy every inconvenience. But the queen's declining health soon began to give him a dreadful prospect of his own situation, and the triumph of his enemies. As no plan had been adopted for supplying the vacancy of treasurer, the queen was perplexed and harrassed with the choice, and she had no longer strength left to support the fatigue. It had such an effect upon her spirits and constitution, that she declared she could not outlive it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that the day after they despaired of her life, and the privy-council was assembled on the occasion, July 30, 1714. The dukes of Somerset and Argyle being informed of the desperate state in which she lay, entered the council-chamber without being summoned, not a little to the surprize of the Tory members, who did not expect their appearance. The duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired them to take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still in her senses, the council unanimously agreed to recommend the duke of Shrewsbury, as the fittest person to fill the place of lord-treasurer. When this opinion was intimated to the queen, she said, they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord-chamberlain's staff, but she desired he would keep them both: so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts in the kingdom, under the titles of lord-treasurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland*.

Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigour which the dukes of Somerset and Argyle exerted on this occasion. They proposed, that all privy-counsellors in or about London should be invited to attend, without distinction of party. The motion was approved; and lord Somers, with many other Whig members, repaired to Kensington. The council being thus reinforced, began to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were immediately dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood in London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British battalions

in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible expedition: an embargo was laid upon all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, signifying that the physicians had despaired of the queen's life; informing him of the measures they had taken; and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her majesty's decease. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the earl of Stafford at the Hague, to desire the States-general would be ready to perform the guarantee of the protestant succession. The heralds at arms were kept in waiting with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new king as soon as the throne should become vacant. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; to overawe the Jacobites in Scotland; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley.

This day, July 30, the queen seemed somewhat relieved by medicines, rose from her bed about eight o'clock, and walked a little. After some time, casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual; to which the queen only answered, by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was soon after seized with a fit of the apoplexy, from which, however, she was somewhat recovered by the assistance of doctor Mead. She continued all night in a state of stupefaction. She gave some signs of life between twelve and one the next day; but expired the following morning, August 1, a little after seven o'clock, in the fiftieth year of her age†.

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antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs, on the other hand, affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The duke of Marlborough hearing himself accused as the author of those party mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, where he was followed by the dukes.

The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being agreed on by the plenipotentiaries on either side, and ratified by the queen, she acquainted her parliament of the steps she had taken. She informed them of her precautions to secure them the succession of a protestant king; and desired them to consider by her actions whether she ever meant to divide her interests from the house of Hanover. She left it to the commons to determine what forces, and what supplies might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. "Make yourselves safe, said she, and I shall be satisfied. The affection of my people, and the providence of Heaven, are the only guards I ask for my protection." Both houses returned warm addresses; and the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed on the 5th of May, 1713, to the inexpressible joy of the greater part of the nation*. The Dutch and Imperialists, after complaining of the desertion in their allies, resolved to hold out for some time. But they also soon after concluded a peace; the one by the barrier treaty, and the other by the treaty of Rastadt, in which their interests were ascertained, and the treaty of Utrecht confirmed.

The English now freed from their foreign enemies, had full leisure to indulge their domestic dissensions. The two parties never contended with greater animosity, nor greater injustice, against each other. No merit could be allowed in those of the opposite faction, and no knavery seen in their own. Whether it was at this time the wish of the ministers to alter the succession of the crown from the house of Hanover to the pretender, cannot now be clearly made out; but true it is, that the Whigs believed it as certain, and the Tories but faintly denied the charge. The suspicions of that party became every day stronger, particularly when they saw a total removal of the Whigs from all places of trust and confidence throughout the kingdom, and their employments bestowed on professed Tories, supposed to be maintainers of an unbroken hereditary succession. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending or affecting to apprehend, a design in favour of the pretender; nay, their reports went so far as to assert that he was actually concealed in London, and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state†. Be this as it will, the chief of the Whig party held secret conferences with baron Schutz, resident from the court of Hanover. They communicated their fears

and apprehensions to the elector, who, before he arrived in England, or considered the spirit of parties was thoroughly prejudiced against the Tories. In return they received his instructions, and were taught to expect his favour in case of his succession. The house of lords seemed to share in the general apprehension. The queen was addressed to know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain. They begged she would give them a list of such persons as having been once attainted for their political misconduct, had obtained licences to return into Great-Britain since the revolution. Mr. Steele, afterwards the celebrated Sir Richard Steele, was not a little active in raising and spreading these reports. In a pamphlet written by him, called the Crisis, he bitterly exclaimed against the ministry, and the immediate danger of their bringing in the pretender. The house of commons considered this performance as a scandalous and seditious libel; and Steele was expelled the house, of which he was a member. But while the Whigs were attacking the ministers from without, these were in much greater danger from their own internal dissensions. Harley was created lord Oxford, and St. John lord Bolingbroke. Though they had started with the same principles and designs, yet having vanquished other opposers, they now began to turn their strength against each other. Never were two tempers worse matched to carry on business together. Oxford, cautious, slow, diffident, and reserved; Bolingbroke, hot, eager, impetuous, and proud; the first of great erudition, the latter of great natural capacity; the first obstinate in command, the other reluctant to obey; the first bent on maintaining that rank in the administration, which he had obtained upon the dissolution of the last ministry; the other disdaining to act as a subaltern to a man whom he thought himself able to instruct. Both, therefore, began to form separate interests, and adopt different principles. Oxford's plan was the more moderate, Bolingbroke's the more vigorous, but the less secure. Oxford, it is thought, was entirely for the Hanover succession; Bolingbroke had some hopes of bringing in the pretender. But though they hated each other most sincerely, yet they were for a while kept together by the good offices of their friends and adherents, who had the melancholy prospect of seeing the citadel of their hopes, while openly besieged from without, secretly undermining within. This was a mortifying prospect to the Tories; but it was more particularly displeasing to the queen, who daily saw her favourite ministry declining, while her own health kept pace with their contentions. Her constitution was now quite broken. One fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind. The council-chamber was for some time turned into a scene of obstinate dispute, and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. As Oxford foresaw that the Whig ministry would force themselves in, he was for moderate mea-

* The first stipulation was, that Philip, now acknowledged king of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of Europe. It was agreed that the duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and after him in succession, should also renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in case he became king of France. It was stipulated that the duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily, with the title of king, together with Fenestrelles, and other places on the continent; which increase of dominion was, in some measure, made out of the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had that barrier granted them, which they so long sought after; and if the crown of France was deprived of some dominions to enrich the duke of Savoy, on the other hand the house of Austria was taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to England, its glory and its interests were secured. The fortifications of Dunkirk, an harbour that might be dan-

gerous to their trade in time of war, were ordered to be demolished, and its port destroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. France resigned her pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but they were left in possession of Cape Breton, and the liberty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among those articles glorious to the English nation, their setting free the French protestants confined in the prisons and galleys for their religion was not the least meritorious. For the emperor it was stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The king of Prussia was to have Upper Guelder; and a time, the 1st of June, was fixed for the emperor's acceding to these articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negotiation.

† While the conferences were carried on at Utrecht, the chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonstrance to the ministers at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prejudice.

fores. Bolingbroke, on the contrary, was for setting the Whigs at defiance, and flattered the queen, by giving way to all her favourite attachments. At length, their animosities coming to an height, Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of public transactions, in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the duke of Marlborough to return home from his voluntary exile, and of maintaining a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this, and the intrigues of lady Masham, who now seconded the aims of Bolingbroke, Oxford was removed from his employments, and his rival seemed to triumph in his new victory. This paltry triumph was but of short duration. Bolingbroke for a while seemed to enjoy the confusion he had made; and the whole state being driven into disorder by the suddenness of the treasurer's fall, he sat secure, considering that he must be called upon to remedy every inconvenience. But the queen's declining health soon began to give him a dreadful prospect of his own situation, and the triumph of his enemies. As no plan had been adopted for supplying the vacancy of treasurer, the queen was perplexed and harrassed with the choice, and she had no longer strength left to support the fatigue. It had such an effect upon her spirits and constitution, that she declared she could not outlive it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that the day after they despaired of her life, and the privy-council was assembled on the occasion, July 30, 1714. The dukes of Somerset and Argyle being informed of the desperate state in which she lay, entered the council-chamber without being summoned, not a little to the surprize of the Tory members, who did not expect their appearance. The duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired them to take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still in her senses, the council unanimously agreed to recommend the duke of Shrewsbury, as the fittest person to fill the place of lord-treasurer. When this opinion was intimated to the queen, she said, they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord-chamberlain's staff, but she desired he would keep them both: so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts in the kingdom, under the titles of lord-treasurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland*.

Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigour which the dukes of Somerset and Argyle exerted on this occasion. They proposed, that all privy-councillors in or about London should be invited to attend, without distinction of party. The motion was approved; and lord Somers, with many other Whig members, repaired to Kensington. The council being thus reinforced, began to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were immediately dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood in London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British battalions

in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible expedition: an embargo was laid upon all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, signifying that the physicians had despaired of the queen's life; informing him of the measures they had taken; and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her majesty's decease. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the earl of Stafford at the Hague, to desire the States-general would be ready to perform the guarantee of the protestant succession. The heralds at arms were kept in waiting with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new king as soon as the throne should become vacant. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; to overawe the Jacobites in Scotland; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley.

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C H A P. II.

G E O R G E I.

THE two factions which had for many years held the nation in a state of division, and which have hitherto been distinguished by the appellation of Whig and Tory, now seemed to change their names; and as the former epithets appeared to have lost much of their virulence by constant use, the Whigs were now denominated Hanoverians, and the Tories were branded with the name of Jacobites. The former boasted of a protestant king, the latter of an hereditary monarch; the former urged the wisdom of their new monarch, and the latter alledged that their's was an Englishman. It is easy to perceive, that the choice would rest upon him whose wisdom and religion promised the people the greatest security. The Jacobites had long been flattered with the hopes of seeing the succession altered by the new ministry. Ungrounded hopes and impracticable schemes, seem to have been the only portion bequeathed to that party. They now found all their expectations blasted by the premature death of the queen. The diligence and activity of the privy-council, the general ridicule which attended their inconsistent conduct, served only to make their confusion the greater. Upon recollection they found nothing so eligible in the present crisis, as silence and submission; they hoped much from the assistance of France, and still more from the popularity and counsels of the pretender*.

In pursuance of the act of succession, George I. son of Ernest-Augustus, first elector of Brunswick, and the princess Sophia, grand-daughter to James I. ascended the British throne. His mature age, he being now fifty-four years old, his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general tranquillity of Europe, all contributed to establish his interests, and to promise him a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid, he was of a very different disposition from the Stuart family, whom he succeeded. These were known to a proverb, for leaving their friends in extremity; George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, was heard to say, "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends; to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." To these qualifications of resolution and perseverance, he joined great application to business. However, one fault with respect to England remained behind; he studied the interests of those subjects he had left, more than of those he came to rule.

On the death of the queen † the privy-council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the elector appointed several of his adherents to be added as lords justices to the seven great offices of the kingdom ‡. Orders also were immediately issued out for proclaiming George king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth, and appointed Mr. Addison, author of the

Spectator, secretary of state. To mortify the late ministry, lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage, among the servants, with his bag of papers, where there were persons purposely placed to insult and deride him. No tumult appeared, no commotion arose against the accession of the new king, and this gave a strong proof that no rational measures were ever taken to obstruct his exaltation. The king first landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From his landing-place he walked to his house in the park, accompanied by several of the nobility and other persons of distinction. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession. But the duke of Ormond, the lord-chancellor, and the lord-treasurer, found themselves excluded. Lord Oxford, the next morning, presented himself with an air of confidence, supposing that his rupture with Bolingbroke would compensate for his former conduct. But he had the mortification to remain a considerable time unnoticed among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any circumstance of peculiar respect. The king expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, who had just arrived from the continent, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party. This was in no wise pleasing to the Tories.

The Whigs, while they pretended to secure the crown for their king, were with all possible arts confirming their own interests, extending their connections, and giving laws to their sovereign. An instantaneous and total change was made in all the offices of trust, honour, or advantage. The Whigs governed the senate and the court; whom they would, they oppressed; bound the lower orders of people with severe laws, and kept them at a distance by vile distinctions; and then taught them to call this—LIBERTY!

The partialities thus shewn soon raised great discontentment among the people; and the king's attachment considerably increased the malcontents in every part of the kingdom. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived, and the people only seemed to want a leader to excite them to insurrection. Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich, and Reading, still remembered the spirit with which they had declared for Sacheverel; and now the cry was, "Down with the Whigs! and Sacheverel for ever!" During these commotions, which were fomented by every art, the pretender himself continued a calm spectator on the continent: this seems to have been the best time for him to have struck his greatest blow; but he only sent over his emissaries to disperse his ineffectual manifestoes, and delude the unwary. In these papers he observed, that the late queen had intentions of calling him to the crown. He expostulated with his people upon claiming a foreign prince for their sovereign, contrary to the laws of the country that gave him only the real claim. Copies of a printed address were sent to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction, vindicating his right to the crown, and complaining of the injustice of his people §. Yet though he still complained of their conduct, he never took one step to reform his own, or to correct that objection upon which his

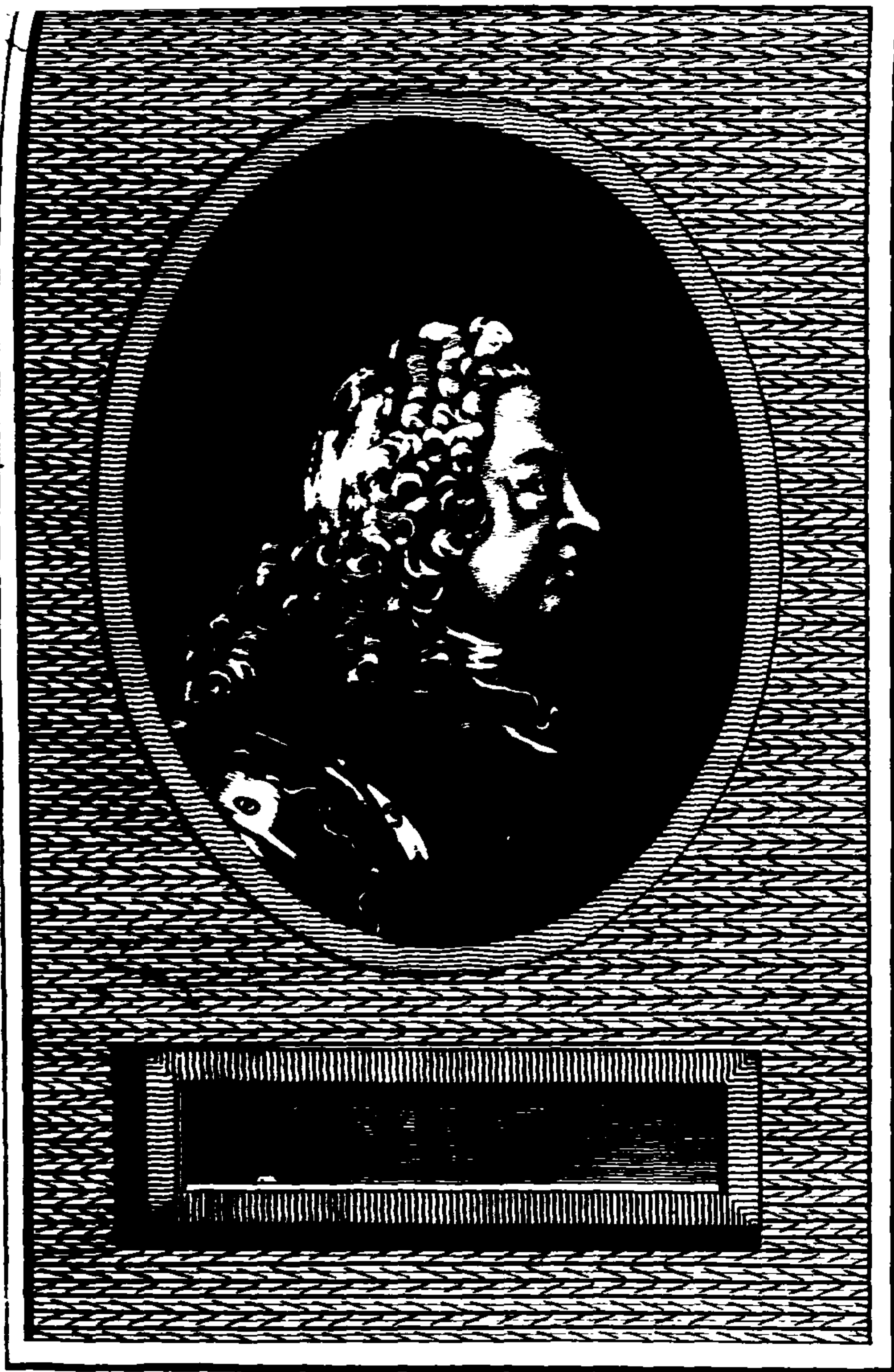
* This unfortunate man seemed to possess all the qualities of his father; his pride, his want of perseverance, and his attachment to the Roman catholic religion. He was but a poor leader, therefore unfit to conduct so desperate a cause; and, in fact, all the sensible part of the kingdom had forsaken it as irretrievable.

† The chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand, that the king of France expected he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. The regency of England having issued a proclamation for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds for seizing the pretender, they were informed that the

pretender's friends in Scotland designed an insurrection; and that some of them had been seen to go in arms towards the Highlands.

‡ These were the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxburgh; the earls of Pomfret, Anglesey, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Oxford; lord viscount Townshend, and lords Halifax and Cowper.

§ These papers being delivered to the secretaries of state, the king refused an audience to the marquis de Lambert, minister from the duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The marquis having



his father had forfeited the throne. He still continued to profess the truest regard to the catholic religion; and instead of concealing his sentiments on that head, gloried in his principles. He expected to ascend the throne against a very powerful opposition, and that by professing the very same principles by which it had been lost. But however odious the popish superstition was to the bulk of the people at that time, the principles of the dissenters were equally displeasing. It was against them and their tenets, that mobs were excited, and riots became frequent. It was now said, by the Tories, that impiety and heresy were daily gaining ground under a Whig administration. It was asserted, that the bishops were so lukewarm in favour of the church, and so ardent in pursuit of temporal advantages, that every vice was rearing its head without controul. The doctrines of the true religion were left exposed on every side, and open to the attacks of the Socinians on the one, and of the catholics on the other. The lower orders of the clergy sided with the people in these complaints; they pointed out to the ministry several tracts written in favour of Socinianism and Arianism. The ministry not only refused to punish the delinquents, but silenced the clergy themselves, and forbade their future disputations on such topics. This injunction answered the immediate purpose of the ministry; it put a stop to the clamour of the populace, fomented by the clergy; but produced a worse disorder in its train: it produced a negligence in all religious concerns*.

The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation†. Upon the first meeting of which, the Whigs, for it was almost wholly composed of that party, with the king at their head, for he took no care to conceal his partialities, carried every thing their own way, and nothing was expected but the most violent measures against the late ministry; nor were the expectations of mankind disappointed. The king acquainted the house of commons that the branches of the revenue, appointed for the support of the civil government, were not sufficient for that purpose. He warned them, that the pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England to repair his former disappointments. He intimated also, that he expected their assistance in punishing such as endeavoured to deprive him of that blessing he most valued, the affection of his people. As the houses were predisposed to violent measures, this served to give them the alarm; and they outwent even the most sanguine expectations of the most vindictive ministry. The lords in their answer to the king's speech, proffered their hopes that the king would be able to recover the reputation of the continent, the loss of which they affected to deplore. The commons went much farther: they declared their resolution to trace out those measures by which the country was depressed: they resolved to seek after those abettors on whom the pretender seemed to ground his hopes, and they determined to bring such to condign punishment. Mr. secretary Stanhope openly asserted, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used by the

late ministry to prevent a discovery of their hidden transactions, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet there was still sufficient evidence left to prove their corruptions and treasons. He added, that these proofs would soon be laid before the house, when it would appear that the duke of Ormond had acted in concert, if not received orders from the French general. The house seemed very well inclined to enter into any impeachment; and there was no restraint to the violence of their measures, but the voice of a multitude without doors, intimidated by the resolution of the present rulers‡. In the present tumultuous situation of the cabinet, the former ministry could expect neither justice nor mercy. A part of them kept away from business; Bolingbroke had hitherto appeared and spoke in the house as usual; but his fears now prevailed over his desire to vindicate his character; and finding an impeachment was likely to be made, he withdrew to the continent§. A committee was soon after appointed, consisting of twenty persons, to inspect all the papers relative to the late negotiation for peace; and to pick out such of them as might serve as subjects of accusation against the late ministry. After some time spent in this disquisition, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the committee, declared to the house that a report was drawn up; and in the mean time, moved that a warrant might be issued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house, were immediately taken into custody, June 9, 1715. He then read the report of the committee, in which a number of charges were exhibited against the queen's ministers. The clandestine negotiation with Mr. Menager; the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers; the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general; Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a separate peace; these and some other charges were recited against them, and then Walpole impeached lord Bolingbroke of high treason. This struck some of the members with amazement, as there was nothing in the report that any way amounted to treason; but they were still more astonished, when, June 10, lord Coningsby, rising up, was heard to say, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford, and earl of Mortimer, of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors." When lord Oxford appeared in the house of lords the day following, he was avoided by the peers as infectious; and he had now an opportunity of discovering the baseness of mankind. When the articles were read against him in the house of commons, a warm debate arose upon that in which he was charged with having advised the French king of the manner of gaining Tournay from the Dutch. Mr. Walpole alledged that it was treason. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a known Whig, said that he could never be of opinion that it amounted to treason. It was his principle, he said, to do justice to all men, to the highest

having communicated this circumstance to the duke, that prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the chevalier de St. George came into Lorrain by the directions of the French king, whom the duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion. Notwithstanding this apology, the marquis was given to understand that he could not be admitted to an audience until the pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master: he therefore, quitted the kingdom without farther hesitation. Smollett.

* Nothing can be more impolitic in a state than to hinder the clergy from disputing with each other; they thus become more animated in the cause of religion, and which side soever they defend, they become wiser and better as they carry on the dispute. To silence argument in the clergy, is to encourage them in sloth and neglect; if religion be not kept awake by opposition, it sinks into silence, and no longer continues an object of public concern. Goldsmith.

† In this proclamation the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; and of their having

misrepresented his conduct and principles. He expressed hopes, that his subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders. He entreated that they would elect such in particular as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger.

‡ It was the artifice, during this and the succeeding reign, to stigmatize all those who testified their discontent against government, as papists and Jacobites. All who ventured to speak against the violence of their measures, were reproached as designing to bring in the pretender; and most people were consequently afraid to murmur, since discontent was so near a-kin to treason. The people, therefore, beheld the violence of their conduct in silent fright, internally disapproving, yet not daring to avow their detestation. Goldsmith.

§ Upon his departure he left a letter, in which he declared, that if there had been any hopes of a fair and open trial, he would not have declined it; but being already prejudiced in the minds of the majority, he thought fit, by flight, to consult their honour and his own safety.

and the lowest. He hoped he might pretend to some knowledge of the laws, and would not scruple to declare upon this part of the question in favour of the criminal. To this Walpole answered, with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and exceeded him in the knowledge of the laws, and yet were satisfied that the charge in that article amounted to high treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached lord Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, demanding, at the same time, that he might lose his seat, and be committed to custody. When this point came to be debated in the house of lords, a violent altercation ensued. Those who still adhered to the deposed minister maintained the injustice and the danger of such a proceeding. At last the earl himself rose up, and, with great tranquillity, spoke to the following purpose. After observing that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation for, and the conclusion of the peace, "I am accused, says he, for having made a peace; a peace which, bad as it is now represented, has been approved by two successive parliaments. For my own part, I always acted by the immediate directions and command of the queen, my mistress, and never offended against any known law. I am justified in my own conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. But I cannot, without the highest ingratitude, remain unconcerned for the best of queens; obligation binds me to vindicate her memory. My lords, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign; are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the case of all the members of this august assembly. I doubt not, therefore, that out of regard to yourselves, your lordships will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that in the prosecution of this enquiry, it will appear that I have merited not only the indulgence, but the favour of this government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps, for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress. And when I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content. And, my lords, God's will be done." On his return from the house of lords to his own house, where he was for that night permitted to go, he was followed by a great multitude of people, crying out, "High church, Ormond and Oxford for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of his impeachment, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared that if the earl should be sent to the Tower, his life would be in danger, it was carried in the house that he should be committed. The ferment in the house still continued; and the earl of Anglesey declared, that such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This increased the tumult; and though much greater liberties have been since taken by that party against their sovereign, yet Anglesey was then obliged to apologize for this expression. Oxford was attended in his way to the Tower, on the 11th of July, by a prodigious concourse of people, who vented their anger at his commitment in imprecations upon his prosecutors. These unjustifiable measures of the commons were answered with equal violence without doors. Tumults became every day more frequent, and every tumult served to increase the severity of the legislature.

At the specified time, Oxford's answer to the charges exhibited against him was delivered into the house of lords, from whence it was transmitted to the house of

commons. Walpole having heard it read, declared that it contained little more than a repetition of the pamphlets in vindication of the late ministry, and that it maliciously laid upon the queen the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into. He alledged, that it was also a libel on the proceedings of the house, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. In consequence of this a committee was appointed to manage his impeachment, and to prepare evidence against him. By this committee it was reported that Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within a limited time, it was ordered that the earl marshal should raze out their names and arms from among the list of peers; and inventories were taken of their estates and possessions, which were declared forfeited to the crown. In this manner an indiscriminate vengeance seemed to pursue the persons who composed the late ministry, and who concluded a more beneficial treaty of peace than England ever obtained either before or since. In consequence of these proceedings lord Oxford was confined in the Tower, where he continued for two years, during which time the nation was in a continual ferment from an actual rebellion that was carried on unsuccessfully. After the execution of some lords, who were taken in arms, the nation seemed glutted with blood, and that was the time that lord Oxford petitioned to be brought to his trial. He knew that the fury of the nation was spent on objects that were really culpable, and expected that his case would look like innocence itself, when compared to their's. A day, June 13, 1717, at his own request was assigned him, and the commons were ordered to prepare for their charge. At the appointed time the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-Hall, where lord Cowper presided as lord high-steward. The king, and the rest of the royal family, with the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity. The earl was conducted from the Tower by water, on the 24th of the same month; the articles of his impeachment were read, with his answers, and the reply of the commons. As Sir Joseph Jekyl stood up to make good the first article of the charge, which amounted only to misdemeanors, lord Harcourt represented to the lords, that it would be tedious and unnecessary to go through the whole of the charges alledged against the earl; that if those only were proved, in which he was impeached of high treason, the earl would then forfeit his life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. He was therefore of opinion, that the commons should not be admitted to proceed upon the more unimportant part of the accusation, until judgement should be first obtained upon the articles for high treason. In this the lords agreeing, the commons declared that it was their undoubted privilege to impeach a peer either for treason, or a misdemeanor, or to mix the accusation as they thought proper. The lords asserted, that it was a right inherent in every court of justice to direct methods of proceeding in that court. The commons demanded a conference; but this was refused. The dispute grew warm; the lords informed the lower-house by message, that they would proceed to the trial; the commons disregarded the information, and refused to attend. On the 1st of July, the lords repairing to Westminster-Hall, and commanding the earl to be brought forth, his accusers were ordered to appear. But finding the commons resolute, having waited a quarter of an hour, it was voted that the prisoner should be set at liberty. To this dispute he probably owed the security of his title and fortune; for as to the articles, importing him guilty of high treason, they were at once malignant and frivolous; so that his

* They now passed an act, declaring, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour, after being required to disperse by a

justice of peace, or other officer, and after hearing the act against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

life was in no manner of danger. On the 3d of the same month, he took his place in the house of peers, but was forbid the court. Two days afterwards the commons, some of whom had designed to proceed against him by way of attainder addressed the king, that he might be excepted out of the Act of Grace*.

The duke of Ormond was accused in a similar manner with the earl of Oxford; and it is thought that his correspondence with the pretender was better ascertained than his accusers at first thought proper to declare. However, Mr. Hutcheson, one of the commissioners of trade, boldly spoke in his defence. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; he enumerated the services he had performed to the crown; he asserted that the duke had only obeyed the queen's commands; and affirmed, that all the allegations against him could not, in the utmost rigour of the law, be construed into high treason. His flight was a sufficient answer to the arguments; having refused to defend his innocence, his opposers were resolved to condemn him as guilty†.

The commons were not less determined against lord Stafford, against whom articles of impeachment were likewise voted. However, he was afterwards included with others in an act of indemnity, and found safety among the number that were driven into guilt, and then thought worthy of pardon.

During these transactions the flames of rebellion were kindled in Scotland, where, to their other grievances they joined that of the union, which they were taught to consider as an oppression. The malcontents of that country had all along maintained a correspondence with their friends in England, who were now driven by resentment and apprehension into a system of politics they would not otherwise have thought of. Some of the Tory party, who were men attached to the protestant religion, of moderate principles in government, began to associate with the Jacobites, and to wish in earnest for a revolution. Scotland first shewed them an example. The earl of Mar assembled three hundred of his own vassals in the Highlands, proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Braemaer, assuming the title of lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces. To second these attempts, two vessels arrived in Scotland from France, with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers, together with assurances to the earl, that the pretender himself would shortly come over to head his own forces. The earl in consequence of this promise, soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men, well armed and provided. He secured the pass of Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea coast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He marched from thence to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-Bridge; where he received information of the preparations the duke of Argyle was making, who was raising forces in order to advance against him. This nobleman, whose family had suffered so much under the Stuart line, was still possessed of his hereditary hatred; and upon this occasion he was appointed commander in chief of all the forces of North Britain. The earl of Sutherland also went down to Scotland to raise forces for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers followed the example. The earl of Mar being informed that the duke was advancing against him from Stirling, with the discontented clans, assisted by some troops from Ireland, at first thought it wisest to retreat. But being soon after joined by some of the clans under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, an experienced officer, who had signalized himself in the Russian service, he resolved to face the enemy, and

accordingly marched towards the south. The duke of Argyle, apprized of his intentions, and willing to prove his attachment to the present government, resolved to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine, though his forces did not amount to half the number of the enemy. He drew up his army in order of battle; but he soon found himself greatly outflanked by the enemy. The duke perceiving the earl making attempts to surround him, was obliged to alter his disposition, which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not done so expeditiously as to be finished before the rebels began the attack. The left wing, therefore, of the duke's army received the center of the enemy, and supported the first charge without shrinking. It seemed even for a while victorious, as the earl of Clanronald, who commanded against it, was killed on the spot: but Glengary, who was second in command, undertook to inspire his intimidated forces; and waving his bonnet, cried out several times, "Revenge!" This animated the rebel troops to such a degree, they followed him close to the points of the enemies bayonets, and got within their guard. A total rout began to ensue of that wing of the royal army; and general Wetham, their commander, flying to Stirling, gave out that all was lost, and that the rebels were completely victorious. In the mean time the duke of Argyle who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. Having thus entirely broken that wing and driven them over the river Allen, he returned to the field of battle, where he found the enemy victoriously and patiently waiting the assault. However, instead of renewing the engagement, both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither caring to begin the attack. At evening both claimed the victory. Though the possession of the field was kept by neither, yet certainly all the honour, and all the advantages of the day, belonged only to the duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the progress of the enemy; for, in their circumstances, delay was defeat. In fact, the earl of Mar soon found his disappointments and his losses increase. The castle of Inverness, of which he was in possession, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto professed to act in the interest of the pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine forsook the earl, in order to defend his own part of the country; and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned quietly home, for an irregular army is much easier led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

The rebellion was still more unsuccessfully prosecuted in England. From the time the pretender had undertaken this wild project at Paris, in which the duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke were engaged, lord Stair, the English ambassador at the French court, had penetrated all his designs, and sent faithful accounts of all his measures, and all his adherents, to the ministry at home. Upon the first rumour of an insurrection, they imprisoned several lords and gentlemen, of whom they entertained the least suspicion. The earls of Home, Wintown, and Kinnoul, and others, were committed to the castle of Edinburgh. The king obtained leave from the lower-house to seize Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Harvey, Combe, and others. The lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody. Sir William Wyndham's father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance, but his surety was rejected.

These precautions, however, were not able to stop the insurrection in the western counties, where it was

* The Act of Grace was passed July 15, 1717.

† The night he took leave of England, it is said he paid a visit to lord Oxford, who dissuaded him from flying with as much earnestness as the duke entreated Oxford to fly. He bid his friend the last adieu, with these words, "Farewel Oxford,

without an head." "To which the other replied, "Farewel duke, without a duchy." He afterwards continued to reside chiefly in Spain, an illustrious exile, and fruitlessly attached to a master unworthy of his services.

already begun. All their preparations were weak and ill conducted, every measure was betrayed to government as soon as projected, and many revolts repressed in the very outset. The university of Oxford was treated with great severity on this occasion. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would instantly shoot any of the students, who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. The insurrection in the northern counties came to greater maturity. In October, 1715, the earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Forster, took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender. Their first attempt was to seize upon Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but finding the gates shut against them, they were obliged to retire to Hexham. To oppose these, general Carpenter was detached by government, with a body of nine hundred men, and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had two methods by which they might have conducted themselves with prudence. The one was to march directly into the western parts of Scotland, and there join general Gordon, who commanded a body of highlanders. The other was to cross the Tweed, and boldly attack general Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed their own. From the infatuation attendant on that party, neither of these measures were pursued. They took the rout to Jedburgh, where they hoped to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. This was the effectual means to cut themselves off either from retreat or assistance. A party of highlanders, who had joined them by this time, at first refused to accompany them in their desperate eruption, and about half of them actually returned to their own country. At Brampton, Mr. Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent him from the earl of Mar, and there he proclaimed the pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriffs, assisted by lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole *posse-comitatus* of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith they proceeded, by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, to Preston, of which place they took possession, without resistance. This was the last stage of their ill-advised incursion; for general Willis, at the head of seven thousand men, advanced to the town with a view to attack them. They now began to raise barricadoes, and to put the place in a posture of defence. On the 12th of November the town was briskly attacked in two different places: but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day general Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, and the rebels were invested on all sides. The highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the king's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were over-ruled. Forster sent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Willis, to propose a capitulation. He was given to understand, that the general would not treat with rebels; but, in case of their surrendering at

discretion, he would prevent his soldiers from putting them to the sword, until he should receive further orders. He granted them time to consider till next morning, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages. When Forster submitted, this highlander declared he could not promise that the Scots would surrender in that manner. The general desired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every one of them should be cut in pieces. The Scottish nobleman did not choose to run the risque; and persuaded the highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard*.

By the ill success of these expeditions, the pretender might have been convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in supposing that the whole country would rise up in his cause. His affairs were actually desperate; yet with his usual infatuation, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when such a measure was too late for success. Passing, therefore, through France in a disguise, and embarking in a vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived, after a voyage of a few days, on the coast of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his train. He passed unknown through Aberdeen to Feterosse, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. There he was solemnly proclaimed. His declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and dispersed. He went from thence to Dundee, where he made a public entry, and in two days more he arrived at Scoon, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings to be made for his safe arrival: he enjoined the ministers to pray for him in their churches; and, without the smallest share of power, went through the ceremonies of royalty, which threw an air of ridicule on all his conduct. Having thus spent some time in unimportant parade, he resolved to abandon the enterprize with the same levity with which it was undertaken. Having made a speech to his grand council, he informed them of his want of money, arms, and ammunition for undertaking a campaign, and therefore deplored that he was compelled to leave them. He once more embarked on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, accompanied with several lords, his adherents, and in five days arrived in Graveline. General Gordon, who was left commander in chief of the forces, with the assistance of the earl marshal, proceeded at their head to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northwards, which took on board such persons as intended to make their escape to the continent. He then continued his march through the Highlands, and quietly dismissed his forces as he went forward. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake his rear, which consisted of a thousand horse. In this manner ended a rebellion, which nothing but imbecility could project, and nothing but rashness support! But though the enemy was now no more, the fury of the victors did not seem in the least to abate with success. The law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches, whom

* All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and ensign Erskine, were tried by a court martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool: the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate. Such was the success of two expeditions set on foot in favour of the pretender, in neither of which appears the smallest traces of conduct or design. But the conduct of his party on this side the water was wisdom itself, compared to that with which it was managed at Paris. Bolingbroke there had been made his secretary, and Ormond his prime minister. But these statesmen quickly found that

nothing could be done in favour of his cause. The king of France, who had ever espoused the interest of the abdicated family, was just dead; and the duke of Orleans, who succeeded in the government of the kingdom, was averse to lending the pretender any assistance. His party, however, which was composed of the lowest, and the most ignorant exiles from the British dominions, affected the utmost confidence, and boasted of a certainty of success. The deepest secrets of his cabinet, and all his intended measures, were bandied about in coffee-houses by persons of the lowest rank, both in fortune and abilities. Subaltern officers resolved to be his generals; and even prostitutes were entrusted to manage his negotiations. Little, therefore, could be expected from such affidavits and such councils!

the ministry seemed resolved not to pardon. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared they would prosecute, in the most rigorous manner, the authors of the late rebellion; and their resolutions were as speedy, as their measures were vindictive. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Wintown, the lords Widrington, Kenmuir, and Nairne, were impeached, and upon pleading guilty, all but lord Wintown received sentence of death. No entreaties could soften the ministry to spare these unhappy men. The house of lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect; the king only answered, that on this, and all other occasions, he would act as he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of his people. Orders were accordingly dispatched for executing the lords Derwentwater, Nithisdale, and Kenmuir immediately; the rest were respited to a farther time. Nithisdale, however, had the good fortune to escape in women's cloaths, which were brought him by his mother the night before his intended execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought to the scaffold on Tower-Hill at the time appointed. Both underwent their sentence with calm intrepidity, on the 24th of February, 1716, pitied by all, and seemingly less moved themselves, than those who beheld them. Derwentwater was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate: the poor, the widow, and the orphan, rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. He was a devout member of the English church; but the other died in the faith of Rome: both adhered to their political principles.

To second these vindictive efforts, an act of parliament was made for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms*. In the beginning of April, 1716, commissioners for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills of high treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mr. Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded not guilty, and had time granted them to prepare for their trials. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life, but acquitted. Yet notwithstanding this, Mackintosh and several others broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The court proceeded to the trial of those that remained; four or five were drawn, hanged, and quartered, at Tyburn. Among these William Paul, a clergyman, attracted peculiar pity; he professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of that schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned their king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical privileges. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a considerable number guilty of high treason. Two-and-twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester; about a thousand prisoners experienced the king's mercy, if such it may be called, to be transported to North-America. Such was the end of a rebellion probably at first hastened forward by the rigour of the new Whig ministry and parliament.

The rebellion, being now crushed, served only to confirm the overgrown arrogance of those at the head of affairs. The parliament had shewn itself eager to second the views of the ministry; and the pretended danger of the state was made a pretext for continuing

the parliament beyond the term fixed for its dissolution. An act, therefore, was made by their own authority, repealing that by which they were to be dissolved every third year, and the term of the duration was extended to seven years†. Domestic concerns being adjusted, the king began to turn his thoughts to his Hanoverian dominions, and resolved upon a voyage to the continent. He foresaw a storm gathering from Sweden. As Charles XII. the extraordinary monarch of that country, was highly provoked against him for having entered into a confederacy with the Russians and Danes in his absence, and for having purchased the towns of Bremen and Verden from the king of Denmark, which constituted a part of his dominions; George, therefore, having passed through Holland to Hanover, in order to secure his German dominions, entered into a new treaty with the Dutch and the regent of France; by which they agreed mutually to assist each other in case of an invasion. Nor were his fears from Sweden without foundation; Charles maintained a close correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great-Britain; and a scheme was formed for the landing a considerable body of Swedish forces, with the king at their head, in some part of the island, where it was expected they would be joined by all the malcontents in the kingdom. Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish minister in London, was peculiarly active in the conspiracy; but being seized with all his papers, by order of the king, the confederacy was broke for this time. However, a bill was passed by the commons, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, the trade with which country was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. A supply of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds was granted the king to enable him to secure his dominions against the threatened invasion. These were the first fruits of England's being wedded to the continent; however, the death of the Swedish monarch, who soon after was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Frederichshall in Norway, put an end to all disquietude from that quarter.

In this age of making treaties and forming political combinations, the Quadruple Alliance must not be forgotten. It was agreed upon between the emperor, France, England, and Holland, that the emperor should renounce all pretension to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy; that the successions to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessor should die without male issue. However, this treaty was by no means agreeable to the king of Spain, and consequently it became prejudicial to the English, as it interrupted the commerce to that kingdom. But the interest of England was not the object which this treaty was intended to secure. The displeasure of the king of Spain soon broke out into an open war against the emperor, whom he considered as the chief contriver of this alliance; and a numerous body of Spanish troops were sent into Italy to support Philip's pretensions in that quarter. It was in vain that the regent of France attempted to dissuade him, in vain, the king of England offered his mediation; their interposition was rejected as partial and unjust. War, in the present and exhausted state of the English finances, was a real evil; but a rupture with Spain was resolved on, in order to support a very distant interest. A squadron of twenty-two ships was equipped with expedition, and the command given to Sir George Byng, who was ordered to sail for Naples, which was then threatened by the Spanish army. He was received with the greatest demonstration of joy by the inhabitants of that city, and was informed that

* This proceeding was considered, by some of the best lawyers, as an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, by which it was confirmed, that every prisoner should be tried in the place where the offence was committed.

† This attempt, in any delegated body of people, to increase their own power, by extending it, is contrary to the first principle of justice.

If it was right to extend their duration to seven years, they might also perpetuate their authority; and thus cut off even the shadow of nomination. This bill, however, passed both houses, and all objections to it were considered as disaffection. The people might murmur at their encroachment, but it was too late for redress.

the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand men, were then actually landed in Sicily. In this exigence, as no assistance could be given by land, he resolved to sail thither, fully determined to pursue the Spanish fleet on which they had embarked. Upon doubling cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels, and following them closely, they led him to their main fleet, which before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting to twenty-seven sail. However, the Spanish fleet, upon perceiving the force of the English, attempted to bear away, though superior in number. The English had for some time acquired such expertness in naval affairs, that no other nation would attempt to face them but with manifest advantage. The Spaniards seemed distracted in their councils, and acted with extreme confusion. They made a running fight, and the commanders behaved with courage and activity; in spite of which they were all taken except three, which were preserved by the conduct of Cammoc, their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland. This action was fought on the 31st of July, 1718. Sir George Byng behaved on this occasion with equal prudence and resolution, and the king wrote him a letter, with his own hand, approving his conduct. This victory necessarily produced the resentment and complaints of the Spanish ministers in all the courts of Europe; and hastened the declaration of war upon the part of the English, which had been hitherto delayed.

The rupture with Spain served once more to raise the declining expectations of the pretender and his adherents. It was hoped, that by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited in England. The duke of Ormond was the person fixed upon to conduct this expedition; and he obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand more. But fortune was still as unfavourable as ever. Having set sail and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he was encountered by a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and frustrated the expedition. This misfortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily, and other parts of Europe, induced Philip to wish for peace; and he at last consented to sign the Quadruple Alliance. This was at that time thought an immense acquisition; but England, though she procured the ratification, had no share in the advantage of the treaty. The king having thus given peace once more to Europe, returned from the continent to receive the addresses and congratulations of his parliament. From addressing they proceeded to an object of a much greater importance; this was the securing the dependency of the Irish parliament on that of Great Britain*. It was begun in 1719-20.

This blow, which was felt severely by the Irish, was by no means so great as that felt by the English at this time, from that spirit of scheming avarice, which had infected all ranks of people. We mean the South-sea Scheme, a project the effects of which was felt long after by thousands, and is even now remembered with horror by the descendants of those who were the more immediate objects of its delusion. To explain the nature of this delusion as concisely as possible, it is observed, that

ever since the revolution under king William, the government not having sufficient supplies granted by parliament, or what was granted requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from several different companies of merchants; and, among the rest, from that company which traded to the South-Sea. In the year 1716, the government was indebted to this company about nine millions and a half of money, for which they granted at the rate of six *per cent.* interest. As the South-sea company was not the only one to which the government was indebted, and paid such large yearly interest, Sir Robert Walpole conceived a design of lessening these national debts, by giving the several companies an alternative either of accepting lower interest, namely five *per cent.* or of being paid the principal. The different companies chose rather to accept of the diminished interest, than to be paid the principal. The South-sea company, in particular, having made up their debt to the government, ten millions, instead of six hundred thousand pounds, which were usually received as interest, were satisfied with five hundred thousand. In the same manner the governors and company of the Bank, and other companies, were contented to receive a diminished annual interest for their respective loans; all which greatly lessened the debt of the nation. It was in this situation of things that one Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking, proposed to the ministry in the name of the South-sea company, to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms he offered to government were extremely advantageous. The South-sea company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private proprietors, who were creditors to the government, upon whatever terms they could agree on; and for the interest of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they would be contented to be allowed by government, for six years, five *per cent.* then the interest should be reduced to four *per cent.* and should at any time be redeemable by parliament. Thus far all was fair, and all was reasonable. For these purposes a bill passed both houses; but now came the part of the scheme big with fraud and ruin. As the directors of the South-sea company could not of themselves be supposed to possess money sufficient to buy up all the debts of the nation, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription to a scheme for trading in the South-seas, from which commerce immense advantages were promised, and still greater expected by the rapacious credulity of the people. All people, therefore, who were creditors to government, were invited to come in, and exchange their securities, namely, the government for the South-sea company. Many were the advantages they were taught to expect from having their money traded with in a commerce to and from the southern parts of America, where it was reported that the English were to have a new settlement granted them by the king of Spain. The directors' books were no sooner opened for the first subscription, but crowds came to make the exchange of government stock for South-sea stock. The delusion was artfully continued and spread. Subscriptions in a few days sold

* The following is the substance of what gave rise to this extraordinary circumstance: One Maurice Annelly had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree made by the house of peers in Ireland, and this decree was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annelly in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree of the lords in that kingdom. The barons of the exchequer obeyed this order; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to diminish the privileges of the parliament of Ireland; and at the same time ordered the barons to be taken under the custody of the black-rod. On the other hand, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted

with courage and fidelity, and addressed the king to signify his approbation of their conduct by some marks of his favour. To complete their intention a bill was prepared, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right of final jurisdiction. This bill was opposed in both houses, but particularly in that of the commons. It was there asserted, by Mr. Pitt, that it would only increase the power of the English peers, who already were but too formidable. Mr. Hungerford demonstrated, that the Irish lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding causes. Notwithstanding all opposition, the bill was carried by a great majority, and soon after received the royal assent.

for double the price they had been bought at*. The scheme succeeded beyond even the projectors' hopes, and the whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprize. The infatuation prevailed; the stock encreased to a surprizing degree, and to near ten times the value of what it was first subscribed for. After a

few months, however, the people waked from their dream of riches, and found that all the advantages they expected were merely imaginary, while thousands of families were involved in one common ruin. Many of the directors, by whose arts the people were taught to expect such great benefits from a traffic to the South-seas,

* In March, 1720, the South-sea stock gradually rose from one hundred and thirty to above three hundred *per cent.* and even advanced to near four hundred; but, after a great deal of fluctuation, it settled at about three hundred and thirty. On the 12th of April following, subscriptions were taken in for a million at three hundred *per cent.* On the 23d of the same month, the company opened their books for a second subscription of a million at four hundred *per cent.* On the 19th of May, the directors settled the terms and prices of the long and short annuities, allowing seven hundred pounds capital stock for every one hundred pounds *per annum*, of the long annuities, and for every ninety pounds *per annum*, of the short annuities, allowing three hundred and fifty pounds capital stock. Their stock was then at three hundred and seventy-five *per cent.* About the 30th of the same month South-sea stock was at five hundred and fifty *per cent.* and in two days it rose to eight hundred and ninety pounds *per cent.* The same day it fell to six hundred and forty, but in the evening it was fixed at seven hundred and fifty: so great was the difference of value in the South-sea stock! On the 22d of June, the company's books were closed. A few days before, many persons that were to follow the king to Hanover, and others who found it difficult to make their second payment to the first subscription, withdrew their money, and the price of stocks began rapidly to fall: but, in order to keep up their credit, the managers devised two expedients, which proved very successful. Money now becoming more plentiful, the company opened their books for a third subscription, at one thousand pounds for each one hundred pounds capital stock, to be paid in ten equal payments. In a short space of time the lists became so full, that the directors enlarged the subscription to four millions capital stock, which, at one thousand pounds *per cent.* amounted to forty millions sterling. These last subscriptions were, before the close of this month, sold at above two hundred pounds *per cent.* advance, and after the shutting of the transfer-books, the original stock rose to above one thousand pounds *per cent.* At the same time, the first subscriptions were at five hundred and sixty, and the second at six hundred and ten pounds *per cent.* advance. On the 8th of July, the company resolved to open their books for taking in subscriptions of the lottery tickets, and other short annuities, to the amount of six millions sterling. During this whole month (July) the South-sea company's transfer-books were shut, in the course of which the price of the capital stock decreased gradually from one thousand to nine hundred and thirty, and nine hundred pounds *per cent.* including the Midsummer dividend. On the 17th of August, the South-sea stock fell to eight hundred and thirty, including the Midsummer dividend; but by reason of a considerable quantity of stock being bought in by the directors, it rose to eight hundred and eighty. However, as the humour of selling continued the two following days, the stocks fell again to eight hundred and twenty, at which the transfer-books were opened on the 22d; when the directors came to a sudden resolution to shut the transfer-books; and, the next day, to open other books for taking in a money subscription of one million to the capital stock, at the rate of one thousand pounds for every one hundred pounds capital stock. The books being opened accordingly on the 24th, the intended sum was subscribed in less than three hours; so great was the infatuation of the deluded multitude! Two days after, the transfer-books were again opened; but South-sea stock, instead of advancing, being fallen under eight hundred *per cent.* the directors thought fit to lend their proprietors four thousand pounds upon every one thousand pounds stock for six months at four *per cent.* but the annuitants being very clamorous and uneasy, the directors came to a resolution, that thirty *per cent.* in money should be the half-year's dividend due at Christmas next; and from thence for twelve years, not less than fifty *per cent.* in money should be the yearly dividend on the stock. Though this resolution raised the stock to about eight hundred pounds for the opening of the books, yet it soon sunk again. On the 8th of September, a general court of the company was held at Merchant Taylor's Hall, wherein the resolution just mentioned was approved. Notwithstanding this approbation, the stock fell the same day to six hundred and forty, and on the morrow to five hundred and fifty *per cent.* Hereupon the directors resolved to open the transfer-books on the Monday following, and the stock, in consequence of this resolution, rose to six hundred and forty. But the stock still continuing to sink, the directors made some secret advances towards an union with the East-India company; which not being accepted, they next

courted the assistance of their rival, the Bank of England. This circumstance raised so great an expectation, that, upon a report, that they had made an agreement to circulate six millions of the South-sea company's bonds, the stock rose immediately (Sept. 12) to six hundred and seventy; but, in the afternoon, as soon as that report was proved to be groundless, (O the disappointment!) the stock fell again to five hundred and eighty, the next day to five hundred and seventy, and so gradually to four hundred. After great solicitation, in about ten days, the Bank agreed to subscribe three millions seven hundred thousand pounds, which the South-sea company was to repay the Bank at Lady-Day and Michaelmas, 1721, into the stock of the South-sea company; for which the Bank were to have such shares as the funds would produce, the stock being valued at four hundred pounds *per cent.* This was the famous Bank-Contract, of which the original draft was drawn by Robert Walpole, Esq. but which the directors of the Bank thought proper afterwards to drop. When the books were opened at the Bank, for taking in a subscription for supporting the public credit, the concourse of people was at first so great, that it was judged, the whole subscription, which was for three millions, would have been filled that day. But the fall of the South-sea stock, and the discredit of that company's bonds, occasioned a run upon the most eminent goldsmiths and bankers, some of whom having lent out great sums upon South-sea stock, and other public securities, were reduced to so low an ebb, that they were obliged to shut up their shops. The Sword-Blade company also, who had been hitherto the chief cash-keepers of the South-sea company, being drained of almost all their ready money, were forced to stop payment. All this occasioned a great run upon the Bank. In the mean time the South-sea stock continued sinking, till the 29th of the month, (Michaelmas-Day,) when it was not above one hundred and fifty *per cent.* At a general court holden the day following, the South-sea company agreed to allow the proprietors of the redeemable annuities, and of the other funds, the same terms, in all respects, as the Bank. On the 25th of November the parliament met, but was prorogued to the 8th of December. Upon this prorogation the South-sea stock fell from two hundred to one hundred and thirty-five; but, upon the report of an agreement of the directors of the South-sea, with those of the Bank and East-India companies, it rose again to two hundred and ten. Such was the variation in the value of the South-sea stock! The parliament having met, passed an order, on the 12th of December, commanding the directors of the South-sea company to lay before them an account of all their proceedings, &c. which was accordingly done on the 24th of the same month; when Mr. Shippen moved, that the directors of that company should lay before the house the calculations or inducements, on which they took the third and fourth money subscriptions at one thousand pounds *per cent.* and grounded the resolutions of making such dividends as thirty *per cent.* at Christmas, and not less than fifty *per cent.* *per annum* for twelve years after. This motion was agreed to, as was another for laying before the house a list of the directors of the South-sea company, with the names of the treasurer, secretary, and accountant, and the original books of the minutes of the committee of treasury of the company, since December 25, 1719, with a copy of the bye-laws. On the 4th of January, 1721, Sir Joseph Jekyl, having represented, that, before they proceeded any farther, they ought to secure the persons and estates of those they had reason to look upon as the authors of the public misfortunes; he therefore moved for a bill to restrain the sub-governor, deputy-governors, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants of the South-sea company, from going out of the kingdom for the space of one year, and till the end of the next session of parliament, and for discovering their estates and effects, and preventing the transporting or alienating the same. This being agreed to, they resolved, That a committee should be appointed to enquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-sea act; and that the number should be thirteen, and chosen by ballot. To them were referred the several books and papers, which were laid before the house by the South-sea company; and they were afterwards voted a committee of secrecy. The same day lord Hinchinbroke made a motion, that the directors, &c. might be taken into custody, lest the more criminal might withdraw from the kingdom, before the bill could possibly be carried through both houses. Hereupon the directors petitioned to be heard by counsel against the bill, but they petitioned in vain. Earl Stanhope proposed, That the

seas, had amassed immense fortunes, by the credulity of the public. It was, however, a consolation to the people to find the parliament sharing the general indignation, and resolving to strip those plunderers of their unjust possessions. Orders were first given to remove all the directors of the South-sea company from their seats

the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not, should be confiscated to make good the public losses. On the 11th his majesty gave orders, that all South-sea directors, enjoying any place under government, should be immediately removed. On the day following, the sub and deputy-governors, about twenty-four of the directors, Robert Knight, treasurer, Mr. Surman, deputy-treasurer, and other inferior officers attended the house of lords, and were examined at the bar; being called in again, the lord-chancellor reprimanded them, in very severe terms, for delivering to the house imperfect and partial accounts, and for having ordered their clerks to omit several material things in the copies that had been laid before the house. On the 14th the commons issued an order for securing the papers belonging to Mr. Knight, Mr. Surman, Mr. Turner, Sir George Caswal, and Mr. Grigsby. Surman and Grigsby were likewise ordered to be taken into custody; as were also Sir John Blount, and Sir John Lambert, two of the directors, and Sir John Fellows, sub-governor of the company. On the 22d Robert Knight, the company's cashier, absented himself from his house, and the next morning embarked on board a vessel in the river, which carried him the same day to Calais. A proclamation was now published for apprehending him, with a reward of two thousand pounds; and another to stop the ports, in order to prevent any of the directors from leaving the kingdom. On the 24th, when Sir Theodore Janssen and Mr. Sawbridge, two of the members, came into the house of commons, they were voted guilty of a notorious breach of trust, as directors of the South-sea company, and were consequently expelled the house, and taken into custody, with Sir Robert Chaplin, and Francis Eyles, two other directors, and members of parliament. The same day the lords examined Mr. Joyce, the deputy-governor, who made a free confession, and communicated Mr. Knight's letter to Surman. After this Sir William Chapman, and Messrs. Hoiditch, Hawes, Gibbon, and Chester, all late directors, were ordered to be seized, together with their papers. Two days after, Sir Harcourt Masters and Mr. Astell, were examined by the lords. These gentlemen discovered, that several large sums, in South-sea stock, had been given to several persons, both in the administration, and in the house of commons, for procuring the passing the South-sea act. This discovery occasioned several vigorous resolutions. On the 29th it was resolved, "That the declaring thirty pounds *per cent.* dividend for the half-year, ending at Christmas, and fifty pounds *per cent.* *per annum*, for no less than twelve years after, was a villainous artifice to delude and defraud his majesty's subjects." February 3, Robert Knight was seized at Tirlmont, a village twenty-five miles S. E. of Brussels, by order of the marquis de Prié, governor of the Austrian Netherlands, and imprisoned in the citadel of Antwerp. Hereupon both houses addressed his majesty to use his utmost endeavours to procure the delivering up of Knight's person, together with his papers and effects; but the states of Brabant positively refused to consent to it. On the 4th, Sir John Blount, the chief projector of the South-sea scheme, was brought before the lords. He refused to answer such interrogatories as might be put to him; and this refusal occasioned a long debate, wherein some severe reflections were made on the ministry. Earl Stanhope, the secretary, spoke with such vehemence in their vindication, that he burst a vessel in his head, and died the next day. Soon after the committee of secrecy made their first report to the house of commons, whereby it appeared, that before the passing the South-sea act, and before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock, of no less than five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the passing the bill: *viz.* for the earl of Sunderland, at the request of Mr. Craggs, senior, fifty thousand pounds; for the duchess of Kendal and three others, ten thousand pounds a-piece; for Mr. Craggs, senior, thirty thousand pounds; for Charles Stanhope, ten thousand pounds; for the Sword-Blade company, fifty thousand pounds, &c. It also appeared that Mr. Aislabe, who resigned his offices of chancellor of the exchequer, and one of the lords of the treasury, Jan. 24, had great quantities of stock given him. And in the account of stock sold, the names of several members of parliament, not concerned in the administration appeared. This report was followed by six others. Hereupon the commons came to several resolutions, and a bill was ordered to be brought in, for the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-sea company. When that part of the report of the secret committee, relating

in parliament, and the places they possessed under government. The principal delinquents were punished by a forfeiture of all such possessions and estates as they had acquired during the continuance of this popular phrenzy. The next care was to redress the sufferers. Several useful and just resolutions were taken by parliament, and

to John Aislabe, Esq. came to be considered, on the 8th of March, Mr. Hawes's deposition against him, "That he had caused the book of accounts between them, to be burnt, and given him a discharge for the balance, amounting to eight hundred and forty-two thousand pounds," appeared so strong, that the commons came to several resolutions against him, particularly, that he had promoted the destructive execution of the South-sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, &c. and therefore he was expelled the house, and ordered to be committed to the Tower. Two days afterwards Sir George Caswal, sheriff of London, and a member, was expelled the house, &c. On the 15th the earl of Sunderland's case, and that of Charles Stanhope, Esq. with regard to the fifty thousand pounds and the ten thousand pounds, &c. as above-mentioned in the first report, were taken into consideration; and, after some debates, they were acquitted. On the 16th died James Craggs, senior, Esq. (to whom fifty thousand pounds in South-sea stock had been presented by the directors of that company,) leaving an immense fortune, gotten by the ruin of many thousands, to his three daughters, married to Mr. Trefusis, Mr. Newsham, and Mr. Elliot. April 2, several petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, were presented to the parliament, crying for justice; and pamphlets were daily published, exasperating the minds of the people against the South-sea directors and their abettors. The directors having delivered into the house of commons inventories of their estates, it was debated on the 17th of the month what allowance should be given them. Some proposed an eighth part; but it was at last agreed, that the affair of each director should be particularly considered, and more or less favour shewn, according as they should appear more or less guilty. The value of their estates as given in upon oath, amounted to about two millions fourteen thousand pounds; of which three hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds were left to the proprietors; *viz.* the greatest allowance fifty thousand pounds to one, and the least to another eight hundred pounds. The commons having taken into consideration the case of James Craggs, senior, Esq. deceased, resolved, on the 11th of May, that a large quantity of South-sea stock had been held by the company for his use, and that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore that all the estate he was possessed of from the 1st of December, 1719, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-sea company. On the 28th of July, the commons presented to the king a copy of their several resolutions in favour of the sufferers by the South-sea scheme, accompanied with an excellent address.—The particulars of the estates of the governors and directors of the South-sea company, together with the allowances which were afterwards made to them by the government, were as follow:

	Inventories.			Allowances.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Sir John Fellows, sub-governor, - - - - -	243,096	0	6	10,000	0	0
Mr. Charles Joye, deputy-governor, - - - - -	40,105	2	0	5,000	0	0
Mr. Astell, - - - - -	27,750	19	8	5,000	0	0
Sir John Blount, - - - - -	183,349	10	8	1,000	0	0
Sir Lambert Blackwell, - - - - -	83,529	17	11	10,000	0	0
Sir Robert Chaplin, - - - - -	45,875	14	5	10,000	0	0
Sir William Chapman, - - - - -	39,161	6	8	10,000	0	0
Mr. Chester, - - - - -	140,372	15	6	10,000	0	0
Mr. Child, - - - - -	52,437	19	1	10,000	0	0
Mr. Delaport, - - - - -	17,151	4	6	10,000	0	0
Mr. Eyles, - - - - -	34,329	16	7	20,000	0	0
Mr. Edmondson, - - - - -	5,365	0	0	3,000	0	0
Mr. Gibbon, - - - - -	106,543	5	6	10,000	0	0
Mr. Gore, - - - - -	38,936	15	5	20,000	0	0
Mr. Hawes, - - - - -	40,031	0	2	1,031	0	0
Sir William Hammond, - - - - -	22,707	4	2	10,000	0	0
Mr. Horsey, - - - - -	19,062	5	3	10,000	0	0
Mr. Holditch, - - - - -	39,517	10	4	5,000	0	0
Sir Theodore Janssen, - - - - -	243,241	3	11	5,000	0	0
Sir Jacob Jacobson, - - - - -	11,481	4	0	11,000	0	0
Mr. Ingram, - - - - -	16,795	0	0	10,000	0	0
Sir John Lambert, - - - - -	72,508	1	5	5,000	0	0
Sir Harcourt Masters, - - - - -	11,811	13	3	1,800	0	0
Mr. Morley, - - - - -	1,569	10	3	1,000	0	0
Mr. Page, - - - - -	34,817	11	3	1,000	0	0

a bill was speedily prepared for repairing the late sufferings, as far as the inspection of the legislature could extend. Of the profits arising from the South-sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was given back to the original proprietors; several additions were also made to their dividends, out of what was possessed by the company in their own right, and the remaining capital stock was also divided among the old proprietors, at the rate of THIRTY-THREE pounds *per cent.*!

The discontents of the nation occasioned by the villainy of the South-sea scheme, once more gave the disaffected party hopes of succeeding; but in all their counsels they were weak, divided, and wavering. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, is said to have been the first who gave the king information of a recent conspiracy carried on by many persons of the first distinction, joined by several malcontents of inferior quality. In consequence of this information, which was given in the beginning of May, 1722, a camp was formed in Hyde Park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective stations. Lieutenant-general Macartney was dispatched to Ireland to bring over troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were called upon to be ready with their guaranty. The people thus excited by new terrors, every day expected an invasion, and looked where the vengeance of government was likely to fall.

On the 16th of June, died at Windsor, John

	Inventories.			Allowances.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Mr. Raymond, - - -	64,373	6	3	30,000	0	0
Mr. Read, - - - -	117,297	16	0	10,000	0	0
Mr. Reynolds, - - -	18,368	13	2	14,000	0	0
Mr. Sawbridge, - - -	77,254	1	8	5,000	0	0
Mr. Tillard, - - - -	19,175	14	4	15,000	0	0
Mr. Turner, - - - -	881	17	6	800	0	0
Mr. Surman, deputy-cashier, - - - -	121,321	10	0	5,000	0	0
Mr. Grigsby, - - - -	31,087	6	0	2,000	0	0

Some alterations were afterwards made in the above statement of allowances. Mr. Astell had ten thousand pounds, Sir John Blount five thousand pounds, Sir Lambert Blackwell fifteen thousand pounds, and Mr. Hawes five thousand pounds.

In May, 1725, a report of the trustees appointed to raise money on the estates of the late South-sea directors, was presented to the house of commons, setting forth, that the estates sold by them amounted to one million seven hundred and eighty nine thousand one hundred and twelve pounds, and upwards. In the beginning of April, 1726, the amount of the sale of the late South-sea directors estates, was one million nine hundred and eighty-four thousand three hundred and fifty-two pounds. There then remained unsold eight hundred and nine thousand pounds.

We have been thus particular in our account of the South-sea company's affairs, 1. Because so many families were ruined by its destructive projects; 2. Because many feel the effects of it even at this day; and, 3. Because it is never reflected on but with the utmost abhorrence of the directors and their scheme. We cannot, however, dismiss the subject, without reciting a few of the observations which were made by some of the members during the debates concerning the allowances to be made to the several directors out of their respective estates. They began with Sir John Fellows, the sub-governor, in whose behalf Mr. Sloper moved, "That, since it did not appear, that he had been so active in the late vile and pernicious practices as some others, he might be allowed twenty thousand pounds out of his estate." Mr. Hungerford reduced it to fifteen thousand pounds, others to twelve thousand, and Mr. Walpole having at last proposed ten thousand pounds, it was agreed to without any division. As Mr. Joyce, the deputy-governor, appearing to have been deeply concerned in the guilt, it was agreed to allow him only five thousand pounds. The allowance to Sir John Blount occasioned a long debate. Mr. Lawrence Carter moved to allow him one shilling only; lord James Cavendish one thousand pounds; Mr. Plummer five thousand; Sir Joseph Jekyl ten thousand; which was seconded by general Rolle, lord Moletworth, Mr. Jeffreys, and Mr. Windsor; but Mr. Sloper, Mr. John Smith, Mr. Horace Walpole, and Mr. Milner, were of opinion, that he ought to be most severely punished. Mr. Sloper said, "That he was grown to that height of pride and insolence, that he could not give a civil answer to persons far above him; influencing in his behaviour one day at the treasury, when a relation to a great man asking

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Churchill, baron of Aymouth, in Scotland, and of Sandridge in the county of Hertford, marquis of Blandford, and earl and duke of Marlborough. He died about four o'clock in the morning in the seventy-fourth year of his age; and was interred on the 9th of August following in great funeral pomp in Westminster-Abbey.

The first person who was seized by an order of council, on account of the conspiracy just mentioned, was Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, who was apprehended on the 24th of August, and who was a prelate noxious to the present government, and possessed of abilities to render him formidable to any ministry he opposed. His papers were seized, and he himself confined to the Tower. Soon after the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Gray, and some others of inferior rank, were arrested and imprisoned. Of all these, however, only the bishop, and Mr. Layer, a barrister, felt the severity of the government, the proof against the rest amounting to no convictive evidence. A bill was brought into the house of commons, impeaching bishop Atterbury, although he pleaded privilege as a peer. Though this met with some opposition in that house, yet it was resolved by a great majority in the house of commons, that he should be deprived of his dignity and benefice, and should be banished the kingdom for ever. The bishop made no defence in the lower-house, reserving all his force, which he intended to exert in the house of lords. In

Sir John, in his (Mr. Sloper's) hearing for a subscription, Sir John, with a great deal of contempt, bid him "go to his cousin Walpole, and desire him to sell his stock in the Bank, and by that means he might be supplied." Mr. Walpole entered fully into Sir John's life and character, and shewed, that he had been a projector of many years standing, and had been the author of several fallacious schemes, by which unwary people had been drawn in to their utter ruin, particularly in a project for the linen manufacture. To this Mr. Walpole added, "That was not the first; for there was a gentleman, who sat next to him, meaning Mr. Jessop, whom Sir John Blount had drawn into a project for bringing water to London from a great distance, which was to out-do the New River water; by which the subscribers lost their money, though Sir John himself got thousands by it." This Mr. Jessop confirmed. However, lord Hinchinbroke moved for allowing Sir John Blount ten thousand pounds; but the question being put for allowing him one thousand pounds, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of one hundred and thirty-eight against ninety-four. It was proposed to give Mr. Hawes one thousand pounds; but Sir Nathaniel Gould, and some other members, having observed, that he was very active in the late vile practices, and had occasioned the ruin of many people, Mr. Dominique moved, and it was agreed, to allow him the odd money arising from the sale of his estates, viz. about thirty-one pounds. In the debate whether to allow Mr. Holditch five hundred, one thousand, or five thousand pounds, the voices were equally divided, (eighty-six and eighty-six,) when Mr. Clayton, the chairman, gave the casting vote for five thousand pounds, which met with universal approbation. The case of Mr. Surman, the deputy-cashier, occasioned a debate of about an hour and a half. He had not the best character among the offenders; but, acting only as a servant, and by the command of Mr. Knight, or the directors, several members thought there should be a mitigation in his punishment, as there was in his crime. Mr. Grey Nevill strenuously insisted, that he might be left out of the bill. Another member moved for allowing him thirty thousand pounds; Mr. Hungerford would have it reduced to twenty thousand pounds; Mr. Lechmere to twelve thousand pounds, and two other members to ten thousand and five thousand pounds. All these were opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyl, serjeant Pengelly, and Mr. Horace Walpole, who would not have allowed him above twenty or thirty pounds; but at last the question being put for allowing him five thousand pounds, it was agreed to without dividing. Mr. Arthur Moore moved for allowing John Grigsby, accountant to the South-sea company, ten thousand pounds; but another member said, "That since that upstart was so prodigally vain, as to bid his coachman feed his horses with gold, no doubt but he could feed on it himself; and therefore he moved that he might be allowed as much gold as he could eat, and that the rest of his estate might go towards the relief of the sufferers." However, a motion being made for allowing him two thousand pounds, it was carried without dividing.

that house his cause had many friends; and his own eloquence, politeness, and ingenuity, procured him many more. His cause coming before that assembly, a long and warm debate ensued, in which the contest was more equally managed than the ministry expected. As there was little or no proof against him, but what arose from intercepted letters, which were written in cyphers, the earl of Pawlet insisted, that such could not be construed into treason or offence. The duke of Wharton having summed up the depositions, and shewn the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, That let the consequences be what they would, he hoped the lustre of that house would never be tarnished by condemning a man without evidence. Lord Bathurst also spoke in the bishop's favour, observing, That if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly to enjoy their estates within their own families, since the most trifling correspondence, or any intercepted letter, might be made criminal. Then turning to the bench of bishops, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons bore to the ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was, that, infatuated like the wild Americans, they fondly hoped to inherit not only the spoils but even the abilities, of the man they should destroy. Notwithstanding all that was said in the bishop's favour, the bill passed against him; the other party saying very little, conscious of a majority in their favour. Among the members of the house of commons who exerted themselves in the bishop's favour, was the celebrated Dr. Freind, who was himself soon after taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices; but he was admitted to bail, his friend Dr. Mead becoming his security. In May, 1723, a bill was brought into the house for inflicting pains and penalties on the bishop of Rochester. He was heard by his counsel at the bar of the house of lords; but notwithstanding the vigorous defence, and the long debates which ensued between the lords on the opposite sides, the bill passed on the 15th. It was carried by a majority of eighty-three against forty-three. Several lords entered their protests against the proceedings*. On the 22d of June, Dr. Atterbury was put on board the Aldborough man of war, which landed him at Calais, with his daughter, Mrs. Maurice, and her husband. On the same day that he landed at Calais, the famous lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England, having for some secret reasons, obtained his majesty's pardon. Atterbury being informed of this circumstance, could not help observing with a smile, that "they were exchanged." The bishop continued in exile and poverty till he died, though it may not be improper to observe, that Dr. Sacheverel dying some time before him, left him by will five hundred pounds.

The fate of Mr. Christopher Layer was more severe. Being brought to his trial at the King's Bench, he was convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, of having endeavoured to stir up a rebellion, and he received sentence of death. The circumstances of this conspiracy are not clearly known. It is said, that the intention of the conspirators was, by introducing a number of foreign officers and soldiers into England unobserved, to prepare a junction with the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided for that purpose. However this be, Mr. Layer was reprieved from time to time, and many methods tried to make him discover his accomplices; but he continued stedfast in his trust, so that he suffered death at Tyburn, May 17, 1723, and his head was fixed on Temple-Bar.

Soon after this trial there followed one of a different

nature, in which the interests and security of the nation were more deeply concerned. It had been usual for the lords-chancellors, upon being appointed to their high office, to nominate the masters in chancery; a place of some value, and consequently then purchased as commissions in the army. Some men of improper characters having been appointed to this office, and having embezzled the money of orphans and suitors lodged in their hands, a complaint was made to government, and this drew down the resentment of the ministry on the lord chancellor himself. He found it necessary to resign the seals in the beginning; but soon after the king ordered the whole affair to be laid before the house of commons. The commons taking the affair into consideration, and finding many abuses crept into that court, which either impeded justice, or rendered it venal, they resolved, January 4, 1724-5, to impeach Thomas Parker, earl of Macclesfield, at the bar of the house of lords, for high crimes and misdemeanors. This was one of the most laborious and best contested trials in the annals of England. A bill was previously brought in to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days. The earl proved that such sums had been usually received by former lords-chancellors, and reason told that such receipts were contrary to strict justice. Equity, therefore, prevailed above precedent; the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment, until that sum should be paid, which was accordingly discharged in about six weeks.

The chief object of the attention of the ministry seemed now to be an inclination to gratify the sovereign with a continual round of foreign treaties and alliances. It was natural for a king born and bred in Germany, where all sovereignty is possessed upon such precarious tenures, to introduce the same spirit into the British constitution, however independent it might be as to the rest of Europe. This reign, therefore, was begun by treaties, and the latter part of it was burthened with them. The chief object of all was to secure to the king his dominions in Germany, and exclude the pretender from those of Britain. To effect those purposes, England paid considerable subsidies to many different states in Europe for the promise of their protection and assistance; but it most commonly happened, that the connection was changed, or a variance ensued, before ever the stipulations on either side were capable of being executed. In this reign there were concluded no less than nine treaties. The barrier convention treaty, a defensive alliance with the emperor, the triple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, the treaty of Vienna, and the convention with Sweden and Hesse-Cassel. All these various and expensive negotiations were mere political play-things; they amused for a while, and were since neglected, the present interests and passions making new and more natural connections. It must, however, be owned that the parliament made some new efforts to check the progress of vice and immorality, which now began to be diffused through every rank of life. But they were supported neither by the co-operation of the ministry, nor by the voice of the people. The treaties but just concluded with Spain were already broken; but the spirit of commerce was so eager, that no restrictions could bind it. Admiral Hosier was sent, about the end of March, 1726, to the West-Indies, with a view to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the Spaniards being apprized of his design, re-landed their treasure. The greatest part of the English fleet sent on that expedition was rendered entirely unfit for service. The seamen were cut off in great

* By this act the bishop, from the 1st day of June, 1723, was to be deprived of all offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices ecclesiastical, and incapable of holding any for the

future. He was also banished the realm, and, in case he returned, he was to suffer death, as well as all persons that corresponded with him.

numbers by the malignity of the climate and the length of the voyage, while the admiral himself is said to have died of a broken heart.

In order to retaliate these hostilities, the Spaniards undertook the siege of Gibraltar, but without success. The trenches were opened before this fortress the 11th of February, 1727, by the Condé de las Torres, at the head of twenty thousand men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old earl of Portmore, who was governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and four-and-twenty pieces of cannon. At the same time, five hundred men arrived from Minorca; so that the garrison amounted to six thousand, plentifully supplied with fresh provisions from the coast of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the besiegers with great contempt. The siege was raised after it had lasted four months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little damage. In this dispute, France offered her mediation, and such a reconciliation as treaties could procure was the consequence; a temporary reconciliation ensued, both sides only watching the occasion to renew hostilities with advantage.

It was now two years since the king had visited his electoral dominions of Hanover. He therefore, soon after the breaking up of the parliament, prepared for a journey thither. Having appointed a regency in his absence, he embarked for Holland, in the beginning of June, and lay upon his landing at a little town called Voer. Next day he proceeded on his journey, and in two days more, between ten and eleven at night arrived at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and continued his progress early the next morning, but between eight and nine ordered his coach to stop. It being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, M. Fabrice, who had formerly been servant to the king of Sweden, and who now attended king George, attempted to quicken the circulation, by chafing it between his own. As this had no effect, the surgeon who followed on horseback, was called, and he also rubbed it with spirits. Soon after the king's tongue began to swell, and he had just strength enough to bid them hasten to Osnaburgh. Then falling insensibly into Fabrice's arms, he never recovered, but expired about eleven o'clock the next morning, June 11, 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. He was interred at Hanover among his ancestors.

George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great-Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued, his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of the people; and if ever he seemed to

deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry whose power and influence were founded on corruption. He was in every instance attended with good fortune, which was partly owing to accident, and more to prudent assiduity. His successes in life are the strongest instance how much may be achieved by moderate abilities, exerted with application and uniformity.

He was married to the princess Sophia, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had George II. who succeeded him, and the queen of Prussia, mother to Frederic, late king of that country.

C H A P. III.

G E O R G E II.

AT the demise of George I. and on the accession of his son George II. who was a person strongly biassed with a partiality to his dominions on the continent, the national debt, notwithstanding, says Smollett, the boasted œconomy and management of the ministers, notwithstanding the sinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure sacred to the discharge of national incumbrances; was now increased to fifty millions two hundred sixty-one thousand two hundred and six pounds, nineteen shillings, and eight-pence three farthings. The king being proclaimed, addresses of condolence and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the commons, in a committee of the whole house, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his majesty. Sir Robert Walpole having observed, that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds granted to, and settled on, the late king, had fallen short every year; and that his present majesty's expences were likely to increase by reason of the largeness of his family, moved, that the entire revenues of the civil-list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, should be settled on the king during his life*. This occasioned a violent debate: but the house at length agreed to the motion.

On the 7th of August, a proclamation was issued for dissolving the present and convoking another parliament. Some changes were likewise made in the several departments of civil œconomy. Lord viscount Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty: the earl of Westmoreland was appointed first lord-commissioner of trade and plantations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and polished manners, was nominated ambassador to the Hague. The privy-council being dissolved, another was appointed of the members then present. The duke of Devonshire was dignified with the place of president; and the duke of St. Alban's was appointed master of the horse. On the 11th the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Westminster-Abbey, with the usual solemnity†. In the beginning of December, 1728, his majesty's eldest son, prince Frederic, arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided, was introduced into the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. Signior Como, resident from the duke of Parma, was ordered

nually to prince Charles of Denmark: she sustained great losses by the tin contract: she supported the poor palatines: she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty; and immediately before her death she had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-one pounds.

† King George II. ascended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age. September 2, 1705, he espoused the princess Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, by whom he had two sons, Frederic Louis, prince of Wales, born at Hanover, Jan. 31, 1707, and William Augustus, born at London, April 15, 1721. She had likewise borne four princesses, namely, Anne, Amelia, Carolina, Mary, and was afterwards delivered of Louisa, married in the sequel to the king of Denmark.

* In the debates respecting the settlement, Mr. Shippen, who was an advocate for a small allowance, observed, that the civil-list branches in queen Anne's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; nevertheless, she called upon her parliament but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity. She gave the first-fruits and tithes, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a-year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She bestowed five thousand pounds *per annum*, out of the post-office, on the duke of Marlborough: she suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office, for the service of the public: she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle of Blenheim: she allowed four thousand pounds an-

to quit the kingdom, because his master paid to the pretender the honours due to the king of Great-Britain.

The principal person who now held the chief power of managing the kingdom in his hands, was Sir Robert Walpole, who had hitherto been actively employed in supporting the Hanoverian interest*. The house which had generally of late years, been distinguished into Hanoverians and Jacobites, now altered their names with their principles, and the parties on either side went by the appellations of the Court and Country. Both sides had been equally active in maintaining the Hanover family, and consequently neither was much afraid of the reproach of disaffection. The court-party, who were enlisted under the banners of the ministry, were for favouring all their schemes, and for applauding all the measures of the crown. They were taught to regard foreign alliances, and continental connections, as conducive to internal security; they considered England as unable or unfit to be trusted in defending herself, and paid the troops of other countries for the promises of future assistance†. Of these Sir Robert was the leader; and such as he could not convince by his eloquence, he undertook to buy over by places and pensions. The other side, who went by the name of the country party, were entirely averse to continental connections. They complained that immense sums were lavished on subsidies which could never be useful; and that alliances were bought with money from nations that should rather contribute to England for her protection. These looked upon the frequent journeys of the king to Hanover with a jealous eye, and sometimes hinted at a partiality shewn in the royal breast in its favour. These were joined by the high-flying Tories, who now began to perceive their own cause desperate; and as they were leagued with men who did not fear the reproach of Jacobitism, they gave and acquired greater confidence. As the court-party generally alarmed the house of commons with imaginary dangers, and concealed conspiracies, so they, on the country side, generally declaimed against the encroachments of the prerogative, and the overgrown power of the crown. The complaints of neither were founded in fact; the kingdom was in no danger of invasions from abroad, or from plots at home; nor was the crown, on the other hand, gaining any accession of power, but rather every day, losing somewhat of its authority by insensible diminution. The king, chiefly attentive to his foreign dominions, regarded but little his prerogative at home, and he could admit of many limitations in England, to be possessed of plenary power in dominions which he probably had a much higher regard for.

About this time Mr. Oglethorpe received information of several shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by jailers upon their prisoners. He moved in the house for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to enquire into the state of the jails of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet-prison, which they visited in a body; there they found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence. They made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities, which had

been committed by that ruffian, and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villainy, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the house unanimously resolved that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanors in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. John Huggins, Esq. who had been warden of the Fleet-prison, was subjected to a resolution of the same nature. The house presented an address to the king, desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden; another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet; and for more effectual preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison.

There were two objects of controversy which, during the whole course of this reign, were constantly debated upon in every session: these were the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, at the accession of the present king, as before observed, owed more than thirty millions of money; and though there was a long continuance of profound peace, yet this sum was continually increasing. It was much wondered at by the country-party, how this could happen; and it was the business of the court to give plausible reasons for the increase, and to furnish a new subject of wonder to be debated upon the ensuing session. Thus demands for new supplies were made every session of parliament, either for the purposes of securing friends upon the continent, of guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies, or of enabling the ministry to act vigorously in conjunction with the powers in alliance abroad. It was vainly alledged, that those expences were incurred without prescience or necessity; and that the increase of the national debt, by multiplying and increasing taxes, would at last become an intolerable burthen. These arguments were offered, canvassed, and rejected; the court-party was always victorious, and every demand granted with cheerfulness, and even profusion.

The Spaniards were the first nation who shewed the futility of treaties to bind, when any advantage was to be procured by infraction. The extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealousy and cruelty of that nation, produced every day encroachments on our side, and as arbitrary seizures on theirs. The people of our West-India islands had long carried on an illicit trade with the subjects of Spain upon the continent, but whenever detected were rigorously punished, and their cargoes confiscated to the crown. In this temerity of adventure on the one hand, and punishment on the other, it must often have happened that the innocent must suffer with the guilty, and many complaints were made, perhaps founded in justice, that the English merchants were plundered by the Spanish king's vessels upon the

* Sir Robert Walpole had risen from low beginnings, through two successive reigns, into great consideration. He was considered as a martyr to his cause, in the reign of queen Anne; and when the Tory party could no longer oppress him, he still preserved that hatred against them with which he set out. Being raised in the beginning of this reign to the head of the treasury, he probably set off by endeavouring to serve his country; but soon meeting with strong opposition, his succeeding endeavours were rather employed in keeping his situation, than in adorning it. To defend the declining prerogative of the crown, might perhaps have been the first object of his attention; but soon after those very measures, by which he pretended to secure it, proved the most effectual means to lessen it. By corrupting the house of commons, he increased their riches and their power; and they were not averse to

voting away those millions which he permitted them to liberally to share. As such a tendency in him naturally produced opposition, he was possessed of a most phlegmatic inflexibility to reproach, and a calm dispassionate manner of reasoning upon such topics as he desired should be believed. His discourse was fluent, but without dignity; and his manner convincing from its apparent want of art.

† Nothing could be a greater burlesque upon negotiation, than the treaty of alliance concluded with the petty duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, who very gravely guaranteed to his Britannic majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and obliged himself to supply his majesty with five thousand men, in consideration of an annual subsidy of five-and-twenty thousand pounds for four years.

southern coasts of America, as if they had been pirates. The English ministry, unwilling to credit every report which was inflamed by resentment or urged by avarice, expected to remedy the evils complained of by their favourite system of treaty, and in the mean time promised the nation redress. At length, however, the complaints became more general; and the merchants remonstrated by petition to the house of commons, who entered into a deliberation on the subject. They examined the evidence of several who had been unjustly seized, and treated with great cruelty. One man, the master of a trading vessel, had been used by the Spaniards in the most shocking manner; he gave in his evidence with great precision, informed the house of the manner they had plundered and stripped him, of their cutting off his ears, and their preparing to put him to death. "I then looked up, cried he, to my God for pardon, and to my country for revenge." These accounts raised a flame among the people, which it was neither the minister's interest, nor perhaps that of the nation, to indulge; new negotiations were set on foot, and new mediators offered their interposition. A treaty was signed at Vienna, between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the king of Spain, which settled the peace of Europe upon its former footing, and put off the threatening war for a time. During the interval of peace nothing very remarkable happened, except in the British parliament, where the disputes between the court and country-parties were carried on with unceasing animosity. Both sides, from moderate beginnings, at last fairly lifted themselves in the cause, not of truth, but of party. Measures, proposed by the ministry, though tending to the benefit of the nation, were opposed by their antagonists, who, on their side, also were abridged the power of carrying any act, how beneficial soever it might have been.

In 1730 seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cummin. Being introduced to the king, they laid their crown and regalia at his feet; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all the com-patriots who had vested them with full power for this purpose. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations; and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were re-conveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South-Carolina.

About this time England was greatly infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a nation that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no security for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more desperate and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind was civilized. In the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity. They circulated letters, demanding sums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houses to ashes, and their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand. The same species of villainy was practised in different parts of the kingdom; so that the government was obliged to interpose, and

No. LXVII.

offer a considerable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

Great abuses having been committed by the managers of the Charitable Corporation, the parliament, in 1731, requested a full and particular statement of their affairs to be laid before the house. This company was first erected in 1707. The professed intention of the directors was to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges; and to persons of better rank upon an indubitable security of goods impawned. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but, by licences from the crown, they increased it to six hundred thousand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In October, 1731, George Robinson, Esq. member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect into the state of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thousand pounds no equivalent was found; inasmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thousand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover. The proprietors, in a petition to the house of commons, represented, that by the most notorious breach of trust in several persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greatest part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress; they, therefore, prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, without the aid of the power and authority of parliament, the house would vouchsafe to enquire into the state of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and give such relief to the petitioners as to the house should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the enquiry. They soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: and even some of the first characters in the nation did not escape suspicion and censure. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the house of commons, as having had a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: a bill was brought in, to restrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from Signor John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to understand, that Thompson was secured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favour of the prisoner. This letter was considered as an artifice to insinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection for the English people. On this supposition the proposals were rejected with disdain; and both houses concurred in an order that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The lower house resolved, that it was an insolent and audacious libel, absurd and contradictory; that the whole transaction was a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity. As Robinson and Thompson neglected to surrender themselves, according to the terms specified in a bill which had passed for that purpose, they were expelled the house.

In 1732, a scheme which was set on foot by Sir Robert Walpole, engrossed the attention of the public:

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it was to fix a general excise. The minister introduced it into the house, by going into a detail of the frauds practised by the factors in London, who were employed by the American planters in selling their tobacco. To prevent these frauds he proposed, that instead of having the customs levied in the usual manner upon tobacco, all hereafter to be imported should be lodged in warehouses appointed for that purpose by the officers of the crown, and should from thence be sold, upon paying the duty of four-pence a pound, when the proprietors found a purchaser. This proposal raised a violent ferment, not less within doors than without. It was asserted, that it would expose the factors to such hardships, that they would be unable to continue their trade, and that such a scheme would not even prevent the frauds complained of. It was added, that a number of additional excisemen and warehouse-keepers would thus be employed, which would at once render the ministry formidable, and the people dependent. Such were the arguments made use of to stir up the citizens to oppose this law. The people were raised to such a ferment, that the parliament-house was surrounded with multitudes, who intimidated the ministry, and compelled them to drop the design. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster, and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace of London.

The opposition acquired such strength and popularity by defeating the ministry in this scheme, that they resolved to try their forces in an offensive measure; and, therefore, in 1733, made a motion for repealing the septennial bill, and bringing back triennial parliaments, as settled at the revolution. In the course of this debate the country-party reflected with great severity on the measures of the late reign, and the conduct of the present minister. It was alledged, that the septennial bill was an encroachment on the rights of the people, and that there was no method to overturn a wicked ministry, but by frequent changes of parliament. Notwithstanding the warmth of the opposition, the ministry, exerting all their strength, were victorious, and the motion was suppressed by the majority. However, as the country-party seemed to grow more powerful on this occasion than formerly, it was thought fit to dissolve the parliament in April, 1734, and another was convoked by the same proclamation.

On the 14th of March, 1734, the nuptials of the prince of Orange and the princess royal were solemnized with great magnificence; and this match was attended with addresses of congratulation to his majesty from different parts of the kingdom. In February, 1736, the king having sent two members of the privy-council to the prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his royal highness and the princess of Saxe-Gotha, and the proposal being agreeable to the prince, the marriage was celebrated on the 7th of April. Upon this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved for an address of congratulation to his majesty, and was supported by Mr. George Lyttelton and Mr. William Pitt, who seized this opportunity of pronouncing ele-

gant panegyrics on the prince of Wales and his amiable consort. These two young members soon distinguished themselves in the house by their eloquence and superior talents. A bill was passed this year for naturalizing her royal highness the princess of Wales.

Such a degree of licentiousness prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in a due execution of the laws. The most remarkable of these disturbances happened at Edinburgh, on the 7th of September, 1736. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had at the execution of a smuggler been provoked by some insults from the populace to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd; by which precipitate order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death; but the queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The common people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shewn to a criminal, who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression; they were fired by a national jealousy; they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten o'clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town-guards: they broke open the prison-doors; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and, leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence: it, therefore, became the object of a very severe enquiry*.

The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a year upon the prince of Wales. Sir Robert Walpole vigorously opposed the motion, and endeavoured to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father. The bill was thrown out. A scheme was proposed by Sir John Barnard, in 1737, for diminishing the interest on the national debt, and rejected in the same manner. But it was otherwise with a bill introduced by the ministry for subjecting the playhouses to a licenser†.

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* A reward of two hundred pounds having been offered by proclamation in Edinburgh for the discovery of any person concerned in the execution of Porteous, without bringing one individual to justice, a bill was brought into the upper house to disabie Alexander Wilson, Esq. lord provost of Edinburgh, from enjoying any place or office in the magistracy of that city, or elsewhere; for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson, and for imposing a fine of two thousand pounds upon the corporation of Edinburgh, for the benefit of the widow of the late captain Porteous. Some amendments being made to this bill, it passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

† This step was occasioned by the liberty which the press had for some time indulged of siding with the popular party; and the managers of the play-houses finding most money was to be made by political representations, laid hold on the scheme. At a little theatre in the Haymarket the ministry were every night ridiculed, and their dress and manner exactly imitated. The ingenious Mr. Henry Fielding finding that the public

had no taste for new pieces of real humour, was willing to gratify their appetite for scandal, and brought on a theatrical piece, which he called *Pasquin*; the public applauded its severity, and the representation was crowded for several nights running, while Fielding began to congratulate himself upon his dexterity, in discarding wit from the stage, and substituting politics, which the people liked better. The abuse, however, threatened to become dangerous; and the ministry, sensible of their strength, were resolved, as they expressed it, to suppress the licentiousness of the stage. Some of the pieces exhibited at that time were not only severe, but immoral also. On this ground the ministry made their attack. Sir Robert Walpole brought in a bill to limit the number of play-houses, to subject all dramatic writings to the inspection of the lord-chamberlain, and to suppress all such as he thought would have a tendency to corrupt men's morals, or obstruct government. The bill was opposed by lord Chesterfield with great eloquence; but carried by a majority determined to vote with the ministry.

New subjects of controversy offered every day; and the members on each side were ready enough to seize them. A convention agreed upon by the ministry, at the Prado, with Spain, became an object of warm altercation. By this the court of Spain agreed to pay the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to the English, as a satisfaction for all demands upon the crown and the subjects of that kingdom, and to discharge the whole within four months, from the day of ratification. This, however, was considered as no equivalent to the damages that had been sustained; the country-party decried against it as a sacrifice of the interests of Great Britain to the court of Spain, and alledged, that the whole of their demands should be paid, which amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds. The minister on this occasion was provoked into unusual vehemence. He branded the opposite party with the appellation of traitors, and expressed his hope that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present government in opposing their designs. The ministry were, as usual, victorious; and the country-party finding themselves out-voted in every debate, resolved to withdraw for ever. They had long asserted that all deliberation was useless, and debate vain, since every member had lifted himself not under the banners of reason, but of party.

A misunderstanding arose about this time between the king and the prince of Wales; and as the latter was the darling of the people, his cause was seconded by all those of the country-party. The prince had been a short time before married to the princess of Saxe-Gotha; and the prince taking umbrage at the scantiness of his yearly allowance from his father, seldom visited the court. The princess had advanced to the last month of her pregnancy, before the king had any notice of the event; and she was actually brought to-bed of a princess, without properly acquainting the king. In consequence of this, his majesty sent his son a message, by the duke of Grafton, informing him, that the whole tenor of his conduct had of late been so void of real duty, that he resolved to punish him by forbidding him the court. He, therefore, signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess; and, in consequence, the prince retired to Kew*. This rupture was very favourable to the country interest, as they thus had a considerable personage equally interested with themselves to oppose the ministry. To the prince, therefore, resorted all those who formed future expectations of rising in the state, and all who had reason to be discontented with the conduct of the present ministry.

On the 24th of January, 1738, the parliament being met, the king opened the session with a short speech, recommending the dispatch of the public business with prudence and unanimity. Each house presented a warm address of condolence on the queen's death, which had lately happened, with which he seemed to be extremely affected. Ever since the treaty of Utrecht, the Spaniards in America had insulted and distressed the commerce of Great-Britain, and the British merchants had attempted to carry on an illicit trade into their dominions. A right which the English merchants claimed by treaty, of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, gave them frequent opportunities of trading in contraband commodities upon the continent; so that to sup-

press the evil, the Spaniards were resolved to annihilate the claim†. The Spanish vessels appointed for protecting the coast, continued their severities upon the English; many of the subjects of Britain were sent to dig in the mines of Potosi, and deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to those who might send their redress. One remonstrance followed another to the court of Madrid of this violation of treaty; but the only answer given were promises of enquiry, which produced no reformation. Our merchants complained loudly of these outrages; but the minister vainly expected from negotiations that redress which was only to be obtained by arms. The fears discovered by the court of Great-Britain only served to increase the insolence of the enemy; and their guardships continued to seize not only all the guilty, but the innocent, whom they found sailing along the Spanish main. At last the complaints of the English merchants were loud enough to interest the house of commons; their letters and memorials were produced, and their grievances enforced by council at the bar of the house. It was soon found that the money which Spain had agreed to pay to the court of Great-Britain was withheld, and no reason assigned for the delay. The minister, therefore, to gratify the general ardour, and to atone for his former deficiencies, assured the house that he would put the nation into a condition of war. Soon after letters of reprisal were granted against the Spaniards; and this being on both sides considered as an actual commencement of hostilities, both diligently set forward their armament by sea and land.

A war with Spain being now become unavoidable, the people, who had long clamoured for war, began to feel uncommon alacrity at its approach; and the ministry finding it inevitable, began to be as earnest in preparation. Orders were issued for augmenting the land-forces, and raising a body of marines. War was declared with all proper solemnity, and soon after two rich Spanish prizes were taken in the Mediterranean. Admiral Vernon, a man of more courage than experience, of more confidence than skill, was sent commander of a fleet into the West-Indies, to distress the enemy in that part of the globe. He had asserted in the house of commons, that Porto-Bello, a fort and harbour in South America, could be easily destroyed; and that he himself would undertake to reduce it with six ships only. A project which appeared so wild and impossible was ridiculed by the ministry; but as he still insisted upon the proposal, they complied with his request, hoping that his want of success might repress the confidence of his party. But how great was their astonishment when on the 13th of March, 1739, a ship arrived from the West-Indies, dispatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with *six ships only*, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two houses of parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. The commons granted every thing the crown thought proper to demand. They provided for eight-and-twenty thousand land forces, besides six thousand marines. They enabled his majesty to equip a very pow-

This bill, while it confined genius on the one hand, turned it to proper objects of pursuit on the other; and the stage is at present free from the scandalous licence which infects the press, but perhaps rendered more dull from the abridgement of unlimited abuse.

* Whatever might have been his design in concealing to long from the king and queen the pregnancy of the princess, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place, in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct; though the punishment seems to have been severe if not rigorous; for

he was not even admitted into the presence of the queen his mother, to express his duty to her, in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the 20th of November, 1737, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue. Smollett.

† This liberty of cutting logwood had often been acknowledged, but never clearly ascertained; in all former treaties, it was considered as an object of too little importance to make a separate article in any negotiation.

erful navy; they voted the subsidy to the king of Denmark; and they empowered their sovereign to defray certain extraordinary expences not specified in the estimates. To answer these uncommon grants, they imposed a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; and enabled his majesty to deduct twelve hundred thousand pounds from the sinking fund; in a word, the expence of the war, during the course of the ensuing year, amounted to about four millions.

During the greatest part of the winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas, 1739, and continued till the latter end of February, 1740. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped: the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood; the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme, that many persons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price, in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The lower class of labourers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence: many kinds of manufacture were laid aside, because it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all sorts of provisions rose almost to a dearth: even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of compassion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honour of the English nation, than did those instances of benevolence and well-conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress; but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects, who from motives of false pride, or ingenuous shame, endeavoured to conceal their misery. These were assisted almost in their own despite. The solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless, and the unfortunate, were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and, to such as refused to receive a portion of the public charity, the necessities of life were privately conveyed, in such a manner as could least shock the delicacy of their dispositions!

As the war had begun successfully, it inspired the commons to prosecute it with all imaginable vigour. While preparations were making in other departments, a squadron of ships was equipped for distressing the enemy in the South seas: it set sail in September, 1740, and the command was given to commodore Anson. This fleet was destined to sail through the straits of Magellan, and steering northwards along the coasts of Chili and Peru, to co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The delays and mistakes of the ministry frustrated that part of the scheme, which was originally well laid. The fleet consisted of five ships of the line, a frigate, and two store-ships, with about fourteen hundred men. Having reached the coasts of Brazil, he refreshed his men for some time on the island of St. Catharine, a spot that enjoys all the fruitfulness and verdure of the luxurious tropical climate. From thence he steered downward into the cold and tempestuous regions of the south; and in about five months after, meeting a terrible tempest, he doubled Cape Horn. By this time his fleet was dispersed, and his crew deplorably disabled with the scurvy; so that with much difficulty he gained the delightful island of Juan Fernandez. There he was joined by one ship, and a vessel of seven guns. From thence advancing northward, he landed on the coast Chili, and attacked the city of Païta by night. In this bold attempt he made no use of his shipping, nor even disembarked all his men; a few soldiers, favoured by dark-

ness, sufficed to fill the whole town with terror and confusion. The governor of the garrison, and the inhabitants, fled on all sides; accustomed to be severe, they expected severity. In the mean time, a small body of the English kept possession of the town for three days, stripping it of all its treasures and merchandize to a considerable amount, and then setting it on fire. Soon after this a small squadron advanced as far as Panama, situated on the isthmus of Darien, on the western side of the great American continent. The commodore now placed all his hopes in taking one of those valuable Spanish ships, which trade from the Philippine islands to Mexico. Not above one or two at the most of these immensely rich ships went from one continent to the other in a year; they were, therefore, very large, in order to carry a sufficiency of treasure, and proportionably strong to defend it. In hopes of meeting with one of these, the commodore, with his little fleet, traversed the great Pacific Ocean; but the scurvy once more visiting his crew, several of his men died, and almost all were disabled. In this exigence having brought all his men into one vessel, and set fire to the other, he steered from the island of Tinian, which lies about half way between the new world and the old. In this charming abode he continued for some time, till his men recovered their health, and his ship was refitted for sailing. Thus refreshed he set forward for China, where he laid in proper stores for once more traversing back that immense ocean in which he had just before suffered such difficulties. Having accordingly taken some Dutch and Indian sailors on board, he again steered towards America; and, at length, after various toils, discovered the Spanish galleon he had so long ardently expected. This vessel was built as well for the purposes of war as of merchandize. It mounted sixty guns, and five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not amount to half that number. However, the victory was on the side of the English, and they returned home with their prize, in June, 1744, which was estimated at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling, while the different captures that had been made before amounted to as much more. Thus, after a voyage of three years, conducted with amazing perseverance and intrepidity, the public sustained the loss of a small fleet; but a few individuals became possessed of immense riches.

The English in the mean time conducted other operations against the enemy with amazing activity. When Anson set out it was with a design of acting a subordinate part to a formidable armament designed for the coasts of New Spain, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with warlike stores, near fifteen thousand seamen, and as many land-forces. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land-forces; but he dying on his passage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, whose abilities were supposed to be unequal to the trust reposed in him. The ministry, without any visible reason, detained the fleet in England, until the season for acting in America was nearly over. In the country where they were to carry on their operations, periodical rains begin about the end of April, and this change in the climate always brings on epidemical diseases. Having at length arrived on the coasts of New Spain, before the wealthy city of Carthagena, they landed their forces, in order to form the siege of this important fortification. The English not being able to make any impression on the town, and having lost six hundred men before it, occasioned dissensions among the commanders, when it was concluded to remove their forces from this scene of disappointment and distemper. The fortifications near the harbour being demolished, the troops were conveyed back to Jamaica; and this island, which of itself is sufficiently unhealthy, was considered as a paradise to that from which they had just escaped. This fatal miscarriage, which tarnished the British glory, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. The loudest burst of indig-

nation was directed at the minister; they who once praised him for successes he did not merit, condemned him now for a failure of which he was innocent.

The miscarriage at Carthagea occasioned loud complaints in England, and to this cause of complaint, several others were added. The inactivity of the English fleet at home was among the principal. Sir John Norris had twice failed to the coasts of Spain, at the head of a very powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step to annoy the enemy. The Spanish privateers, become numerous and enterprising, annoyed our commerce with great success, having taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. The English, though at an immense expence in equipping fleets, seemed to lie down unrevenged under every blow, and suffered one loss after another without reprisal. This universal discontent had a manifest influence upon the general election which followed soon after; and the complaints against the minister became so general, that he began to tremble for his safety. All the adherents of the prince of Wales, who continued to live retired from court, as a private gentleman, concurred in the opposition. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the kingdom; and such a national spirit prevailed, that the country interest now at last seemed ready to preponderate. In this situation, the minister finding the strength of the house of commons turned against him, tried every art to break that confederacy, which he knew he had not strength to oppose. His first attempt was by endeavouring to disengage the prince from his party, by promises of royal favour, and other emoluments*.

Walpole, being disappointed in his endeavours to gain the prince, plainly perceived that his power was at an end; but he still feared more for his person. The resentment of the people had been raised against him to an extravagant height; and their leaders taught them to expect very signal justice to their supposed oppressor. The first occasion he had to find the house of commons turned against him, was in debating upon some disputed elections. In the first of these, which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of six only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. The inconsiderable majority that appeared on his side, which had long been used to carry every question with ease, plainly proved that his friends were no longer able to protect him. A petition, presented by the electors of Westminster, complaining of an undue election, which had been carried on by the unjust influence of the ministry, and which they begged to set aside, was presented to the house. Sir Robert laboured with all his art to over-rule their petition; the house entered into a discussion, and carried it against him by a majority of four voices. He resolved to try his strength once more in another disputed election, (that of Chippingham in Wiltshire,) and had the mortification to see the majority against him augmented to sixteen. He then declared he would never sit more in that house. The next day the king adjourned both houses of parliament till the 18th of February, 1742; and in the interim Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments. A change in the ministry was the natural consequence of Walpole's resignation. The place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed on Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury. Lord Harrington was

declared president of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state. Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy-council; and afterwards created earl of Bath. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales took place soon after; and the change in the ministry was celebrated by rejoicings over the whole nation.

The war with Spain had now continued for several years, and was attended with but indifferent fortune. Some unsuccessful expeditions had been carried on in the West-Indies, under admiral Vernon, commodore Knowles, and others; and the failure of these was still more aggravated by the political writers of the day. These writers made themselves agreeable to the public by impudence and abuse; they embarrassed every operation, and embittered every misfortune. These had for some time disgusted the nation at their operations by sea, and taught them to wish for better fortune on land. The people became ripe for renewing their victories in Flanders, and the king desired nothing with so much ardour. It was resolved, therefore, to send a powerful body of men into the Netherlands to join in the quarrels that were beginning on the continent; and immense triumphs were expected from such an undertaking, which the king resolved to conduct in person. An army of sixteen thousand men were in consequence transported to Flanders, and the war with Spain became but an object of secondary consideration.

The views of France in the continental war were seconded by Spain and Sardinia, both having hopes to grow more powerful by a division of the spoils of Austria. A French army, therefore, soon over-ran the empire, under the conduct of old marshal Villars; while the duke of Montemar, the general of Spain, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples. Thus the emperor had the mortification to see his own dominions ravaged, and a great part of Italy torn from him, for having attempted to give a king to Poland. These rapid successes of France and its allies soon compelled the emperor to demand a peace†.

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French began to think this a favourable opportunity of exerting their ambition once more. Regardless of treaties, particularly that called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the reversion of all the late emperor's dominions was settled upon his daughter, they caused the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles VI. descended from an illustrious line of emperors, saw herself stripped of her inheritance, and left for a whole year deserted by all Europe, and without any hopes of succour. She had scarce closed her father's eyes, when she lost Silesia, by an irruption of the young king of Prussia, who seized the opportunity of her defenceless state to renew his ancient pretensions to that province, of which it must be owned his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions; England was the only ally that seemed willing to espouse her helpless condition. Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance, and last of all Prussia acceded to the union in her favour. The king of England informed the parliament that he had sent a body of English forces into the Netherlands, which he had augmented by sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to make a diversion upon the dominions of France, in the queen of Hungary's favour‡. By the accession of the English and other powers to the queen of Hungary's cause,

* The bishop of Oxford was accordingly sent to him, with an offer, that if he would write a letter of submission to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour; fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue, two hundred thousand should be granted him to pay his debts, and suitable provision should be made in due time for all his followers. This to a person already involved in debt, from the scantiness of his pension and the necessity of keeping up his dignity, was a tempting offer. However, the prince generously declined it, declaring he would accept of no conditions.
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dictated to him under the influence of a minister whose measures he disapproved.

† Peace was accordingly granted him; but Stanislaus, upon whose account the war was begun, was neglected in the treaty. It was stipulated that he should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland, for which the emperor gratified France with the duchy of Lorraine, and some other valuable territories.

‡ When the supplies came to be considered, by which this additional number of Hanoverian troops was to be paid by England for defending their own cause, it produced most violent

cause, a great alteration immediately took place in her affairs. The scale of victory soon turned on her side, and the French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her; and abandoned by his allies, and stripped even of his hereditary dominions, retired to Francfort, where he lived in obscurity.

The French, who had begun as allies, were now obliged to sustain the whole burthen of the war, and accordingly faced their enemies, invading them on every side of their dominions. The troops sent to the queen's assistance from England were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under the famous prince Eugene. The chief object which he had in view in the beginning was to effect a junction with the queen's army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain, and thus to out-number the enemy in the field. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled, in 1743, an army of sixty thousand men upon the river Mayne, under the command of marshal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side into a country, where they found themselves entirely destitute of provisions, the French having cut off all means of their being supplied with any. The king of England arrived at the camp, while his army was in this deplorable situation; wherefore he resolved to penetrate forward to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians who had reached Hannau. With this view he decamped; but before his army had marched three leagues, he found the enemy had enclosed him on every side, near the village of Dettingen. In this situation the king knew not what step to take: to have remained inactive would have caused a famine among his troops; to have retreated was impossible; and the impetuosity of the French forces was the only circumstance that contributed to the saving of his army. The French passed a defile, which they should have been contented to guard; and, under the conduct of the duke of Gramont, their horse charged the English foot with great fury. They were received, however, with intrepidity and resolution; so that they were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with precipitation, with the loss of above five thousand men. The king of England, with great personal courage, exposed himself to a severe fire of the enemies' cannon; and in the midst of the engagement encouraged his troops by his presence and his example. The English had the honour of the day; but were soon obliged to leave the field of battle, which was taken possession of by the French, who treated the wounded English with clemency. Though the English were victorious upon this occasion, yet the earl of Stair, who was commander in chief, did not assume any honour from such a victory. He was unwilling to share any glory, which was so precariously obtained, and snatched rather from the enemies' mistake, than gained by his conduct. He therefore solicited for leave to resign; which obtaining, the troops were led into quarters, and desisted from farther operations that campaign.

The French notwithstanding went on with vigour. They opposed king Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in

Italy; but their chief hopes were placed upon a projected invasion of England. From the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, France had been persuaded that the country was ripe for a revolution, and only wanted the presence of a pretender to bring about the change*. An invasion, therefore, was projected; and Charles, the son of the old pretender, departed from Rome, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, for Paris, where he had an audience of the French king. This family had long been the dupes of France; but it was thought at present there were serious resolutions formed in their favour. The troops destined for the expedition amounted to fifteen thousand men; preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk, and some of the nearest ports of England, under the eye of the young pretender. The duke de Roquefeuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed in England, and the famous count Saxe was to command them, when put on shore. But the whole project was disconcerted by the appearance of Sir John Norris, who, with a superior fleet pressed forward to attack them. The French fleet was thus obliged to put back; a very hard gale of wind damaged their transports without redress; and the French, now frustrated in their scheme of a sudden descent, thought fit openly to declare war on the 20th of March, 1744.

Though fortune seemed to favour England on this occasion, yet she was not equally propitious on some other occasions. The English ministry had sent out a powerful squadron of ships into the Mediterranean to over-awe those states who might be inclined to assist either France or Spain. This fleet had been conducted by Lestock; but admiral Matthews, a younger officer, was sent out to take the superior command, which produced a misunderstanding between the commanders. An opportunity soon offered to these officers to discover their mutual animosity, to the damage of their country, and their own disgrace. The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of four and thirty sail, were seen off Toulon, and a signal was made by the English admiral to prepare for engaging. It happened that his signals were not perfectly exact; he had hung out that for forming the line of battle, which at the same time shewed the signal for engaging. This was a sufficient excuse to Lestock for refusing to come up with alacrity; so that after some vain efforts to attack the enemy in conjunction, Matthews resolved to engage as well as he could. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron struck to captain Hawke; but was next day burned by the admiral's order. Captain Cornwall was killed in the engagement, after continuing to give command, even after his leg was shot off by a cannon. The pursuit was continued for three days, at the end of which time Lestock seemed to come up with some vigour; but just then Matthews gave orders for discontinuing the pursuit, and sailed away for Port Mahon to repair the damage he had sustained. The English fleet was willing to claim the victory; and the French and Spaniards were not less pleased with their own good fortune. In England, however, this disputed success was considered as the most mortifying defeat, and the complaints of the people knew no bounds †.

The proceedings in the Netherlands were as unfavourable to the English as their enemies could desire. The French had assembled a formidable army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, the chief command

lent debates in both houses of parliament. It was considered as an imposition upon the nation, as an attempt to pay foreign troops for fighting their own battles; and the ministers were pressed by their own arguments against such measures before they came into power. They were ashamed, however, upon this occasion, boldly to defend what they so violently impugned; and at length, by the strength of numbers, and not of reason, they carried their cause.

* Several needy adventurers, who wished for a revolution, some men of broken fortunes, and all the Roman catholics of

the kingdom, endeavoured to confirm the court of France in these sentiments, of which they themselves were persuaded.

† Both admirals, upon their return, were tried by a court-martial. Matthews, who had fought with intrepidity, was declared for the future incapable of serving in his majesty's navy. Lestock, who had kept at a distance, was acquitted with honour, having entrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline. He barely did his duty. How much more noble would it have been for Lestock to have acted with vigour, when he knew the honour of his country was at stake!

of which was given to count Saxe*. To oppose this experienced general, the English were headed by the duke of Cumberland, who neither possessed such talents for war, nor was able to bring such a formidable body of men into the field. The French, therefore, bore down all before them. They besieged Fribourg, and in the beginning of the succeeding campaign invested Tournay. Although the allies were inferior in number, yet they resolved, if possible, to save this city by hazarding a battle. They accordingly marched against the enemy, and took post in sight of the French, who were encamped on an eminence, the village of St. Antoine on the right, a wood on the left, and the town of Fontenoy before them. This advantageous situation did not repress the ardour of the English, who began the attack in the morning of the 30th of April, 1745, and pressing forward bore down all opposition. They were for near an hour victorious, and confident of success, while Saxe, who commanded the enemy, was at that time sick of the same disorder of which he afterwards died. However, he was carried about to all the posts in a litter, and assured his attendants, that notwithstanding all unfavourable appearances, the day was his own. A column of the English without any command but by mere mechanical courage, had advanced upon the enemies lines, which opening, formed an avenue on each side to receive them. It was then that the French artillery on three sides began to play upon this forlorn body, which, though they continued for a long time unshaken, were obliged at last to retreat about three in the afternoon. This was one of the most bloody battles that had been fought in this age; the allies left on the field of battle near twelve thousand men, and the French bought their victory with near an equal number of slain†. The duke of Cumberland returned to England on the 12th of October.

A civil war was now going to be kindled in England, which filled every mind with terror and complaint. While this disturbance increased their perplexities, it only served to cement their union. The intended French invasion had roused all the attention of the people, and nothing breathed throughout the whole kingdom but the destruction of a popish pretender, assisted by French counsels and arms. The disappointment of that expedition served to increase the hatred of the people against the pretender still more, as it shewed that he was willing to be made a king, even by the open enemies of his country. The people, therefore, were never so ill disposed to receive him as at the very time he pitched upon to make a descent.

The admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. The fortrefs of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, on the coast of North-America, a place of great consequence to the British commerce, surrendered to general Peperell, while a short time after two French East-India ships, and a Spanish ship from Peru, laden with treasure, put into the harbour, supposing it still their own, and were taken. It was at this period

of returning success, that the son of the old pretender resolved to make an effort for gaining the British crown. Charles-Edward, the adventurer in question, had been bred in a luxurious court, without partaking in its effeminacy. He was enterprising and ambitious; but either from inexperience, or natural inability, utterly unequal to the bold undertaking. He was taught to believe that the kingdom was ripe for a revolt, and that it could no longer bear the immense load of taxes with which it was burthened. Being now furnished with some money, and with still larger promises from France, he embarked for Scotland on board a small frigate on the 23d of July, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other desperate adventurers. Thus, for the conquest of the whole British empire, he only brought with him seven officers, and arms for two thousand men. His convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled in an engagement with the Lion, an English man of war, that it was obliged to return to Brest, while he continued his course to the western parts of Scotland, and landing on the coast of Lochaber, on the 27th, was in a little time joined by some chiefs of the Highland clans, and their vassals, over whom they exercised an hereditary jurisdiction. By means of these chiefs he was soon at the head of fifteen hundred men, and invited others to join him by his manifestoes, which were dispersed all over the nation. The ministry was no sooner confirmed in the account of his arrival, which at first they could be scarcely induced to credit, than Sir John Cope was sent with a small body of forces to oppose his progress. The young adventurer was, by this time, September 4, arrived at Perth, where the ceremony was performed of proclaiming his father king of Great Britain. Descending thence, with his forces from the mountains, they seemed to gather strength as they advanced forward; and pursuing their route to Edinburgh, they entered that city without opposition. There again the pageantry of proclamation was performed; and there he promised to dissolve the union, which was considered as one of the grievances of the country. However, the castle of that city still held out, and he was unprovided with cannon to besiege it. In the mean time, Sir John Cope, who had pursued the rebels through the Highlands, but had declined meeting them in their descent, being now reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, resolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give the enemy battle. The young adventurer, whose forces were rather superior, though undisciplined, attacked him near Preston-Pans, a few miles from the capital, on the 21st of the same month, and soon put him and his troops to flight‡. His train was now composed of the earl of Kilmarnock, a man of desperate fortune, who had lately become discontented with the court for withdrawing a pension that had been granted to him. Lord Balmerino, who had been an officer in the English service, but gave up his commission, in order to join the rebels. The lords Cromarty, Elcho, Ogilvy, Pittligo, and the eldest son of lord Lovat§, who came in with their vassals, and

* Count Saxe was natural son to the late king of Poland, and had long been a soldier of fortune. He had been bred from his youth in camps, and had shewn very early instances of cool intrepidity. He had in the beginning of the war offered his services to several crowns; and among others, it is said, to the king of Great Britain; but his offers were rejected. By long habit this general had learned to preserve an equal composure in the midst of battle, and seemed as serene in the thickest fire as in the drawing-room at court.

† This blow, by which Tournay was taken by the French, gave them such a manifest superiority over all the rest of the campaign, that they kept the fruits of their victory during the whole continuance of the war. The duke of Bavaria, whom they had made emperor under the title of Charles VII. was lately dead; but though his pretensions were the original cause of the war, that by no means was discontinued at his decease. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor in his room; and though the original cause of the quarrel was no more, the dissensions still continued as fierce as ever.

‡ This victory, by which the king lost five hundred men, gave the rebels great influence; and had the pretender taken advantage of the general consternation, and marched directly for England, the consequence might have been fatal to freedom.

§ Lord Lovat was an enthusiast in the cause; but being without principles, he was not willing to act openly, being afraid of incurring the resentment of the ministry, whom he still dreaded. Never was there a man of such unaccountable ambition, or who ever more actively rendered himself hateful and suspected by all. He was at first outlawed for ravishing the duke of Argyle's niece. He then offered his service to the old pretender in France, and it was accepted. He next betrayed the forces which were sent to his assistance to queen Anne. He a second time invited the pretender over in the reign of George I. and being put in possession, by the chevalier, of the castle of Stirling, he once more betrayed his cause to the enemy. This man, true to neither party, had now, in secret, sent aid to the young chevalier, while, in his conversation, he affected to declaim against his attempt.

increased his army. The ministry of Great Britain, perceiving the manner in which the young pretender trifled his time, took every proper precaution to oppose him with success. Six thousand Dutch troops, that had come over to the assistance of the crown, were dispatched northward, under the command of general Wade; but it was then said, these could lend no assistance, because they were prisoners of France upon parole, and under engagements not to oppose that power for the space of one year. However this be, the duke of Cumberland soon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry, well disciplined, and enured to action. Besides these, volunteers offered in every part of the kingdom; and every county exerted a vigorous spirit of indignation both against the ambition, the religion, and the allies of the young pretender.

The chevalier had been bred up in a school that taught him maxims very different from those that then prevailed in England. Though he might have brought civil war, and all the calamities attending it with him, into the kingdom, he had been taught the assertion of his right was a duty incumbent upon him, and the altering the constitution, and perhaps the religion of his country, an object of laudable ambition. Thus animated Charles went forward with vigour, and having, upon frequent consultations with his officers, come to a resolution of making an irruption into England, he entered the country by the western border, and invested Carlisle, which surrendered in less than three days. He there found a considerable quantity of arms, and there too he procured his father to be proclaimed king. General Wade being apprized of his progress, advanced across the country from the opposite shore, but receiving intelligence that the enemy was two days march before him, he retired to his former station. The young pretender, therefore, thus unopposed, resolved to penetrate farther into the kingdom, having received assurances from France that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coasts, to make a diversion in his favour. He was flattered also with the hopes of being joined by a considerable number of malcontents, as he passed forward, and that his army would increase on the march. Accordingly, leaving a small garrison in Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in an Highland dress, and continuing his irruption till he came to Manchester, where he established his head-quarters. He was there joined by about two hundred English, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of colonel Townly. From thence he pursued his march to Derby, intending to go by the way of Chelster into Wales; but the factions among his own chiefs prevented his proceeding to that part of the kingdom.

He was by this time advanced within an hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with perplexity and consternation; and the king resolved to take the field in person. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law agreed to take the field, with the judges at their head; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of their country. Those concerned in the money-corporations were overwhelmed with dejection; but they found safety from the discontents, which now began to prevail in the pretender's army. The chevalier appears to have been but the nominal leader of his forces; as his generals, the chiefs of the Highland clans, were, from their education, ignorant, and averse to subordination. They had from the beginning begun to embrace an opposite system of operation, and to contend with each other for pre-eminence, but they seemed now unanimous in returning to their own country. The rebels accordingly effected their retreat to Carlisle without any loss, from whence

they crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland*. On the 21st of December the duke of Cumberland with his whole army invested Carlisle, and, on the 30th, the garrison surrendered at discretion. The prisoners, amounting to above four hundred men, were confined in different jails.

The pretender being now returned to Scotland, he proceeded to Glasgow, from which city he exacted several contributions. He advanced from thence to Stirling, where he was joined by lord Lewis Gordon, at the head of some forces, which had been assembled in his absence. Other clans, to the number of two thousand, came in likewise; and from some supplies of money, which he received from Spain, and from some skirmishes, in which he was successful against the royalists, his affairs began to wear a more promising aspect. Being joined by lord Drummond, he invested the castle of Stirling, commanded by general Blakeney; but the rebel forces being unused to sieges, consumed much time to no purpose. It was during this attempt, that general Hawley, who commanded a considerable body of forces, near Edinburgh, undertook to raise the siege, and advanced towards the rebel army as far as Falkirk. After two days spent in mutually examining each other's strength, the rebels being ardent to engage, were, on the 17th of January, 1746, led on in full spirits to attack the king's army. The pretender, who was in the front line, gave the signal to engage; and the first fire put Hawley's forces into confusion. The horse retreated with precipitation, and fell upon their own infantry; while the rebels following their success, the greatest part of the royal army fled with the utmost precipitation. They retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the conquerors in possession of their tents, their artillery, and the field of battle.

The affairs of the rebel army seemed thus far to have been in a prosperous way; but here was an end of all their triumphs. The duke of Cumberland had been recalled from Flanders, and, on the 31st of the same month, he put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men. With these he advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by several of the Scotch nobility, attached to the house of Hanover; and having revived the drooping spirits of his army, he resolved to find out the enemy, who retreated at his approach. After having refreshed his troops at Aberdeen for some time, he renewed his march, and in twelve days he came upon the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey.

On the 8th of April, the duke left Aberdeen, and arriving at Nairn, where he halted to refresh his men, he received advice that the enemy had burnt Fort Augustus; and marched from Inverness to Culloden, about nine miles distant from the royal army, to give him battle. The same night, however, the rebels marched with an intent to surprize the duke's army before day light; but this scheme proving abortive, they returned to Culloden, resolving in that station to wait for the royal army. On the 16th the duke decamped between four and five in the morning, and after marching about eight miles, perceived the advanced guard of the rebels amounting to eight thousand men, drawn up in order of battle, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery, and posted behind some walls and huts in a line with Culloden house. The duke having formed the royal army into three lines, the engagement began about one o'clock in the afternoon; the cannon of the king's army did dreadful execution among the rebels, while theirs was totally unserviceable. After the pretender's undisciplined troops had been kept in their ranks, and withstood the English fire for some time, they at length became impatient for closer engagement; and about five hundred of them made an irruption upon the left wing of the enemy with their accustomed

* In these marches they preserved all the rules of war; they abstained in a great measure from plunder, they levied

contributions on the towns as they passed along, and with unaccountable precaution left a garrison in Carlisle.

ferocity. The first line being disordered by this onset, two battalions advanced to support it, and galled the enemy with a terrible and close discharge. At the same time the dragoons, under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia pulling down a park-wall that guarded the flank of the enemy, and which they had but feebly defended, fell in among them, sword in hand, with great slaughter. In less than half an hour they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of above three thousand men. The French troops on the left did not fire a shot, but stood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched off the field, in order, while the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their leaders obliged with reluctance to retire. Thus in one fatal hour were blasted all the hopes of the young pretender; and he was now deprived of those imaginary thrones and sceptres which he had so fondly dreamed of; and was reduced from a nominal king to a distressed forlorn outcast, shunned by all mankind, except those who sought his destruction*.

While diligent search was making all over the country, in hopes of obtaining possession of the young pretender, scaffolds and gibbets were preparing for the execution of those who had adhered to his cause. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were drawn, hanged, and quartered, at Kennington-Common, in the vicinity of London. Their constancy in death gained more profelytes to their cause than even perhaps their victories would have obtained. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were transported to the plantations in North America. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, but his estates were confiscated; and the other two were beheaded on Tower-Hill, on the 18th of August, Kilmarnock, either convinced by his errors, or flattered to the last with the hopes of pardon; declared a consciousness of his crimes, and professed his repentance. But very different was the behaviour of Balmerino, who gloried in the cause for which he fell. When his fellow-sufferer was commanded to say God bless king George, which he did with a faint voice, Balmerino still avowed his principles, and cried out aloud, "God bless king James!" Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded in the former reign, being taken on board a ship as he was coming to reinforce the pretender's army, and the identity of his person being proved, he was sentenced upon a former con-

viction, and suffered his fate upon Tower-Hill with tranquillity and resolution. Lord Lovat was tried and found guilty in the spring of the following year; he died with great intrepidity, but his sufferings did but very little honour to his cause. This was the last effort of the family of the Stuarts for re-ascending the throne of England.

When the people had in some measure recovered from their consternation on account of the rebellion, the legislature undertook to establish several regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happiness of that people, and the tranquillity of the united kingdoms. The highlanders had till this time continued to wear the old military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. In consequence of this, they considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready, upon the shortest notice, to second the insurrections of their chiefs. But their habits were now reformed by an act of the legislature, and they were compelled to wear cloaths of the common fashion. What contributed still more to their real felicity, was the abolition of that hereditary jurisdiction which their chiefs exerted over them. The power of their chieftains was totally destroyed, and every subject in that part of the kingdom was granted a participation of the common liberty.

During the time that England was thus convulsed at the flames of war continued to rage upon the continent with increasing violence. The French arms were crowned with repeated success; and almost the whole Netherlands were reduced under their dominion. The Dutch negotiated, supplicated, and evaded the war, but they found themselves every day stripped of some of those strong towns which formed a barrier to their dominions, and which they had been put in possession of by the victories of Marlborough. They now lay almost defenceless, and seemed ready to receive the terms of their conquerors. They were divided by factions which had continued for above a century in their republic. The one declared for the prince of Orange and a stadtholder, the other opposed this election, and desired rather friendship than to be at variance with France. The prevalence of either of these factions to its utmost extent was equally fatal to freedom; for if a stadtholder was elected, the constitution became altered from a republic to a kind of limited monarchy; if, on the contrary, the opposite party prevailed, the people must submit to the weight of a confirmed aristocracy, supported by French power, and liable to its control. Of the two evils they chose the former; the people in several towns, inflamed almost to sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stad-

* Immediately after the engagement, chevalier Charles fled with a captain of Fitzjames's cavalry, and when their horses were fatigued, they alighted, and separately sought for safety. He for some days wandered in the country, naturally wild, but now rendered more formidable by war, a wretched spectator of all those horrors which were the result of his ill-guided ambition. There is a striking similitude between his adventures, and those of Charles II. upon his escape from Worcester. He sometimes found refuge in caves and cottages, without attendants, and dependent on the wretched natives, who could pity, but not relieve him. Sometimes he lay in forests, with one or two companions of his distress, continually pursued by the troops of the conqueror, as there was a reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, was the person who kept most faithfully by him, and inspired him with courage to support such incredible hardships. He had occasion, in the course of his concealments, to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whose veneration for his family prevailed above their avarice. One day, having walked from morning till night, he ventured to enter a house, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the opposite party. As he entered, he addressed the master of the house in the following manner: "The son of your king comes to beg a little bread and a few cloaths. I know your present attachment to my adversaries, but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or to take advantage of my distressed situation. Take these rags that have
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for some time been my only covering; you may probably restore them to me when I shall be seated on the throne of Great Britain." The master of the house was touched with pity at his distress; he assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged the secret. There were few of those who even wished his destruction, would choose to be the immediate actors in it, as it would subject them to the resentment of a numerous party. In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near six months, often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still rescued by some lucky accident from the impending danger. At length, a privateer of St. Maloes, hired by his adherents, arrived in Lochmanach, in which he embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frieze, threadbare, over which was a common Highland plaid, girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks; his eyes were hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, together with Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and a few other exiles. They set sail for France, on the 10th of August, 1746, and after having been chased by two English men of war, arrived in safety at Roscan, near Morlaix in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance of his pursuers been relaxed by a report that he was already slain.

holder, captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce with the French was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French by sea and land. Thus the war, which had begun but in a single country, was now diffused over all Europe; and like a disorder prevailed in different parts of this great political constitution, remitting and raging in rotation. The king of Sardinia, who had for some years before joined against England, now changed sides, and declared against the ambitious power of France. Italy felt all the terrors of intestine war, or more properly looked on, while foreigners were contending with each other for her usurped dominions. The French and Spaniards on one side, and the Imperialists and the king of Sardinia on the other, ravaged those beautiful territories by turns, and gave laws to a country that had once spread her dominions over the world.

On the 20th of September the English landed a body of forces at Quimperley Bay, ten miles from Port l'Orient, a sea-port in France, but weakly defended. Next day general Sinclair advanced into the country, skirmishing with the enemy in his route; and arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port l'Orient, summoned that place to surrender. He was visited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the British forces, on condition that they should be restrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and that they should pay a just price for their provisions. These terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the English general resolved to besiege the place in form, though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprize. This strange resolution was owing to the declaration of the engineers, who promised to lay the place in ashes in the space of four-and-twenty hours. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Notwithstanding the difficulties they had to encounter, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red-hot bullets: they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works: but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, the engineers owning they could not perform their promise, and admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year; general Sinclair abandoned the siege; the troops were re-embarked; and in the beginning of October the fleet sailed to Quiberon-Bay, where they destroyed the *Ardent*, a French ship of war, of sixty-four guns, and a detachment of the forces being landed, took possession of a fort on the peninsula; while the little islands of

Houat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors. In this situation the admiral and general continued till the 17th of the month, when the forts being dismantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleet sailed from the French coast: the admiral returned to England, and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in safety. The French gained a considerable victory at Roucroux in Flanders, although it procured them no real advantage, and cost them as many lives as they destroyed of the enemy. Another victory, which they obtained at La Feldt, served to depress the allied army still lower. But the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, reduced the Dutch to a state of desperation. However, these victories gained by the French were counterbalanced with almost equal disappointments. In Italy the marshal Belleisle's brother, attempting to penetrate at the head of thirty-four thousand men into Piedmont, was routed, and himself slain. An unsuccessful fleet was sent out for the recovery of Cape Breton. Two more were fitted out, the one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and the other to carry on the operations in the East-Indies; but these were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine of their ships taken. Soon after this, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was soon after followed by another defeat, which the French fleet sustained from admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line, and several frigates were taken. In this manner victory, defeat, negotiation, treachery, and rebellion, succeeded each other for some years, till all sides began to think themselves getting more feeble, and gaining no solid advantage; and consequently growing tired of the war, they came to the resolution that a negotiation should be set on foot. A negotiation being now resolved upon, the contending powers agreed to assemble in congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the beginning of 1748, where the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain. They continued some time at Aix-la-Chapelle, adjusting all the articles of the definitive treaty, which, at length, was concluded on the 7th of October*. This treaty, which some asserted would serve for a bond of permanent amity, was, properly speaking, but a temporary truce; a cessation from hostilities, which both sides were unable to continue. Though the war between England and France was actually hushed up in Europe, yet in the East and West-Indies it still went forward with diminished vehemence: both sides still willing to offend, still offending, and yet both complaining of infraction.

The ministry now seemed desirous to promote the commerce of the kingdom; and for this purpose a bill was passed for encouraging a British herring fishery, in the manner of that carried on by the Dutch, under proper regulations. From the carrying such a scheme vigorously into execution, great advantages were expected.

* The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was begun upon the preliminary conditions of restoring all conquests made during the war. From thence great hopes were expected of conditions both favourable and honourable to the English; but the treaty still remains a lasting mark of precipitate counsels, and English disgrace. By this it was agreed, that all prisoners on each side should be mutually restored, and all conquests given up. That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir-apparent to the Spanish throne, and to his heirs; but in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, that then those dominions should revert to the house of Austria. It was confirmed that the fortifications of Dunkirk to the sea should be demolished; that the English ships annually sent with slaves to the coast of New Spain, should have this privilege continued for four years. That the king of Prussia should be confirmed in the possession of Silesia, which he had lately conquered; and that the queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the peace was more displeasing and afflictive to the English than all the rest. It was stipulated that the king of Great

Britain should immediately, after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction to France as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all other conquests which England had made during the war. This was a mortifying clause; but to add to the general error of the negotiation, no mention was made of the searching the vessels of England in the American seas, upon which the war was originally begun. The limits of their respective possessions in North-America were not ascertained; nor did they receive any equivalent for those forts which they restored to the enemy. The treaty of Utrecht had long been the object of reproach to those by whom it was made; but, with all its faults, the treaty now concluded was by far more despicable and erroneous. Yet such was the spirit of the times, that the treaty of Utrecht was branded with universal contempt, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was extolled with the highest strains of praise. But the people were wearied with repeated disgrace, and only expecting an accumulation of misfortunes by continuing the war, they were glad of any peace that promised a pause to their disappointments. Goldsmith. The

The Dutch, who had long enjoyed the sole profits arising from this article, considered the sea as a mine of inexhaustible wealth. But the patience and frugality of that nation seem to fit them more properly for the life of fishermen than the English. Certain it is, that experience has shewn this attempt to rival the Dutch to have been ineffectual. Perhaps the company was not established upon the strictest principles of œconomy; perhaps the Dutch art of curing their fish was not practised or understood perfectly.

Mr. Pelham now laid a scheme for lightening the immense load of debt which the nation sustained in consequence of the late war. His plan was to lessen the debt, by lowering the interest which had been promised on granting the supplies, or else obliging the lenders to receive the sums originally granted. Those, for instance, who were proprietors of stock, and received for the use of their money four *per cent.* were, by an act passed for that purpose, compelled to subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept of three pounds ten shillings *per cent.* the following year, and three *per cent.* every year ensuing; and in case of a refusal, assurances were given that the government would pay off the principal. This scheme was attended with the desired effect, though it, in some measure, was a force upon the lender, who had originally granted his money upon different terms, and under a promise of continuing beneficial to the nation; and experience has shewn, that it no way affected the public credit. Besides this salutary measure, others were pursued for the interest of the nation with equal success. The importation of iron from America was allowed, the trade to Africa was laid open to the nation, but under the superintendence of the board of trade.

But all the advantages the nation reaped from these salutary measures were not sufficient to counterbalance the stroke which liberty received, as some are of opinion, by an unusual stretch of the privileges of the house of commons. The city of Westminster had long been represented by members who were, in some measure, appointed by the ministry. Lord Trentham, member for Westminster, having vacated his seat in the house of commons, by accepting a place under the crown, again resolved to stand candidate, and met with a violent opposition. It was objected by some, that he had been uncommonly active in introducing some French strollers, who had come over by the invitations of the nobility to open a theatre when our own were shut up. This accusation against him excited a violent combination, who styled themselves the Independent Electors of Westminster, and who named Sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, as his competitor. These resolved to support their nomination at their own expence, and accordingly opened houses of entertainment for the inferior voters, and propagated abuse as usual. At length, the poll being closed, the majority appeared to be in favour of lord Trentham; but a scrutiny being demanded by the other party, it was protracted by management on the one side, and tumult on the other. After some time the scrutiny appearing in favour of lord Trentham, the Independent Electors complained of partiality and injustice in the high-bailiff of Westminster, who took the poll, and carried their petition to the house. To this petition the house paid little attention; but proceeded to examine the high-bailiff as to the cause that had so long protracted the election. This officer laid the blame upon Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for the petitioners, and also upon the honourable Alexander Murray, a friend to Sir George Vandeput, and one Gibson, an upholsterer. These three persons were, therefore, brought to the bar of the house; Crowle and Gibson consented to ask pardon, and were dismissed, upon being reprimanded by the speaker. Murray was at first admitted to bail; but upon the deposition of several witnesses that he had headed a mob to intimidate the voters, it was resolved by the house that he should be committed a close prisoner to Newgate, and that he should receive his sentence at the bar of the house;

being directed to kneel, he refused to comply, and this threw the whole assembly into commotion. They then were resolved to pursue more vigorous measures; ordered that he should be committed to Newgate, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him, without permission of the house. This imprisonment he underwent with great cheerfulness, sensible, that by the constitution of the country, his confinement could continue no longer than while the commons continued sitting; and at the end of the session he was accordingly discharged. But what was his amazement, at the commencement of the ensuing session, to find that he was again called upon, and that a motion was made for committing him close prisoner to the Tower. The delinquent, therefore, thought proper to screen himself from their resentment by absconding; but the people could not help considering their representatives rather as their oppressors, and the house as asserting rather vindictive than legislative authority. Some thought they saw in this measure the seeds of a future aristocracy; that the commons erected themselves into a tribunal, where they determined on their own privileges, and ready to punish, without the consent of the other parts of the legislature. However, the subject has still one resource against any violent resolutions of the house against him; he may resist, if he thinks proper, as they are armed with no legal executive powers to compel obedience.

The nation was scarce recovered from the resentment produced by this measure, when another was taken in the house, which, in reality, made distinctions among the people, and laid a line between the rich and poor, that seemed impassable. This was the act for the better preventing clandestine marriages, and for the more public solemnization of that ceremony. The grievance complained of, and which this law was calculated to redress, was, that the sons and daughters of opulent families were often seduced into marriage before they had acquired sufficient experience in life, to be sensible of the disparity of the match. This statute, therefore, enacted, that the banns of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for one month, at least, before the ceremony. It declared, that any marriage solemnized without this previous publication, or a licence obtained from the bishop's court, should be void; and that the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years. This was a very unpopular act; and this session was also distinguished by another act equally unpopular. This was the law for naturalizing the Jews. The ministry boldly affirmed, that such a law would greatly contribute to the benefit of the nation; that it would increase the wealth, the credit, and the commerce of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of political toleration. Others, however, were of different sentiments; they saw greater favour was shewn to the Jews by this bill, than to some other sects professing Christianity; that an introduction of this people into the kingdom would disgrace the character of the nation, and cool the zeal of the natives for religion, which was already too much neglected. The bill was passed into a law; but the people without doors remonstrated so loudly against it, that the ministry were obliged, the ensuing session, to obtain a repeal of it.

An act equally unpopular with the two former was now also passed, which contained regulations for the better preserving the game. By this, none but men possessed of a stated fortune were allowed a privilege of carrying a gun, or destroying game, though even upon the grounds which he himself rented and paid for. This law was but of very little service to the community; it totally damped all that martial ardour among the lower order of mankind, by preventing their handling those arms which might one day be necessary to defend their country. It also defeated its own end of preserving the game: for the farmers, abridged of the power of seizing game, never permitted it to come to its full growth.

In 1749 a scheme was entered into by several persons of

of distinction, for making a settlement in North America. This scheme was first set on foot by lord Halifax; and it was for the encouraging those who had been discharged the army or navy, to become settlers in a new colony in North America, in the province of Nova-Scotia. To this retreat it was thought the waste of an exuberant nation might well be drained off; and those bold spirits kept in employment at a distance, who might be dangerous, if suffered to continue in idleness at home. Nova-Scotia was a cold, barren, and inhospitable climate. The new colony, therefore, was maintained there with some expence to the government in the beginning; and such as were permitted soon went southward to the milder climates, where they were invited by an untenanted and fertile soil. And it was for this barren spot that the English and French revived the war, which soon after spread with such terrible devastation over every part of the globe. The native Indians bordering upon the deserts of Nova Scotia, a fierce and savage people, looked from the first with jealousy upon these new settlers; and they considered the vicinity of the English as an encroachment upon their native possessions. The French, who were neighbours in like manner, and who were still impressed with national animosity, fomented these suspicions in the natives, representing the English as enterprising and severe. Commissioners were, therefore, appointed to meet at Paris, to compromise these disputes; but these conferences were rendered abortive by the disputes of men, who could not be supposed to understand the subject in debate. As this seemed to be the first place where the dissensions took their rise for a new war, it may be necessary to be a little more minute. The French had been the first cultivators of Nova-Scotia, and, by great industry and long perseverance, had rendered the soil, naturally barren, somewhat more fertile, and capable of sustaining nature, with some assistance from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed its masters, until at length the English were settled in the possession, and acknowledged as the rightful owners, by the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of this country was reckoned necessary to defend the English colonies to the North, and to preserve their superiority in the fisheries in that part of the world. The French, who had been long settled in the back parts of the country, resolved to use every method to dispossess the newcomers, and spirited the Indians to more open hostilities, which were represented to the English ministry for some time without redress. Soon after this, another source of dispute began to be seen in the same part of the world, and promised as much uneasiness as the former. The French pretending first to have discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the East, and quite to the Apalachian mountains on the West. In order to assert their claims, as they found several English, who had settled beyond these mountains, from motives of commerce, and also invited by the natural beauties of the country, they dispossessed them of their new settlements, and built such forts as would command the whole country round about. It was now seen, that their intention was to surround the English colonies, which lay along the shore, by taking possession of the internal parts of the country that lay on the back of our settlements; and thus, being in possession already of the northern and southern parts of that great continent, to hem the English in on every side, and secure to themselves all the trade with the natives of the internal part of the country. The English, therefore, justly apprehended, that if the French united their northern colonies, which were traded into by the river St. Lawrence, to their southern, which were accessible by the river Mississippi, that then they must in a short time become masters of the whole country; and by having a wide extended territory to range in, they would soon multiply, and become every day more powerful. Negotiations had long been carried on to determine these differences; but as the limits of those countries had never been set-

tled, the negotiations were of little use. Not in America alone, but also in Asia, the seeds of a new war were preparing to be expanded. On the coasts of Malabar, the English and French had, in fact, never ceased from hostilities.

In 1750 the inhabitants of the metropolis were thrown into the utmost consternation, by two shocks of an earthquake; the first on the 8th of February, between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon, was felt all over the cities of London and Westminster, and parts adjacent; in many places the waters were agitated to a very considerable degree. At half an hour after five o'clock, on the morning of the 8th of March, the town was alarmed a second time, by a shock more severe than the former, attended with a hollow rustling noise, as if caused by wind, and the violence of it awaked numbers of people out of their sleep; but providentially no mischief happened, except the throwing down of some chimnies, and damaging some old houses. The shock was so violent in some places, that the people ran from their beds and houses almost naked, in the utmost confusion. There was observed preceding the shock, a continual, though confused lightning, till within a minute or two of its being felt, the flashes of which were very strong. The shock was felt in Essex, Kent, and Surrey, as well as in most parts of Middlesex; and the panic, which was universal in the four counties, was considerably increased, by the ridiculous prediction of an enthusiastic soldier, who boldly prophesied, that the next shock would happen in the night between the 7th and 8th of April, and lay the whole cities of London and Westminster in ruins. Absurd as this prognostication must seem to persons of philosophy and reflection, it had an amazing effect on the populace, insomuch, that multitudes abandoned their houses and retired into the country; and in the evening of the 7th of April, the fields adjacent to the metropolis were crowded with people, who continued there during the whole night in the most alarming situation, till the light of the morning dissipated their fears, and convinced them of the fallacy of the prognostication.

Soon after this alarm, a very extraordinary accident happened at the sessions of the Old Bailey. The putrid air adhering to the cloaths of the malefactors spread a pestilential fever among the audience. The lord-mayor of London, one alderman, two of the judges, several lawyers, and the greater part of the jury, lost their lives by this pestilential vapour. This melancholy catastrophe occasioned orders to be given for erecting a ventilator on the leads of the jail of Newgate, in order to extract the foul air, and cause a circulation of fresh to prevent, if possible, the like accident in future.

On the 10th of March, 1751, died the prince of Wales, in the forty-fifth year of his age. He had caught cold about three weeks before in the gardens at Kew; and having neglected, through hurry of business, to have it removed, it was still farther increased by his coming very warm from the house of peers with the windows of his chair open. A pleurisy was the consequence of this cold, which his physicians, however, were far from apprehending to be mortal; and upon the application of proper remedies, he was even thought to be in a fair way of recovery, till the very hour before his departure, when a large abscess upon his lungs, which had been gathering, was supposed to burst, and to be the immediate cause of his death. He was a lover and very munificent patron of the liberal arts, an unshaken friend to merit, and warmly attached to the interest of his country.

An almost total extinction of party spirit was the consequence of the death of the prince of Wales. The tender affection expressed by the king towards the princess and her children, and the dutiful submission which they shewed to him, made such an impression on the minds of the people in general, that all party distinctions seemed at once to be annihilated.

Among the acts passed this session of parliament, was one for regulating the commencement of the year, and
correcting

correcting the calendar agreeable to the Gregorian computation which had been long adapted by most other kingdoms. It was by this statute enacted, that the year should for the future begin on the 1st of January, and that the eleven intermediate and nominal days between the 2d and 14th of September ensuing should be for that year omitted. By this correction the equinoxes and solstices will happen nearly on the same nominal days on which they fell at the council of Nice in the year 325.

In the year 1753, a very strange event happened, which marks the prevalence of credulity and party-zeal. A young woman whose name was Elizabeth Canning, pretended to have been forcibly conveyed from Moorfields on the evening of the 1st of January to the obscure mansion of one Wells near Enfield-Wash, a woman suspected of harbouring unfortunate prostitutes; from whence, after a continuance of twenty-eight days, she made her escape without the least violation of her virtue. Notwithstanding the absurdity of the pretence, the improbability of the girl's continuance in a place of known infamy, so long a time, without the violation of her virtue, and the apparent ease with which she might at any time have effected her escape, the story operated so powerfully on the minds of numbers of people, that they became her strenuous advocates, and raised large subscriptions for the prosecution of the supposed delinquents. After various depositions, and bills of perjury being preferred on both sides, Canning was found guilty of perjury, and transported to America.

The year 1753 was likewise distinguished by the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of a warlike tribe who had espoused the Pretender's cause. After the battle of Culloden, where he was dangerously wounded, he escaped to the continent. His brother, the Doctor, having accompanied him in his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, was included with him in the act of attainder passed against those who had been concerned in the rebellion. Notwithstanding the danger attending such an attempt the doctor returned privately to Scotland, with a view to recover a sum of money belonging to the pretender, which had been embezzled by his adherents in that country. Here he was discovered, apprehended, conducted to London, confined in the Tower, examined by the privy-council, and produced in the court of King's Bench, where the identity of his person being proved, he received sentence of death, and was soon after executed at Tyburn.

In 1754, Mr. Pitt, paymaster-general of the forces, brought in a bill for the assistance of those disabled veterans who enjoy the pension of Chelsea hospital. These people had been greatly oppressed by a set of miscreants, who supplied them with money *per* advance, at the most exorbitant rates of usury; inasmuch that many of them, with their families, were in danger of starving, and the benevolent intention of government in a manner defeated. Perceiving that the evil arose from the delay of the first payment, which the pensioner could not receive till he had been twelve months on the list, Mr. Pitt provided in the bill, that six months pension should be advanced six months before it became due; and the usurious practice was prevented by a clause which made void all contracts by which any pension might be mortgaged. This bill, being highly approved, soon passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

On the 27th of April, 1755, admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line and one frigate, set sail for Newfoundland, and shortly after his arrival there the French fleet under M. Bois de la Mothe, came to the same station; but owing to the foggy weather great part of the French squadron crept up the river St. Lawrence. The Alcide of sixty-four guns, and the Lys, pierced for sixty-four, but mounting only twenty two, having eight companies of land forces on board, were, however, separated from the fleet; and these, after an obstinate engagement with two sixty gun ships, fell into the hands of the English.

No. LXVIII.

In the latter end of this year, the whole world was thrown into the deepest consternation by a dreadful earthquake, which, on the 1st of November, shook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Lisbon almost in ruins. Providentially the quarter in which the English chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouses, suffered the least of any part of the city; as most of the British merchants then residing there had gone, with their families, to their country houses, to avoid the insults, to which they might have been exposed from the Portuguese populace, during the celebration of *Auto da Fé*, which was to be held the very day on which the earthquake happened. As soon as the British minister at the court of Lisbon had transmitted to his majesty an account of this melancholy event, he sent a message to both houses of parliament, acquainting them with the particulars, and desiring their concurrence and assistance in speedily relieving the unhappy sufferers; and the parliament thereupon, to the honour of British humanity, unanimously voted, for the use of the distressed subjects of Portugal, a free gift of an hundred thousand pounds. His Portuguese majesty was so touched with this instance of British generosity, that as a proof of his gratitude, he ordered Mr. Castres, the English resident at his court, to give the preference, in the distribution of these supplies, to the British subjects, who had suffered by the earthquake. Accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the provisions, and two thousand pounds in money, were set apart for that purpose: and the court of Lisbon returned thanks, in the warmest terms, to the king and people of Great Britain.

The infractions of the French in various parts of the world had long been complained of by the government of England; but these complaints produced only negotiations, accusations, and a mutual destruction of each other's subjects at the same time. At length the ministry came to the resolution of cutting the knot which they could not unloose, and to act at once in open defiance of the enemy. Orders were accordingly dispatched to all the governors of the American provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual security; and, if possible, to bring the Indians over to espouse their quarrel. But this was a measure which, by long neglect, was now become impracticable. Thus the English had not only the French, but also the whole body of the Indian nations to contend with; but what was still worse, their own contentions among each other rendered their situation yet more deplorable. Some of the English provinces who, from their situation, had little to fear from the enemy, or few advantages to expect from success, declined furnishing their share of the supplies. At the same time the governors of some other colonies, who had been men of broken fortunes, and had left England in hopes of retrieving their lost circumstances by rapacity abroad, became so odious, that the colonies refused to lend any assistance, when such men were to have the management. The successes, therefore, of the French in the beginning were flattering and uninterrupted. There had been for some time frequent skirmishes between the troops, and those of the government of England. They had fought with general Laurence to the North, and colonel Washington to the South, and came off most commonly victorious. It is unnecessary to transmit these trifling details to posterity, or to load the page with barbarous names, and unimportant marches. It may be sufficient to say, that the two nations seemed to have imbibed a part of the savage fury of those with whom they fought, and exercised various cruelties, either from a spirit of avarice or revenge.

The ministry, however, in England began a very vigorous exertion in defence of those colonies, who refused to defend themselves. Four operations were undertaken in America at the same time. Of these, one was commanded by colonel Monckton, who had orders to drive the French from the encroachments upon the province of Nova-Scotia. The second, more to the

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South, was directed against Crown-Point, under the command of general Johnson. The third, under the conduct of general Shirley, was destined to Niagara, to secure the forts on the river; and the fourth was farther southward still, against Fort Du Quesne, under general Braddock. In these expeditions Monckton was successful; Johnson also was victorious, though he failed in taking the fort against which he was sent; Shirley was thought to have lost the season for operation by delay; Braddock* was vigorous and active, but suffered a defeat.

The indignation that was raised on account of these defeats, drove the English into a spirit of retaliation by sea, where they were sure of success. Orders were, therefore, given to make prize of the French shipping wherever found, though they had not yet published any formal declaration of war. With this order the naval commanders readily and willingly complied; the French merchant ships were taken in several places, and soon the English ports were filled with vessels taken from the enemy, and kept as an indemnification for those forts of which the enemy had unjustly possessed themselves in America. The benefit of this measure was much more obvious than its justice; it struck such a blow that the French navy was unable to recover itself during the continuance of the war. Hostilities being thus begun, war was shortly after declared on both sides.

Both nations now made vigorous preparations, as well to annoy, as to intimidate each other. In this the French were most successful, and for a long time had the satisfaction to see not only success attend their arms, but discontent and faction dividing the counsels of their opponents. Their first attempt was by intimidating England with the threats of a formidable invasion. Several bodies of their troops had for some time been sent down to the coasts that lay opposite the British shores; these were instructed in the discipline of embarking and re-landing from flat-bottomed boats, which were made in great numbers for that expedition. The number of men destined for this enterprize amounted to fifty thousand; but they discovered the utmost reluctance to the undertaking, and it was by degrees that the French ministry hoped to prevail upon them to proceed. Every day they were exercised with embarking and disembarking, while numbers of new flat-bottomed boats were continually added. These preparations terrified the people of England; and in this exigence they applied to the Dutch for six thousand men, which they were obliged to furnish by treaty in case of invasion. However, the Dutch refused the supply, alledging, that their treaty was to supply troops in case of an actual, and not a threatened invasion. The king, therefore, finding that he could not have the Dutch forces until their assistance

would be too late, desisted entirely from his demand, and the Dutch, with great expressions of friendship, returned him thanks for withdrawing his request. The ministry, disappointed of this assistance, obtained the aid of a body of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand men. These were purchased by the ministry, and brought over into England, to protect about as many millions of Englishmen, who were supposed incapable of defending themselves. But the people made loud complaints, as they considered themselves as no way brought under the necessity of borrowing such feeble aid. They demanded only a vigorous exertion of their own internal strength, and feared no force that could be led to invade them.

These murmurs among the English, gave the French an opportunity of carrying on their designs in another quarter; and while the ministry were employed in guarding against the neighbouring terrors, they were attacked in the Mediterranean, where they expected no danger. The island of Minorca, which we had taken from the Spaniards in the reign of queen Anne, was secured to England by repeated treaties. But the ministry had neglected to take sufficient precautions for its defence; so that the garrison was weak, and no way fitted to stand a vigorous siege. The French, therefore, landed near the fortification of St. Philip, in April, 1756, which was reckoned one of the strongest in Europe, and commanded by general Blakeney, who was brave indeed, but rather superannuated. The siege was carried on with great vigour, and for some time as obstinately defended on the side of the English.

The ministry, being apprized of this unexpected attack, resolved to raise the siege, if possible, and sent admiral Byng with ten ships of war, to relieve Minorca at any rate. Byng accordingly sailed from Gibraltar, where he was refused any assistance of men from the governor of that garrison, under a pretence that his own fortification was in danger. Upon his approaching the island, he saw the French banners displayed upon the shore, and the English colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. He had been ordered to throw a body of troops into the garrison; but this he thought too hazardous an undertaking; nor did he even make an attempt. While he was thus deliberating between his fears and his duty, his attention was quickly called off by the appearance of a French fleet, that seemed of nearly equal force to his own. Confounded by a variety of measures, he seemed resolved to pursue none; and therefore gave orders to form the line of battle, and act upon the defensive†. The French fleet advanced, a part of the English fleet engaged, the admiral still kept aloof, and gave very plausible reasons for not coming into action. The French fleet, therefore, slowly

* This bold commander, who had been recommended to this service by the duke of Cumberland, set forward upon his expedition in June, 1757, and left the cultivated parts of the country on the 10th, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival, he was there informed that the French at Fort Du Quesne, against which he was destined, expected a reinforcement of five hundred men, and would then become his equals in the field; he therefore resolved with all haste to advance and attack them, before they became too powerful by this conjunction. In consequence of this resolution, leaving colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as quick as the nature of the service would admit, he marched forward with the rest of his army, through a country that still remained in primeval wildness, solitary and hideous, inhabited only by beasts, and hunters still more formidable. However, he went forward with intrepidity, and soon found himself advanced into the deserts of Oswego, where no European had ever been. But his courage was greater than his caution; regardless of the designs of the enemy, he took no care previously to explore the woods or the thickets, as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the more unmindful he became of danger. Being at length within ten miles of the fortress he was appointed to besiege, and marching forward through the forest with full confidence of success, on

a sudden his whole army was astonished by a general discharge of arms, both in front and flank, from an enemy that still remained unseen. It was now too late to think of retreating; the troops had passed into the defile, which the enemy had artfully permitted them to do before they offered to fire. The vanguard of the English now fell back in consternation upon the main body, and the panic soon became general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while Braddock himself still continued to command his brave associates, discovering at once the greatest intrepidity and the greatest imprudence. An enthusiast to the discipline of war, he disdained to fly from the field, or permit his men to quit their ranks, when their only method of treating the Indian army, was by a precipitate attack, or an immediate desertion of the field of battle. At length Braddock, having received a musket-shot through the lungs, dropped, and a total confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left to the enemy; and the loss sustained by the English army might amount to seven hundred men. The shattered remains of the army, soon after joining colonel Dunbar, returned by their former route, and arrived to spread the general consternation among the provincials of Philadelphia.

† Byng had been long praised for his skill in naval tactics, and perhaps, valuing most those talents for which he was most praised, he sacrificed all claims to courage to the applause for naval discipline.

failed away, and no other opportunity ever offered of coming to a closer engagement. The admiral's caution was carried rather beyond the proper bounds; but a council of war, which was soon after called on board the admiral's own ship, deprived the English garrison of all hopes of succour. It was there determined to sail away to Gibraltar to refit the fleet; and it was agreed that the relief of Minorca was become impracticable*.

The French, being now masters of Minorca, were willing to second their blow by an attack upon a country which they were sensible the king of England valued still more. They were convinced that they could not hold their acquisitions against such a superiority as the English were possessed of at sea, and the numberless resources they had of assisting the colonies with all the necessaries of war, so that they made no scruple of declaring that they would revenge all injuries which they should sustain in their colonies upon the king of England's territories in Germany; a threat which they secretly believed would soon compel the English ministry to accept of such terms as they should be pleased to offer. Or, in case of perseverance, they knew that it would divide the English forces, and lead them to a country where they must be manifestly inferior. In these hopes they were not much disappointed. The court of London, dreading the consequences of their indignation, and eager to procure the security of Hanover, entered into a very expensive treaty with the court of Russia, by which it was stipulated, that a body of fifty thousand Russians should be ready to act in the English service, in case Hanover should be invaded; and for this the czarina was to receive an hundred thousand pounds annually, to be paid in advance†; but the king of Prussia declared against the admission of an army of Russians into Germany.

The king of England, whose fears for Hanover guided all his counsels, now perceived his native dominions were exposed to the resentment not only of France, but of Prussia; and either of these was sufficient at once to over-run and ravage his electorate, while the Russian subsidies were at too great a distance to lend him the smallest relief. Treaties were once more set on foot to lend a precarious security; and the king of Prussia was applied to, in hopes of turning his resentment another way. All that the king of England wished for was to

keep a foreign enemy from invading Germany, and this the king of Prussia professed to desire with equal ardour. From this similitude of intention, these two monarchs were induced to unite their interests; and as they were both inspired by the same wish, they soon came to an agreement, by which they promised to assist each other, and to prevent all foreign arms from entering the empire of Germany.

Both powers hoped great advantages from this new alliance. Besides preserving the independence of the German states, which was the ostensible object, each had their peculiar benefits in view. The king of Prussia knew that the Austrians were his secret enemies, and that the Russians were in league with them against him. An alliance, therefore, with the court of London kept back the Russians, whom he dreaded, and gave him hopes of punishing Austria, whom he long suspected. As for France, he counted upon that as an unnatural ally, which from its long and hereditary enmity with the Austrians, would never continue steadfast in their interests. On the other side, the elector of Hanover had still stronger expectations from the benefits that would result from this alliance. By this he produced a near and powerful ally, which he supposed the French would not venture to disoblige. He counted upon the Austrians as naturally attached to his own interests by gratitude and friendship, and he supposed that the Russians would at least continue neuter from their former stipulations and subsidy. The two contracting powers soon found themselves deceived in every one of these expectations.

This alliance soon after gave birth to one of an opposite nature, that astonished all Europe. The queen of Hungary had long meditated designs for recovering Silesia, which the king of Prussia had invaded when she was unable to defend her native dominions, and kept possession of by a reluctant concession. Her chief hopes of assistance were from Russia; and she expected the rest of the powers in question would continue neuter. However, she now found by the late treaty, that all her hopes of Russian assistance were frustrated, as England was joined with Prussia to counteract her intentions. Thus deprived of one ally, she sought for another. She applied to France for that purpose; and to procure the friendship of that court gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages securing against that power with its blood and its treasures‡.

This

* Nothing could exceed the resentment of the nation, upon being informed of Byng's conduct. The ministry were not averse to throwing from themselves the blame of those measures which were attended with such indifferent success, and they secretly fanned the flame. The news which soon after arrived, of the surrender of the garrison to the French, drove the general ferment almost to frenzy. In the mean time Byng continued at Gibraltar, quite satisfied with his own conduct, and little expected the dreadful storm that was gathering against him at home. Orders, however, were soon sent out for putting him under an arrest and for bringing him to England. Upon his arrival he was committed to close custody in Greenwich hospital, and some arts used to inflame the populace against him, who wanted no incentives to condemn, and bring him to trial. Several addresses were sent up from different counties, demanding justice on the delinquent, which the ministry were willing to second. He was soon after tried by a court-martial in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after a trial, which continued several days, his judges at last agreed, that he had not done his utmost during the engagement to destroy the enemy; and therefore they adjudged him to suffer death, by the twelfth article of war. At the same time, they recommended him as an object of mercy, as they considered his conduct rather as the effects of error than of cowardice. By this sentence they expected to satisfy at once the resentment of the nation, and yet screen themselves from conscious severity. The government was resolved upon shewing him no mercy; the parliament was applied to in his favour; but they found no circumstances in his conduct that would invalidate the former sentence. Being thus abandoned to his fate, he maintained to the last a degree of fortitude and serenity, that no way betrayed any timidity or cowardice. On the day fixed for his execution, March 14, 1757, which was on board his majesty's ship the Monarque, in the harbour of Portsmouth, he advanced

from the cabin, where he had been imprisoned, upon deck, the place appointed for him to suffer. After delivering a paper, containing the strongest assertions of his innocence, and in which he declared himself "a victim, destined to divert the indignation of an injured and deluded people, from the proper object," he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for some time persisted in not covering his face; but his friends represented that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers who were to shoot him, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with a handkerchief; and then giving the signal for the soldiers to fire, he was killed instantaneously. There appears some severity in Byng's punishment; but it certainly produced soon after very beneficial effects to the nation.

† This treaty with the Russians, which was considered as a master stroke of politics by the ministry in England, soon appeared to be as nugatory as it was expensive. The king of Prussia had long considered himself as guardian of the interests of Germany, and was startled at a treaty which threatened to deluge the empire with an army of barbarians. This monarch, whose talents were well known even at that time, but who since became so famous, had learned by his sagacity to prevent the designs of his enemies, while yet beginning, and to repress them by his courage when they were begun. He, therefore, took the first opportunity to declare, that he would not suffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries, or as principals. This consummate politician had, it seems, been already apprized of a secret negotiation between the Russians and the Austrians, by which the latter were to enter the empire, and strip him of his late conquests of Silesia. Thus England was but the dupe of Russian politics; she paid them a large subsidy for entering the empire, which they had already determined to perform without her commands.

‡ By this extraordinary revolution the whole political system

This treaty between France and Austria was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede; and she, regardless of her subsidies from England, ardently embraced the proposal. And not Russia alone, but Sweden also, was brought to accede by the intrigues of France; and a war between that nation and Prussia was entered upon, though contrary to the inclinations of the respective kings of either state.

Thus were the forces of the contending powers now drawn out in the following manner. England opposed France in America, Asia, and on the ocean, France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe*. Then again Austria had their aims on the dominions of Prussia, and drew the elector of Saxony into the same designs. In these views she was seconded by France and Sweden, and by Russia, who had hopes of acquiring a settlement in the west of Europe. Such were the different combinations which were formed to begin the general war, while the rest of the powers continued anxious spectators of the contention.

The preparations for war were first begun on the side of Austria, who had engaged the elector of Saxony in the general dispute. Great armaments were, therefore, put on foot in Moravia and Bohemia, while the elector of Saxony drew together about sixteen thousand men, which were strongly posted at Pirna. The intent of these preparations was soon perceived by the king of Prussia; and he ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand a clear explanation, and to extort proper assurances of the amicable intentions of that court. To this demand he at first received an evasive answer; but having ordered his minister to insist upon an open reply, whether the empress-queen was for peace or war, and whether she had any intentions to attack him that or the next year; an ambiguous answer was still returned. He now suspended all negotiations, and resolved to carry the war into the enemies' country rather than to wait for it in his own. He accordingly entered Saxony with a large army, and demanded from the elector a passage through his dominions, which he well knew the possessor was not able to refuse. He disguised his suspicions of the elector's having entered into a secret treaty with his enemies, and professed himself extremely pleased with that potentate's promises of observing a strict neutrality: but to carry on the deceit still farther, he entreated, that as the elector's troops were totally unnecessary, in consequence of his pacific disposition, that he would disband them for the present, as he could not possibly have any occasion for their services. This was a proposal the elector neither expected, nor was willing to comply with. He rejected the request with disdain; and the king resolved to turn the occurrence to his own advantage. Such was the situation of the Saxon camp, that though a small army could defend it against the most numerous forces, yet the same difficulty attended the quitting it, that impeded the enemy from storming it. Of this his Prussian majesty took the advantage; and by looking up every avenue of egress, he cut off the provisions of the Saxon army, and the whole body was soon reduced to capitulate. He took care to incorporate the common soldiers into his own army, and the officers who refused to serve under him he made prisoners.

The king of Prussia thus launched into a tumult of war, with all the most potent states of Europe against him, and England only in alliance, went forward with a vigour that exceeded what history can shew, and that may be incredible to posterity. He invaded Bohemia, defeated the Austrian general at Lowoscutch, retreated, began his second campaign with another victory near Prague, was upon the point of taking that city, but suffered a defeat at Kolin. Still, however, unconquered, "Fortune, said he, has turned her back upon me this

day. I ought to have expected it. She is a female, and I am no gallant. Success often occasions a destructive confidence. Another time we will do better." We have instances of thousands who gained battles; but no general ever before him acknowledged his error, except Cæsar. Fortune indeed seemed to have forsaken him; one disaster followed upon the back of another; the Hanoverians had armed in his favour, and were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, who appeared sensible of the insufficiency of his troops to face the enemy, by whom he was greatly out-numbered. He was driven beyond the Weser, and the French were permitted to pass unmolested. The Hanoverian army was now driven from one part of the country to another, till it made a stand near the village of Hastenback, where it was hoped the numbers of the enemy would have the least opportunity of coming to a general action. But the weaker army was still obliged to retire; and after a feeble effort left the field of battle to the French, who were not remiss in urging the pursuit. The Hanoverian forces retired towards Stade, by which means they marched into a country from whence they could neither procure provisions, nor yet attack the enemy with hopes of success. Unable, therefore, by their situation to escape, or by their strength to advance, they were compelled to sign a capitulation, by which the whole body laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable capitulation, which was called the treaty of Closter-Seven, Hanover was obliged to submit peaceably to the French, who were now determined to employ their forces against the king of Prussia; whose situation was become desperate, nor was it possible to foresee how he could extricate himself from his difficulties. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one side, and the Russians on the other. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia; and penetrating to Breslau, turned to the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, which, after an obstinate defence, they obliged to surrender. Another army of the same power entered Lusatia, made themselves masters of Zittau, and laid Berlin under contribution. On another quarter, twenty-two thousand Swedes entered Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and exacted tribute from the whole country. In this multitude of invaders, it was in vain that the king of Prussia faced about to every incursion, though his enemies fled before him: while he pursued one body, another penetrated from behind; and even while he was victorious, his territories were every day diminishing. The greatest part of his dominions was laid under contribution, most of his strong cities were taken, and he had no resources but in the generosity of a British parliament, and his own extensive abilities.

The English now in order to assist their ally, and to give him time to respire, hoped to make a diversion in France to draw off the attention from the Prussian dominions, and to give a blow to the French marine, by destroying such ships as were building, or were laid up in the harbour of Rochfort, against which city their operations were principally intended. The English ministry kept the object of the enterprize a profound secret; and France was for some time filled with apprehensions, till at length the fleet appeared before Rochfort, where the commanders spent some time in deliberating how to proceed. After consultation, it was determined to secure the little island of Aix. The militia of the country in the mean time, recovering from their consternation, had leisure to assemble, and there was the appearance of two camps on shore. The commanders, who, from the badness of the weather, were prevented from landing, now began to fear greater dangers from the enemy on land. They took into con-

of Europe acquired a new aspect, and the treaties of a century were at one blow rendered ineffectual.

* This country the king of Prussia undertook to protect,

while England promised him troops and money to assist his operations.

sideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the city had been preparing for a vigorous defence, and their own unfitness to reduce it by any other means but a sudden attack. This induced them to desist from farther operations; and they unanimously resolved to return home, without making any effort. As the king of Prussia reaped but little advantage from this expedition, the English ministry had thoughts of giving up his cause entirely. It was supposed that no military efforts could save him; and that the only hope remaining was to make the best terms possible for him with his victorious enemies. The king of England was actually meditating a negociation of this nature, when his distressed ally expostulated with him to the following purport: "Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are our affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? Consider the step you have made me undertake, and remember you are the cause of all my misfortunes. I should never have abandoned my former alliances but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us; but I entreat that you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe." In this dreadful situation, England resolved, more from motives of generosity than of interest, to support his declining cause; and success that for a long time fled her arms, once more began to return with double splendour. The efforts of the parliament only arose by defeat: and every resource seemed to augment with multiplied disappointment.

Success first began to dawn upon the British arms in the East-Indies, under the conduct of Mr. Clive*. The first advantage that was obtained from his activity and courage was the clearing the province of Arcot. Soon after the French general was taken prisoner, and the nabob, whom the English supported, was reinstated in the government, of which he had formerly been deprived. The French, discouraged by these misfortunes, and sensible of their own inferiority in this part of the globe, sent over a commissary to Europe to restore peace. A convention between the two companies was accordingly concluded, importing, that the territories taken on either side since the conclusion of the last peace should be mutually restored; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party should be acknowledged by both; and that for the future neither should interfere in the differences that should arise between the princes of the country.

This cessation was but of short duration. In a few months both sides renewed their operations, no longer under the name of auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms, in government, and in commerce. What the motives to this infraction were, are not sufficiently known; but certain it is, that the prince of the greatest power in that country declared war against the English in 1756, from motives of personal resentment, and, levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta, one of the principal British forts in that part of the world; but which was not

in a state of strength to defend itself against the attack even of barbarians. The fort was taken, having been deserted by the commander, and the garrison, to the number of an hundred and forty-six persons, were made prisoners†. The destruction of this important fortress served to interrupt the prosperous successes of the English company. But the fortune of Mr. Clive, backed by the activity of an English fleet under admiral Watson, still turned the scale in their favour. Among the number of those who felt the power of the English in this part of the world, was the famous Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince, who long infested the Indian Ocean, and made the princes on the coast his tributaries. He maintained a large number of gallies, and with these he attacked the largest ships, and almost always with success. As the company had been greatly harassed by his depredations, they resolved to subdue such a dangerous enemy, and attack him in his own fortress. In pursuance of this resolution, admiral Watson and colonel Clive sailed into his harbour of Geriah; and though they sustained a warm fire as they entered, yet they soon threw all his fleet into flames, and obliged his fort to surrender at discretion. The conquerors found there a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects to a considerable value. From this conquest colonel Clive proceeded to take revenge for the cruelty practised upon the English at Calcutta, and about the beginning of December, 1756, arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. He met with little opposition either to the fleet or the army, till they came before Calcutta, which seemed resolved to stand a regular siege. As soon as the admiral, with two ships, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries, which he soon returned with still greater execution, and in less than two hours obliged them to abandon their fortifications. By these means the English took possession of two strong settlements on the banks of the Ganges; but that of Geriah they demolished. In the beginning of February, 1757, Hugly, a city of great trade, was reduced with as little difficulty as the former; and all the viceroy of Bengal's store-houses and granaries were destroyed. In order to repair their losses, this barbarous prince assembled an army of ten thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, possessing a firm resolution to expel the English from all their settlements in that part of the world. Upon the first intelligence of his march, colonel Clive obtaining a reinforcement of men from the admiral's ships, advanced with his small army to fight these numerous forces. He attacked the enemy in three columns; and though the numbers were so disproportioned, victory soon declared in favour of the English. A victory so easily acquired by a small body of foreigners soon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his subjects at home. His cowardice now rendered him despicable, and his former cruelties odious. A conspiracy, therefore, was projected against him by Jaffier Ali Khân, his prime minister; and the English having private intimations of the design, they resolved to second it with all their endeavours. Accordingly colonel Clive, knowing that he had a friend

* This gentleman had at first entered the company's service in a civil capacity; but finding his talents more adapted to war, he gave up his clerkship, and joined among the troops as a volunteer. His courage, which is all that subordinate officers can at first shew, soon became remarkable; but his conduct, expedition, and military skill, soon after became so conspicuous as to raise him to the first rank in the army.

† These persons expected the usual treatment of prisoners of war, and were therefore, the less vigorous in defence; but they soon found what mercy was to be expected from a savage conqueror. They were all crowded together into a narrow prison, called the Black-Hole, of about eighteen feet square, and received air only by two small iron windows to the west, which by no means afforded a sufficient circulation. It is terrible to reflect on the situation of these unfortunate men, shut up in this narrow place, in the burning climate of the east, and suffocating each other. Their first efforts, upon perceiving the effects of their horrid confinement, were to break open the

door of the prison; but as it opened inward, they soon found that impossible. They next endeavoured to excite the compassion, or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large sum of money for his assistance in removing them to separate prisons; but with this he was not able to comply, as the viceroy was asleep, and no person dared to disturb him. They were now left to die without hopes of relief; and the whole prison was filled with groans, shrieks, contest, and despair. This turbulence, however, soon after sunk into a calm still more hideous; their efforts of strength and courage were over, and an expiring langour came to visit the prison, all was horror, silence, and desolation. Of an hundred and forty-six who had entered alive, twenty-three only survived, and of these the greatest part died of putrid fevers upon being freed from their loathsome den. Among those who escaped was Mr. Holwell, who together with his companions, were sent prisoners to Muxadavad.

in the enemy's camp, marched forward, and soon came up with the viceroy, who had by this time recruited his army, and fitted it once more for action. After a short contest Clive was, as usual, victorious; the whole Indian army was put to flight, and routed with terrible slaughter. Jaffier, who first incited his master to this undertaking, had hitherto concealed his attachments to the English, till he saw there was no danger from his perfidy. But upon the assurance of the victory he openly espoused the side of the conquerors, and in consequence of his private services was solemnly proclaimed by the colonel, viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orix, in the room of the former nabob, who was solemnly deposed, and soon after put to death by the perfidious Jaffier. Having placed a viceroy on the throne, the English took care to exact such stipulations in their own favour, as would secure them the possession of the country whenever they thought proper to resume their authority. Having conquered the Indians, colonel Clive turned his arms towards the French, who had long disputed the empire in that part of the world. Chandernagore, a French settlement higher up the Ganges than Calcutta, was compelled to submit to the successful English*.

The successes of the English were not a little alarming to the French ministry; and to make some degree of opposition, they sent out a considerable reinforcement under the command of general Lally, an Irishman, from whose great experience sanguine hopes were conceived. Under his guidance the affairs of the French for some time seemed to wear a face of success. He took from the English their settlement of Fort St. David, and plundered the country of the king of Tanjore, in alliance with the enemy. He then entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying siege to Madras, the chief settlement of the English on the coast of Coromandel. In the siege of this important place, a greater variety of difficulties presented than he had expected or prepared for. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while on the other side the French soldiers acted with the greatest timidity; nor did even the council of Pondicherry second the ardour of the general. Lally attempted in vain to lead on his men to a breach that had been practicable for several days; it continued open for a fortnight, and not one dared to venture the assault. Despairing, therefore, of success, he raised the siege; by which measure he so intimidated his troops, that they seemed quite dispirited in every succeeding operation.

In 1756, the dearth of corn in England, arising from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was so severely felt by the common people, that insurrections were raised in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who seized all the provision they could find; pillaging, without distinction, the millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependents. Disorders of the same nature were excited by the colliers on the Forest of Dean, and those employed in the works in Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themselves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly distressed; and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published, for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

The French commerce was greatly annoyed by the English privateers. The Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that

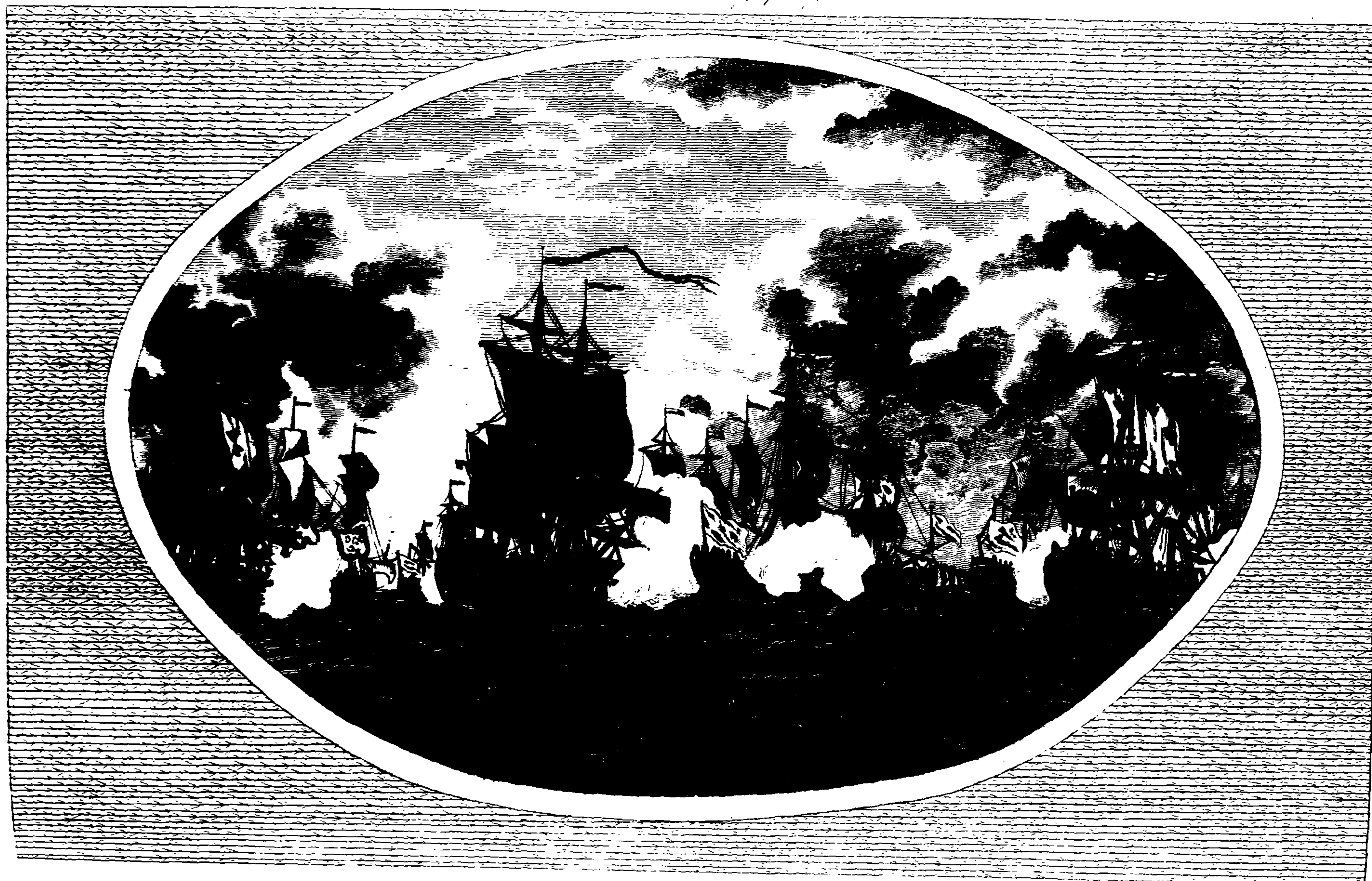
name, took the Duke de Penthièvre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds, and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his catholic majesty with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East-India company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penthièvre was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloop and ships of war, exclusive of the Duke d'Aquitain Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, taken by the Dover man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by captain Lockhart, for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations in testimony of their esteem. This run of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ships homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants sustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn. So incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several counties, sometimes to the number of five or six thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labour at the most unreasonable time, when all manufactures were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his majesty's service. At last the plentiful crops with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature, broke all the villainous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward islands, consisting of ninety-two sail, and of the Straits fleet, esteemed worth three millions sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved. About the same time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war,

* The goods and money found in this place were considerable; but the chief damage the French sustained, was from the ruin of this their chief settlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this part of the continent. Thus in one campaign the English became possessed of a territory superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and

the number of its inhabitants, to any part of Europe. Above two millions sterling were paid to the company, and the survivors of those who were imprisoned at Calcutta; the soldiers and seamen shared six hundred thousand pounds, and the English power became irresistible in that part of the world.

Engraving for Ashurst's History of England.



Seven French Men of War Defeated by three British Ships under the Command of Captain Pocock Oct 20, 1757.

Brown sculp.

one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side *.

The operations at sea during the course of the year 1757, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great-Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruizers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement, and about the same time, the Aguilon, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest, by the Antelope, one of the British cruizers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the Channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalized himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of captain William Death, equipped with twenty-six carriage guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the 23d of the month he engaged and made prize of a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: he then secured, with forty men, his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Maloes, carrying thirty-six large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and sixty men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily re-taken; then the two ships bore down upon the Terrible, whose main-mast was shot away by the first broadside. Notwithstanding this disaster, the Terrible maintained such a furious engagement against both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his second were killed, with two thirds of his company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered, that it could scarce be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible † into St. Maloes, where she was not beheld

without astonishment and terror ‡. In this, and every sea-rencountre that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In November, captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the Countess of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, commander of the Antelope. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English Channel, which the British traders navigated without molestation.

During the severity of the winter in the beginning of 1758, the British cruizers kept the sea, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes were taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one captain Bray, commander of the Adventure, a small armed vessel in the government's service: falling in with the Machault, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her aboard, fastened her bowsprit to his capstan, and, after a warm engagement, compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fire-ship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken, and a great number of merchant ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English Channel. At this period the board of admiralty received information from admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron, captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship Augusta, sailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruise off cape François, and this service he literally performed in the face of the French squadron under Kerfin, lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. This commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of the seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant ships then lying at the cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to insure success. He reinforced his squadron with some store-ships, mounted with guns, and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen, (said he,) you know our strength, and see that of the enemy; shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no

* When the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews, by way of incitement to their valour; and the company doubled the sum, in recompence of their fidelity and courage.

† There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer; the Terrible, equipped at Execution-Dock,

commanded by captain Death, whose lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for surgeon.

‡ This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement.

time to be lost; return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But, notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape François, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kérin had taken his departure from Cape François for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: captain Forrest then presented the admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This, however, was declined, and captain Forrest directed to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas: accordingly, captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forbore chasing, that he might not risque a discovery; for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave; coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. He then made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length the *Marguerite*, the *Solide*, and the *Theodore* struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the *Maurice*, *Le Grand*, and *La Flore*; the *Brilliant* also submitted, and the *Mars* made sail, in hopes of escaping, but the *Augusta* coming up with her

about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction, for the benefit of the captors.

The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North America, admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the 19th of February, 1758, when the *Invincible*, of seventy-four guns, ran a-ground and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved. In the course of the succeeding month, Sir Edward Hawke steered into the Bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape Breton or Canada. The same month advice was received at the admiralty of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by admiral Osborne, while he cruized between Cape de Gatt and Carthagea, on the coast of Spain. On the 28th of March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships, namely, the *Foudroyant*, of eighty guns, the *Orphée*, of sixty-four, the *Oriflamme*, of fifty, and the *Pleiade* frigate, of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagea. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses: then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagea, to watch the motions of the French squadron which lay there at anchor. About seven in the evening, the *Orphée*, having on board five hundred men, struck to captain Storr, in the *Revenge*, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was sustained by the ships *Berwick* and *Preston*. The *Monmouth*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the *Foudroyant*, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with fourscore guns, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of the marquis du Quesne. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant captain Gardener lost his life; nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant, Mr. Caskett, and the *Foudroyant* disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck, as soon as the other English ships, the *Swiftsure* and the *Hampton-Court* appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The *Oriflamme* was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships *Montague* and *Monarque*. The *Pleiade* frigate escaped. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basque-Road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, intended as a supply for their settlement in North-America. They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped by sea, but a greater number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared a-ground, lying on their broadsides; so that the end of their equipment was totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbour of St. Martin's in the Isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and an armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship

ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate.

On the 29th of May the *Raisonné*, a French ship of sixty-four guns, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, was attacked by captain Dennis, in the *Dorset*, of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty of the *Raisonné's* complement were killed or wounded. On the 13th of April, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the *Prince George*, of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being consumed to the water's edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. About three hundred men were preserved by the boats belonging to some ships that accompanied the admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

This year the king was determined to make another attempt upon the coast of France, and two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the service of this expedition; the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke; the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough, grandson of the great general of that name. The troops, having been encamped for some time upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne. The fleets parted at sea: lord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the Bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harass their navigation; while commodore Howe, with the land-forces, steered directly towards St. Maloes, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and, therefore, it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been detained several days by contrary winds, in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancale, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Maloes, and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally raised upon the beach, the troops were landed on the 6th of June. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were assembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancale, where the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with ease and expedition. The forces, while on shore, were restrained from outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which

their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Nevertheless some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: but the offenders were brought to immediate justice. The British forces being re-embarked, including about five hundred light-horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancale for several days, after which it stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather. After threatening a disembarkation at several places on the coast of France, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's.

The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season: but a considerable body of troops were re-embarked, and every thing being prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the 1st of August, and after a tedious passage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the 7th in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had entrenched themselves within a line, extending from fort Ecœurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind their entrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risk was run in landing the British forces. The grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and, landing without opposition, instantly formed, on a small open portion of the beach. Next morning, the general having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy. The British forces, marching behind St. Aulne, Ecœurdeville, Hommet, and La Galet, found the town of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and the gate being open, entered it without opposition*. On the day following the general ordered the place to be reconnoitred, and he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the basin. The execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery†. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay; but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. The harbour and basin of Cherbourg, being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships, a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted upon the town, and a plan of re-embarkation concerted; as it appeared from the reports of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight entrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels, on the 16th of August. They now returned to England, and after a few days again put to sea, and steering to the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues west of St. Maloes, against which it was

* The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed, in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage

and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future.

† Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and basin of Cherbourg; which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disreputation.

determined to make another attempt. An attack upon St. Maloes being found impracticable, and the general being unwilling to re-embark, without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward. On the 8th of September, general Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating, that if they would not desist, he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Maignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The enemy came down upon the English as they were re-embarking, and, opening the battery of ten pieces of cannon and eight mortars, did great execution upon them. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on the left, with a design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping which made great havoc, and threw them into confusion. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of major-general Dury. This officer, seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form a grand division, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain: but by this time the French had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. The English line being drawn up on uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faltered, they broke, and in less than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by

far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havoc was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery, which the enemy had raised on the hill. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed: but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. Commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the soldiers were disembarked.

After the misfortune of St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprize of importance achieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruisers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Harvey, in the ship *Monmouth*, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne, by some cruisers belonging to the fleet commanded by lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed. In November the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having, by mistake, run up St. George's Channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, captain Saumarez, of the *Antelope*, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a show of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colours, and, without firing a shot, surrendered, with a complement of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal. By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the Channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained.

The whole gum trade, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis, within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great Britain. The conquest of Senegal was the plan of Mr. Cumming, a quaker. A small squadron was equipped under the command of captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines commanded by major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition*. This little armament sailed in the beginning of March, 1758; and

* On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but

he ever declared to the ministry, that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human

on the 23d of April captain Marsh discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore came to anchor in Senegal-road at the mouth of the river: and perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the passage of the bar. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, captain Millar, of the London bus passed the bar, dropped anchor on the inside, and lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides, until the buffes and one dogger running a-ground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. The troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they formed in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. The natives instead of opposing them, came in great numbers and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying. They had made no further progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the entrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort Louis. After some hesitation, captain Marsh and major Mason agreed, "That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandize and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors: and that all the forts, store-houses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation should be signed. They promised that the free natives living at Fort Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country*. The captains Campbell and Walker, were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As soon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near an hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach. This reserve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their entrenchments, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in

which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them advance immediately struck their flag; and major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandize to a considerable value. Fort Louis being secured with an English garrison they proceeded to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal, but not having a sufficient force, they were obliged to relinquish the enterprize.

The conquest of Senegal being deemed incomplete, while the French were possessed of Goree, the ministry of Great Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress. For this purpose commodore Kepple was vested with the command of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the 11th of November. After a tempestuous passage they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a disposition for attacking that island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. The French governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants. Flat-bottomed boats, for disembarking the troops, being hoisted out, and disposed along-side of the different transports, the commodore stationed his ships on the west side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action the cannonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the garrison deserted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honour; but he was obliged to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The success of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell, and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprize in loud clamour and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colours being struck, as a signal of submission, the commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and stores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together

human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by no means have concerned himself about them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable with what was his own single act. If it was the first military scheme of any quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that ever was carried on according to the pacific system of the quakers, without the loss of a drop of

blood on either side.

* The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the perusal of which would have been of infinite service to the English merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.

with

with three sloops for his service, the commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort Louis with the rest of the troops, under colonel Worge. This expedition, though in the main a successful one, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Lichfield ship of war, commanded by captain Barton, together with one transport and a bomb tender, which was wrecked on the coast of Barbary. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the risque of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time subsisted between Great Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enslaved by the emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government: so little dependence can be placed on the faith of such barbarian princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilized nation to be in alliance.

Captain Tyrrel being detached in the Buckingham on a cruise in November, fell in with the Weazle sloop, commanded by captain Bowles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four guns, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry, and the Weazle running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chase, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that, being entirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshall, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life; then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honour, and sustained a desperate fight against three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation, and captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually, as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confusion, terror, and uproar, prevailing on board the Florissant, her firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about twilight; but her commander, perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue in any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with his two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loss of the Buckingham, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of slain on board the Florissant did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

We must now return to our affairs in the East-Indies.

While success appeared doubtful between the two contending nations, the Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing the garrisons in Bengal, equipped seven ships, which were ordered to sail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chincura so formidable as to exclude all other nations from the salt-petre trade, which was carried on there, and thus monopolize so beneficial a commodity. This design colonel Clive thought proper to oppose. He sent the Dutch commander a letter, informing him that he could not permit his landing, and marching his forces to the fort intended, as he foresaw that it would be detrimental to the commerce of Europe. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no designs of a monopoly, and he only requested the liberty to land and refresh his troops; which request was quickly granted. But the Dutch commander continued submissive no longer than he supposed himself unable to act with vigour; for as soon as he knew that the ships which were to second his operations were come up the river, he boldly began his march to Chincura, and took several small vessels belonging to the English in his passage, to retaliate for the affront he pretended to have received. Colonel Clive was not slow in vindicating the honour of his country; and as there happened to be three India ships at that time in the harbour, he gave them instant orders to meet the Dutch fleet, and sink them if they offered to resist. This command was obeyed with great alacrity; but, after a few broadsides on either side, the Dutch commander struck, and the rest of the fleet followed his example. The victory thus obtained, without any great damage, captain Wilson, who commanded in the expedition, took possession of the fleet of the enemy, and sent their men prisoners to the fort; while about the same time their land-forces were defeated by colonel Ford, sent by Clive upon that duty. This contest had like to have produced a new rupture in that part of the world; but a negotiation soon after ensuing, the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were not able to withstand, and were content to sit down with the loss.

In the mean time the operations against the French were carried on with similar success. The troops headed by colonel Coote, marched against general Lally, resolved to come to a decisive engagement. On his march he took the city of Wandewash; he afterwards reduced the fortress of Carangoly, and, at length, came up with the French general, who had no thoughts of declining the engagement. The French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. The engagement continued with great obstinacy for several hours, when the French gave way and fled towards their camp, which they as quickly abandoned, leaving their baggage, cannon, and the field of battle, to the conquerors. The re-taking the city of Arcot was the consequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but Pondicherry. As soon as the fortresses adjacent were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before the city determined to blockade it by land, while admiral Stevens shut up the harbour by sea. A regular siege was at that time impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate would not fail to obstruct all such operations. However, neither the rains nor the inclemency of the climate, were able to abate the ardour of the besiegers; the blockade was continued, and the garrison was pressed in such a manner, that it was reduced to the most extreme distress. Though the French soldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, Lally the commander was determined to hold out to the last. In the midst of the garrison's distress, fortune seemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been seized with vigour. One of those terrible tempests, common in that climate, wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour. Lally wrote the most pressing letters to the French residents at the Dutch settlements, to be supplied with provisions; but to his mortification, instead of seeing the French

French boats coming to his relief, he only saw, in less than four days, the English admiral again entering the harbour, having repaired the damage he had lately sustained. Lally, however, still determined to hold out, and with a savage obstinacy saw his troops half consuming with fatigue and famine around him. At length, finding that a breach had been made in the rampart, and that no more than one day's provision remained, he permitted a signal to be made for ceasing hostilities. Yet still the strong perverseness of his temper continued; he sent a paper alledging, that he would not treat upon honourable terms with an enemy that had transgressed all the laws of honour. He surrendered the place not in his own person, but permitted some under officers in the garrison to obtain terms of capitulation. This conquest put an end to the power of France in India. The chief part of the territory and trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, was annexed to the British empire; the princes of the country, after some vain opposition to the English power, were at length contented to submit.

The strength of the crown of England seemed to be every day declining, and the general opinion of the people was too loud not to reach the throne. The ministry that had hitherto hedged in the throne, were at length obliged to admit some men into a share of the government, whose activity at least would counterbalance their timidity and irresolution. At the head of the newly introduced party, was the celebrated Mr. William Pitt, from whose vigour the nation formed very great expectations, and they were not deceived. Though the old ministers were obliged to admit these new members into their society, there was no legal penalty for refusing to operate with them; they therefore associated with each other, and used every art to render their new assistants noxious to the king, upon whom they had been in a manner forced by the people. His former ministry flattered him in his attachments to his German dominions; while the new had long clamoured against all continental connections, as utterly incompatible with the interests of the nation. The king was naturally led to take part with those who favoured his own sentiments, and to reject those who opposed them. Mr. Pitt, therefore, after being a few months in office, was ordered to resign, by his majesty's command, and his coadjutor, Mr. Legge, was displaced from being chancellor of the exchequer. This blow to his ambition was but of short continuance; the whole nation, almost to a man, seemed to rise up in his defence, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were once more reluctantly restored to their former employments, the one of secretary of state, the other of chancellor of the exchequer. The consequences of the former ill conducted counsels still seemed to continue in America. The generals sent over to manage the operations of the war, loudly accused the timidity and delays of the natives, whose duty it was to unite in their own defence. The natives, on the other hand, as warmly expostulated against the pride, avarice, and incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who had been appointed to the supreme command there, had been for some time recalled, and replaced by lord Loudon; and this nobleman also soon after returning to England, three several commanders were put at the head of separate operations. General Amherst commanded that designed against the island of Cape Breton; the other was consigned to general Abercrombie, against Crown-Point and Ticonderago; and the third still more to the southward, against Fort du Quesne, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes.

Cape Breton*, which had been taken from the French during the preceding war, had been restored at

the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The wresting of this important place once more from the hands of the French, was a measure ardently desired by the whole nation. The fortress of Louisburgh, by which it was defended, had been strengthened by the assistance of art, and was still better defended from the nature of its situation. The garrison also was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to oppose a landing. Notwithstanding the complicated difficulties the English had to encounter, they surmounted every obstacle with great intrepidity. Their former timidity and irresolution seemed to vanish, their natural courage and confidence returned, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The fortifications were soon after demolished, and rendered unfit for future protection.

The expedition to Fort du Quesne was equally successful; but that against Crown-Point was once more defeated. This was now the second time the English army had attempted to penetrate into those hideous wilds, by which nature had secured the French possessions in that part of the world. Braddock fell in the attempt a martyr to his impetuosity; too much caution was equally injurious to his successor. Abercrombie spent much time in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give him a severe reception. As he approached Ticonderago, he found them deeply entrenched at the foot of the fort, and still farther secured by fallen trees, with their branches pointing against him. These difficulties the English ardour attempted to surmount; but as the enemy, being secure themselves, took aim at leisure, a terrible carnage of the assailants ensued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The English army, however, was still superior; and it was supposed that when the artillery was arrived, something more successful might be performed; but the general felt too sensibly the terrors of the late defeat to remain in the neighbourhood of a triumphant enemy. He withdrew his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. But though in this respect the English arms were unsuccessful, yet upon the whole the campaign was greatly in their favour. The taking of Fort du Quesne served to remove from their colonies the terror of the incursions of the Indians, while it interrupted that correspondence which ran along a chain of forts, with which the French had environed the English settlements in America. This, therefore, promised a fortunate campaign the next year, and vigorous measures were taken to ensure success.

Accordingly, on the opening of the following year, the ministry, sensible that a single effort, carried on in such an extensive country, could never reduce the enemy, resolved to attack them in several parts of their empire at once. Preparations were accordingly made, and expeditions driven forward against three different parts of North America at the same time. General Amherst, the commander in chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown-Point, that had hitherto been the reproach of the English army. General Wolfe was at the opposite quarter to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux, and Sir William Johnson, were to attempt a French fort, near the cataracts of Niagara. The last-named expedition was the first that succeeded†. The siege was begun with vigour, and promised an easy conquest; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches, by the bursting of a mortar; so that the whole command of the expedition devolved upon general Johnson, who omitted nothing to push forward the vi-

* It was not till the English had been put in possession of this island, that they began to perceive its advantageous situation, and the convenience of its harbour for annoying the British trade with impunity. It was also a convenient port for carrying on their fishery, a branch of commerce of the ut-

most benefit to the English nation in general.

† The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and served to command all the communication between the northern and western French settlements.

gorous operations of his predecessor, to which also he added his own popularity with the soldiers under him. A body of French troops, who were sensible of the importance of this fort, attempted to relieve it; but Johnson attacked them with intrepidity and success; for in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout. The garrison soon after perceiving the fate of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war. The success of general Amherst was less splendid, though not less serviceable; upon arriving at the destined place, he found the forts both of Crown-Point and Ticonderago deserted and destroyed.

There now remained but one grand and decisive blow to put all North-America into the possession of the English; and this was the taking of Quebec, which was successfully undertaken in 1759. Admiral Saunders was appointed to command the naval part of the expedition; the siege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, of whom the nation had great expectations. This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-five, had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly at the siege of Louisburgh; a part of the success of which was justly ascribed to him, who, without being indebted to family or connections, had raised himself by merit to his present command.

The war in America had been hitherto carried on with extreme barbarity; and retaliating murders were continued without any one's knowing who first began. Wolfe, however, disdained to imitate an example that had been set him even by some of his associate officers; he carried on the war with all the spirit of humanity which it admits of. Quebec is situated on the north side of the great river St. Lawrence. When we consider the fortifications with which it was secured, the natural strength of the country, the great number of vessels and floating batteries the enemy had provided for the defence of the river, the numerous bodies of savages continually hovering round the English army, we must own there was such a combination of difficulties, as might discourage and perplex the most resolute commander. The general himself seemed perfectly sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking. After stating, in a letter to the ministry, the dangers that presented, "I know, said he, that the affairs of Great-Britain require the most vigorous measures. But then the courage of an handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. At present the difficulties are so various, that I am at a loss how to determine." The only prospect of attempting the town with success was by landing a body of troops in the night below the town, who were to clamber up the banks of the river, and take possession of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly discouraging. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with centinels, the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steepness of the ground such as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time. All these difficulties were removed by the conduct of the general, and the bravery of the men. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and dislodged a small body of troops that defended a narrow pathway up the bank; thus a few mounting, the general drew the rest up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm, the French commander, was no sooner apprized that the English had gained these heights, which he had confidently deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle, and a furious encounter quickly began. This was one of the most desperate engagements during the war. The French general was slain; the second in command shared the same fate. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the attack was most warm; as he stood conspicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the enemies marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped an handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and

advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed; but a second ball more fatal, pierced his breast; so that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier that was next him. Now struggling in the agonies of death, and just expiring, he heard a voice cry, "They run! they run!"—"Who run?" cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerness. When the lieutenant replied, "The French,"—"What! (said he,) do the cowards run already? then I die happy." So saying, the glorious youth expired. Perhaps the loss of the English that day was greater than the conquest of Canada was advantageous. But it is the lot of mankind only to know true merit on that dreadful occasion when they are going to lose it.

The surrender of Quebec was the consequence of this victory; and with it soon after the total cession of all Canada. The French, indeed, the following season made a vigorous effort to retake the city; but by the resolution of governor Murray, and the appearance of an English fleet under the command of lord Colville, they were forced to abandon the enterprize. The whole province was soon after reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherst, who obliged the French army to capitulate. To these conquests about the same time was added the reduction of the island of Guadeloupe, under commodore More and general Hopson, an acquisition of great importance; but which was restored at the succeeding peace.

Notwithstanding these troublesome, warlike, and expensive times, the citizens of London found leisure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black-Friars to the opposite shore, about midway between those of London and Westminster. Commissioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of common-council, it was resolved that a sum not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thousand pounds should be forthwith raised, within the space of eight years, by instalments, not exceeding thirty thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money should have an interest at the rate of four pounds *per cent. per annum*, to be paid half-yearly by the chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years; and that the chamberlain should affix the city's seal to such instruments as the committee might think fit to give for the security of the payment of the said annuities. Such were the first effectual steps taken towards the execution of a laudable measure, which met with the most obstinate opposition in the sequel from the narrow views of particular people, as well as from the prejudice of party.

The spirit that now animated the citizens of London was such as small difficulties did not retard, and even considerable losses could not discourage. In November 1759, the city was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal-Exchange, which burned with great fury, notwithstanding the assistance of the firemen and engines employed under the personal direction of the magistracy, and consumed a great number of houses, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation; some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the flames, and some were buried in the ruins of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

This year a sloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New York, met with such unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provision of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board: at length, being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall might serve for some time to support the survivors.



General Wolfe killed at the Siege of Quebec September 14, 1759.

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vivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spanish gentleman and passenger. Him they shot with a musquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and the rest of the carcase, they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their captain, who prevailed upon them to be satisfied with a miserable allowance to each *per diem* cut from a pair of leather breeches found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, reinforced with the grass which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one captain Bradshaw, who chanced to fall in with them at sea*.

Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at Havre de Grace for the purpose of disembarking troops, rear-admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb vessels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours, without intermission, during which a numerous body of French troops was employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great fury; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants forsook the place in the utmost consternation.

The honour of the British flag was much more effectually asserted by the gallant admiral Boscawen, who was entrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two small forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for some time with great fury; but being over-matched by superior force, and the wind subsiding into a calm, they sustained considerable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty in a very shattered condition. The admiral seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, the French commander of the squadron at Toulon, seized this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Straits' mouth unobserved, his fleet, consisting of twelve large ships and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded fourteen sail of the line with two frigates, and as many fire-ships, having refitted his squadron, detached one frigate to cruise off Malaga, and another to hover between Estepona and Ceuta Point; with a view to keep a good look-out and give timely notice in case the enemy should approach. On the 17th of August, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a signal that fourteen sail appeared on the Barbary shore, to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to sea: at day-light he descried seven large ships lying-to; but when the English squadron forbore to answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sails, and made the best of their way. This was the greater

part of the French squadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three frigates had separated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the *Souveraine*, which was a heavy sailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away, and although admiral Boscawen had made signal to chase and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that some of his headmost ships could close with the rear of the enemy; which though greatly out-numbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the *Ocean*, which M. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon running athwart her hause, poured into her a furious broadside: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both sides. This dispute, however, was of short duration. In about half an hour admiral Boscawen's mizen-mast and topsail-yards were shot away, and the enemy hoisted all the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the *Namur* to the *Newark*, joined some other ships in attacking the *Centaur*, of seventy-four guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to surrender. The British admiral pursued them all night, during which the *Souveraine*, and the *Guerrier*, altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break, M. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the English squadron crowding all their sails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships, rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors. The *Ocean* was run a-shore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadaria, the commander of which fired three shot at the English; another captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to disembark their men; but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the *Temeraire* and *Modeste*, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as near as they could to the forts Xavier and Lagres, in hopes of enjoying their protection: but in this hope they were disappointed, M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the *Ocean* was left to the count de Carne, who having received one broadside from the *America*, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty guns. Captain Bently, of the *Warspight*, attacked the *Temeraire*, of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the *Modeste*, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the English admiral with the loss of but few men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board the British squadron, though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon, owned, that on board of his own ship, the *Ocean*, one hundred men were killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded: but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was that not one officer lost his life in the engagement. Captain Bently, whom the admiral dispatched to England with the tidings of his success, met with a gracious reception from the king, who knighted him for his gallantry.

Sir Edward Hawke, having the command of a squa-

* When captain Bradshaw fell in with them, the whole crew, consisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and so

reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle to hoist them from one ship to the other.

dron steered for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry. These he directed to keep a-head of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the 20th of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and an hour afterwards discovered them to the enemy's squadron. They were at that time in chase of captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line a-breast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line-of-battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship, as she advanced, poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him along-side of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board the Soleil Royal, a ship mounted with eighty guns, and provided with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risque of running upon a shoal, the veteran replied, "You have done your duty in showing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me along-side the Soleil Royal." His wish was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Thesée, another large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower-deck port, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable struck her colours. The Superbe shared the fate of the Thesée in going to the bottom. The Hero hauled down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal, had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove a-shore to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately

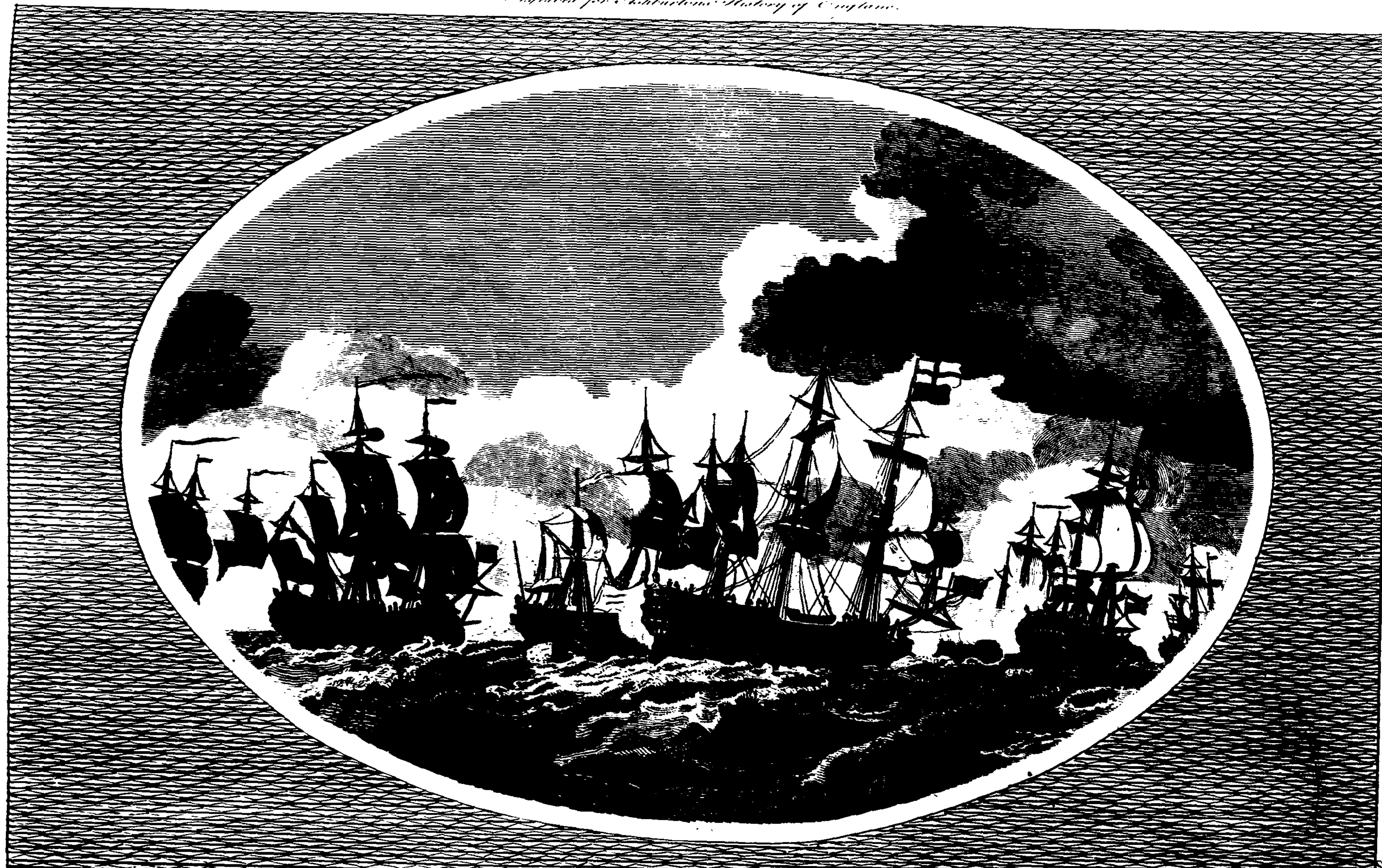
made signal to the Effex to slip cable, and pursue her; and, in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank called Lefour, where the Resolution, another ship of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their stores, were saved, and the wrecks set on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Hero to ashes on the Lefour, where she had been also stranded; and the Justé, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the Loire. The admiral, perceiving several large ships of the enemy riding at anchor, between Point Penvas and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant-masts to be struck. In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Valaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. This battle not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great-Britain; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the sequel*.

We must now return to the achievements on the continent of Europe. A defensive war in Germany was all that could be expected; and this was maintained against the united powers of the continent with unexampled bravery, by the king of Prussia and the English in alliance. The French and Imperialists, triumphing in repeated successes, formed the siege of Leipzig, in the depth of winter. The capture of that city would have been fatal to the interests of the king; and by one of those rapid marches, for which he was remarkable, he seemed with his army, unexpectedly, to rise up before the town. Such was the terror of his arms, that, even vanquished as he appeared, the French, though superior in number, raised the siege, and retreated. He was resolved to pursue, and at length overtook them at a village called Rosbach, where he gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their whole army from destruction.

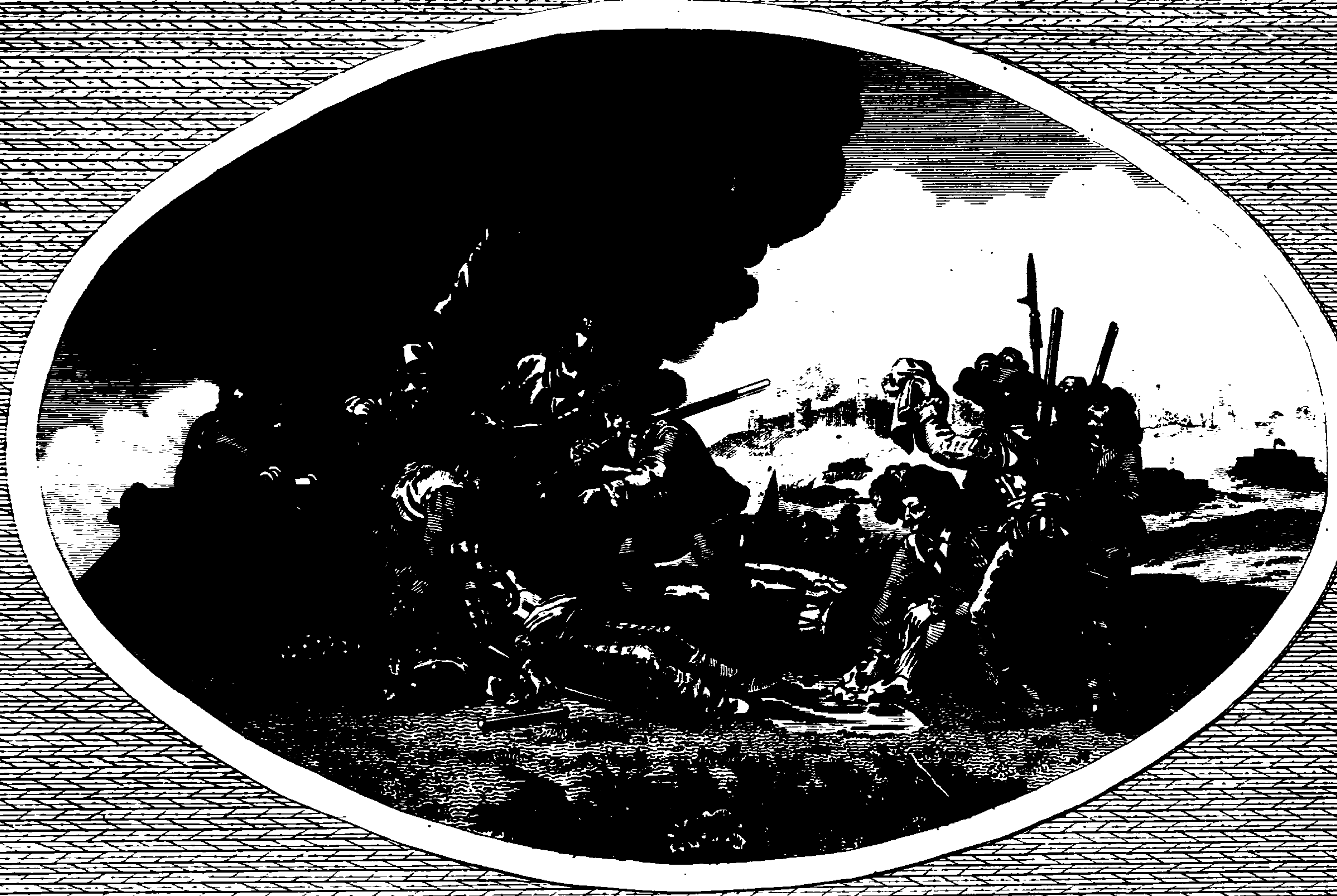
In the mean time the Austrians laid siege to Breslau, upon which place November 22, 1757, they began a most furious discharge of cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and this continued without ceasing about four hours, when it was succeeded by a severe fire of the small arms, which likewise lasted about four hours. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals, fearing their entrenchment would be entirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, while the rest of the troops threw

* During this war, the English had already taken and destroyed twenty-seven French ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates: two of their great ships and four frigates perished; so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four; whereas, the loss of Great-Britain did not exceed seven

sail of the line, and five frigates. It may be easily conceived how the French marine, at first greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, must have been affected by this dreadful balance to its prejudice.



The French Fleet under the Command of Marshal Conflans defeated off Belle Isle by Sir Edward Hawke on the 20.th of Novemr, 1759.
Published by W. & J. Stratford N^o 122 Holborn Hill, April 7, 1792.



C. Warren, sculp.

The Death of General Warburton at the Siege of Breslau.

themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come to its relief. But, on the 24th, their commander in chief, the prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner. His army, thus deprived of their general, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who, the next day, surrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, That they should not serve against the empress or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honours, conducted by general Lefwitz, governor of Breslau. Though the Austrians sung *Te Deum* for the victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army, for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible entrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain on the side of the Austrians were general Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their general, Kleist, was found dead on the field of battle.

The king of Prussia, at the head of only fifteen thousand men, advanced towards the enemy. In his march he was joined by twenty-four thousand more. With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were entrenched at Lissa, near Breslau. On the 4th of December he seized upon their ovens at Neumarch, and upon a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and send a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Ziethen fell upon them sabre in hand, and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Lissa. General Ziethen, who led the van-guard of light-horse, fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the late battle. They had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles from their entrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, general Ziethen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered, and his majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and dispatch for which he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, in the very mouth of the cannon, with their bayonets fixed. In this attack the Prussians sustained their greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it: then the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the center of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have al-

ways been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no w^{ere} terrified by the enemy's situation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious disposition which the king made overcame that disadvantage. When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadisti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreseen, this general's horse attacked the king's right wing with great fury: but he received so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy gave way on all sides; but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with success equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion; one of them, closely pressed by the king, retired towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement, and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They also took an hundred and sixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage.

Nothing could be more fortunate in the present juncture for the king of Prussia, than this sudden insurrection of the Hanoverian forces. From this time he began to oppose the enemy upon more equal terms; he faced them on every side, often victorious, sometimes repulsed, but ever formidable. Never was the art of war carried to such a pitch as by him, and it must be added, its horrors also. In this war, Europe saw, with astonishment, campaigns carried on in the midst of winter, great and bloody battles fought, yet producing no visible advantage to the victors. At no time since the days of heroism were such numbers destroyed, so many towns taken, so many skirmishes fought, such stratagems practised, or such intrepidity discovered. Armies were by the German discipline considered as composing one great machine, directed by one commander, and animated by a single will. From the commentary of these campaigns, succeeding generals will take their lessons of devastation, and improve upon the arts increasing human calamity. As soon as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majesty, in a speech to his parliament, observed, that the late successes of his ally in Germany had given a happy turn to his affairs, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons concurred in his sentiments, and liberally granted supplies both for the service of the king of Prussia, and for enabling the army formed in Hanover to act vigorously in conjunction with him. From sending money over into Germany the nation began to extend their benefits; and it was soon considered that men would be a more grateful supply. Mr. Pitt, who had at first come into popularity and power by opposing such measures, was now prevailed on to enter into them with even greater ardour than any of his predecessors. The hopes of putting a speedy end to the war by vigorous measures, and connections with which he was obliged

to co-operate, and perhaps the pleasure he found in pleasing the king, all together incited him eagerly to push forward a continental war. However, he only conspired with the general inclinations of the people at this time, who, allured by the noble efforts of their own ally, were unwilling to see him fall a sacrifice to the united ambition of his enemies.

In order to indulge this general inclination of assisting the king of Prussia, the duke of Marlborough was at first sent to Germany with a small body of British forces to join with prince Ferdinand, whose activity against the French began to be crowned with success. After some small successes gained by the allied army at Crevelt, the duke of Marlborough dying, his command devolved upon lord George Sackville, who was at that time a favourite with the English army. However, a misunderstanding arose between him and the commander in chief, which soon had an occasion of being displayed at the battle of Minden*, fought shortly after. The cause of this secret disgust on both sides is not clearly known; it is thought that the extensive genius, and the inquisitive spirit of the English general, were by no means agreeable to his superior in command, who hoped to reap some pecuniary advantages the other was unwilling to permit. Be this as it will, both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French began the attack with great vigour, and a general engagement of the infantry ensued. Lord George, at the head of the British and Hanoverian horse, was stationed at some distance on the right of the infantry, from which they were divided by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. The French infantry giving ground, the prince thought that this would be a favourable opportunity to pour down the horse among them, and accordingly sent lord George orders to come on. These orders were but ill obeyed; and whether they were unintelligible, or contradictory, still remains a point for posterity to debate upon. It is certain that lord George shortly after was recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of serving in any military command for the future. The enemy, however, were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss, and at length giving way were pursued to the very ramparts of Minden. The victory was splendid, but laurels were the only advantage reaped from the field of battle. After these victories, which were greatly magnified in England, it was supposed that one reinforcement more of British troops would terminate the war in favour of the allies, and a reinforcement was quickly sent. The British army in Germany now amounted to above thirty thousand men, and the whole nation was flushed with the hopes of immediate conquest. But these hopes soon vanished in finding victory and defeat successively following each other. The allies were worsted at Corbach; but retrieved their honour at Exdorf. A victory at Warbourg followed shortly after, and another at Zierenberg; but then they suffered a defeat at Camper, after which both sides went into winter-quarters. The successes thus on either side might be considered as a compact by which both engaged to lose much and gain little; for no advantages whatever followed from victory. The English at length began to open their eyes to their own interest, and found that they were waging unequal war, and loading themselves with taxes for conquests that they could neither preserve nor enjoy. It must be confessed, that the efforts of England, at this time, over every part of the globe, were amazing; and the expence of her operations greater than had ever been disbursed by any nation before. The king of Prussia received a subsidy; a large body of English forces commanded the extensive peninsula of India; another army of twenty thousand men confirmed their conquests in North-America; there were thirty thousand men employed in Germany, and several other bodies dispersed in the different gar-

risons in various parts of the world; but all these were nothing to the force maintained at sea, which carried command wherever it came, and had totally annihilated the French power on that element. The courage and the conduct of the English admirals had surpassed whatever had been read of in history; neither superior force, nor number, nor even the terrors of the tempest, could intimidate them.

In November, 1759, a petition was presented to the house of commons, from several noblemen, gentlemen, and others, inhabitants of East-Greenwich, and places adjacent, in Kent, representing, that in the said parish, within a quarter of a mile of the town distinguished by a royal palace, and royal hospital for seamen, there was a magazine, containing great quantities of gunpowder, frequently to the amount of six thousand barrels: that, besides the great danger which must attend all places of that kind, the said magazine stood in an open field, uninclosed by any fortification or defence whatsoever, consequently exposed to treachery and every other accident. They alledged, that if, through treachery, lightning, or any other accident, this magazine should take fire, not only their lives and properties, but the palace and hospital, the king's yards and stores at Deptford and Woolwich, the banks and navigation of the Thames, with the ships sailing and at anchor in that river, would be inevitably destroyed, and inconceivable damage would accrue to the cities of London and Westminster. They moreover observed, that the magazine was then in a dangerous condition, supported on all sides by props that were decayed at the foundation; that in case it should fall, the powder would, in all probability, take fire, and produce the dreadful calamities above recited: they therefore prayed that the magazine might be removed to some more convenient place, where any accident would not be attended with such dismal consequences. The subject of this remonstrance was so pressing and important, that a committee was immediately appointed to take the affair into consideration, and procure an estimate for purchasing lands, and erecting a powder magazine, at Purfleet, in Essex, near the banks of the river, together with a guard-house, barracks, and all other necessary conveniences. A bill for the purpose was accordingly framed, and soon received the royal assent. Hereupon the magazine was removed to Purfleet, an inconsiderable and solitary village, where there will be little danger of accident, and where no great damage would attend an explosion; but in order to render this possible explosion still less dangerous, it would be necessary to form the magazine of small distinct apartments, totally independent of each other; that in case one should be accidentally blown up, the rest might stand unaffected.

The next affair that engrossed the deliberation of the commons, was a measure relating to the internal economy of the metropolis. The sheriffs of London delivered a petition from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, in common-council assembled, representing that several streets, lanes and passages within the city of London, and liberties thereof, were too narrow and inconvenient for the passing and re-passing as well of foot-passengers, as of coaches, carts, and other carriages, to the prejudice and inconvenience of the owners and inhabitants of houses, and to the great hindrance of business, trade, and commerce. They alledged that these defects might be remedied, and several new streets opened within the said city and liberties, to the great ease, safety, and convenience of passengers, as well as to the advantage of the public in general, if they, the petitioners, were enabled to widen and enlarge the narrow streets, lanes, and passages, to open and lay out such new streets and ways, and to purchase the several houses, buildings, and grounds which might be necessary for these purposes. They took notice that there

* Minden was first taken by the French, afterwards re-taken by the Hanoverians, then re-possessed by the French,

and, lastly, it surrendered to the allies.

were several houses within the city and liberties, partly erected over the ground of other proprietors; and others, of which the several floors or apartments belonged to different persons; so that difficulties and disputes frequently arose amongst the said several owners and proprietors, about pulling down or re-building the party-walls and premises; that such re-building was often prevented or delayed, to the great injury and inconvenience of those owners who were desirous to re-build; that it would therefore be of public benefit, and frequently prevent the spreading of the fatal effects of fire, if some provision were made by law, as well for determining such disputes in a summary way, as for planning and amending the laws then in being relating to the building of party-walls. They therefore prayed, that leave might be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioners to widen and enlarge the several streets, lanes, and passages, and to open new streets and ways to be therein limited and prescribed; as well as for determining, in a summary way, all disputes arising about the rebuilding of houses or tenements within the said city and liberties, wherein several persons had intermixed property; and for explaining and amending the laws in being relating to these particulars. A committee being appointed to examine the matter of this petition, agreed to a report, upon which leave was given to prepare a bill, and this was brought in accordingly. Next day a great number of citizens represented, in another petition, that the pavement of the city and liberties was often damaged, by being broken up for the purposes of amending or new laying water-pipes belonging to the proprietors of water-works; and praying, that provision might be made in the bill then depending, to compel those proprietors to make good any damage that should be done to the pavement by the leaking or bursting of water-pipes, or opening the pavement for alterations. In consequence of this representation, some amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both houses, and was enacted into a law, under the title of "An act for widening certain streets, lanes, and passages, within the city of London and liberties thereof; for opening certain new streets and ways within the same, and for other purposes."

In 1765 the committee appointed to manage the undertaking for a new bridge over the river Thames at Black-Friars, having received and examined a variety of plans presented by different artists, at length gave the preference to the design of Mr. Mylne, a young architect, a native of North-Britain, just returned from the prosecution of his studies at Rome, where he had gained the prize in the capital, which the academy of that city bestows upon him who produces the most beautiful and useful plan on a given subject of architecture. This young man being in London, on his return to his own country, was advised to declare himself a candidate for the superintendency of the new bridge; and the plan which he presented was approved and adopted. The place being already ascertained, the lord-mayor of London, attended by the committee, and a great concourse

of people repaired to Black-Friars, and laid the first stone of the bridge, placing upon it a plate, with an inscription, which does more honour to the public spirit of the undertakers, than to the classical taste of the author*.

This year the vast magazine of naval stores belonging to the dock-yard at Portsmouth, was set on fire by lightning in July; and, consisting of combustibles, burned with such fury, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the workmen in the yard, the sailors in the harbour, and the troops in the town, that, before a stop was put to the conflagration, it had consumed a variety of stores, to an immense value. The damage, however, was so immediately repaired, that it had no sort of effect in disconcerting any plan, or even in retarding any naval preparation.

In February this year M. Thurot, with a small squadron arrived in the bay of Carrickfergus, where, on the 21st, he made a descent with six hundred men. Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undisciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received information that three ships had anchored about two miles and a half from the castle, which was ruinous and defenceless, immediately detached a party to make observations, and ordered the French prisoners there confined to be removed to Belfast. Mean while, the enemy landing without opposition, advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumstances of the English commander, would allow. A regular attack was carried on, and a spirited defence made†, until the ammunition of the English failed; then colonel Jennings retired in order to the castle, which, however, was in all respects untenable; for besides a breach in the wall near fifty feet wide, they found themselves destitute of provision and ammunition. Nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in the first attack, even after the gate was burst open, and supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the colonel and his troops were obliged to surrender, on condition that they should not be sent prisoners to France, but be ransomed, by sending thither an equal number of French prisoners from Great Britain or Ireland: that the castle should not be demolished, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation should furnish the French troops with necessary provisions. The enemy after this exploit, did not presume to advance farther into the country; but embarked with some precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

The fate they escaped on shore they soon met with at sea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, and had in the course of this war more than once already distinguished himself, even in his early youth, by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a dispatch from the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that three of the enemy's ships lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus; and thither he immediately

* Ultimo die Octobris, anno ab Incarnatione
MDCCLIX.

Auspiciatissimo principe GEORGIO TERTIO
Regnum jam incunite,

Pontis hujus, in reipublice commodum
Urbisque majestatem

(Late tum flagrante bello)

a S. P. Q. L. suscepti,

Primum lapidem posuit

THOMAS CHITTY, miles,
Prætor;

ROBERTO MYLNE, architecto.

Utque apud posteros extet monumentum

Voluntatis suæ erga virum,

Qui vigore ingenii, animi constantia,

Probitatis et virtutis suæ felici quidam contagione,

Favento Deo,

Fausitque GEORGI SECONDI auspiciis

Impetium Britannicum

In Asia, Africa, et America.

Restituit, auxit, et stabilivit,

Necnon patriæ antiquum honorem et auctoritatem

Inter Europæ gentes instauravit;

Cives LONDINENSES, uno consensu,

Huic ponti inscribi voluerunt nomen

GULIELMI PITT.

† One circumstance that attended this dispute deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as an instance of that courage, mingled with humanity, which constitutes true heroism. While the French and English were hotly engaged in one of the streets, a little child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was exposed; a common soldier of the enemy, perceiving the life of this poor innocent at stake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, and conveyed it to a place of safety; then returning to his place, resumed his musket, and renewed his hostilities. Smollet.

shaped

shaped his course in the ship *Æolus*, accompanied by the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, under the command of captains Clements and Logie. On the 28th of February they descried the enemy, and gave chase, in sight of the Isle of Mann, and, about nine in the morning, captain Elliot, in his own ship, engaged the *Belleisle*, commanded by Thurot, although considerably his superior in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his consorts were also engaged with the other two ships of the enemy. After a warm action, maintained with great spirit on all sides for an hour and a half, captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the *Belleisle*; and striking her colours with his own hand, the commander submitted: his example was immediately followed by the other French captains; and the English commodore, taking possession of his prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramsay, in the Isle of Mann, that their damage might be repaired. Though the *Belleisle* was very leaky, and had lost her bowsprit, mizen-mast, and main-yard, in all probability the victory would not have been so easily obtained, had not the gallant Thurot fallen during the action. The victor had not even the consolation to perform the last offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the sea by his own people in the hurry of the engagement. The loss on the side of the English did not exceed forty men killed and wounded, whereas above three hundred of the enemy were slain or disabled*.

The bravery of five Irishmen and a boy belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, deserves commemoration. The vessel, in her return from Bilbao, laden with brandy and iron, being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, about the middle of April, the captors removed the master, and all the hands but these five men and the boy, who were left to assist nine Frenchmen in navigating the vessel to France. These stout Hibernians immediately formed a plan of insurrection, and executed it with success. Four of the French mariners being below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck, Brian, who headed the enterprize, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at him who walked the deck; but missing the mark he knocked him down with the but end of the piece. At the same time hallooing to his confederates below, they assailed the enemy with their own broad swords, and soon compelling them to submit, came upon deck, and shut the hatches. Brian being now in possession of the quarter-deck, those who were aloft called for quarter, and surrendered without opposition. The Irish having thus obtained a complete victory, almost without bloodshed, and secured the prisoners, another difficulty occurred: neither Brian nor any of his associates could read or write, or knew the least principles of navigation; but supposing his course to be north, he steered at a venture, and the first land he made was the neighbourhood of Youghall, where he happily arrived with his prisoners.

General Amherst having taken possession of Montreal, in North America, the conquest of Canada was, by that means, completed without bloodshed. The French ministry had attempted to succour Montreal, by equipping a considerable number of store-ships, and sending them out in the spring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers understood that the British squadron had sailed up the river St. Lawrence before their arrival, they took shelter in the bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmolested. Captain Byron, who commanded the ships of war that were left at Louisbourg, having re-

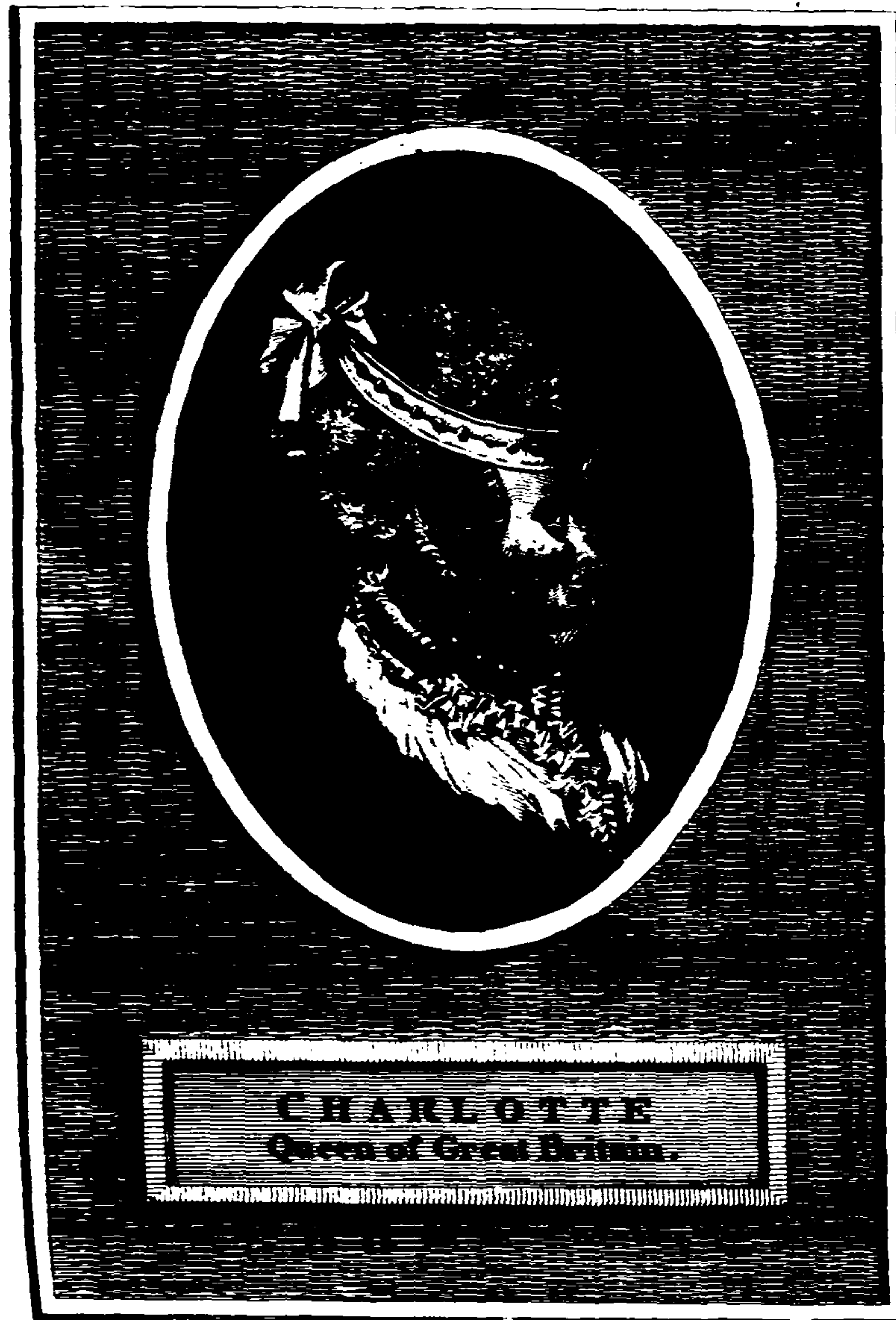
ceived intelligence of them from brigadier-general Whitmore, sailed thither with his squadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet consisted of one frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels; the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great-Britain: all these were destroyed, together with two batteries which had been raised for their protection. The French town, consisting of two hundred houses, was demolished, and the settlement totally ruined. All the French subjects inhabiting the territories from the bay of Fundy to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and all the Indians through that tract of country, were now subdued, and subjected to the English government. In the month of December of the preceding year, the French colonists of Miramichi, Richebuctou, and other places lying along the gulf of St. Laurence, made their submission by deputies to colonel Frye, who commanded in Fort Cumberland at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this submission in the most formal manner, by subscribing articles, by which they obliged themselves, and the people they represented, to repair in the spring to Bay Verté, with all their effects and shipping, to be disposed of according to the direction of colonel Lawrence, governor of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia. They were accompanied by two Indian chiefs of the nation of the Mickmacks, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon his Britannic majesty. In a word, by the conquest of Canada, the Indian fur-trade, in its full extent, fell into the hands of the English.

While the British commanders exerted themselves by sea and land with the most laudable spirit of vigilance and courage against the foreign adversaries of their country, the colonists of Jamaica ran the most imminent hazard of being extirpated by a domestic enemy. The negro-slaves of that island, grown insolent in the contemplation of their own formidable numbers, or by observing the supine indolence of their masters, or stimulated by that appetite for liberty so natural to the mind of man, began, in the course of this year, to entertain thoughts of shaking off the yoke by means of a general insurrection. Assemblies were held, and plans revolved, for this purpose. At length they concerted a scheme for rising in arms all at once in different parts of the island, in order to massacre all the white men, and take possession of the government. They agreed that this design should be put in execution immediately after the departure of the fleet for Europe; but their plan was defeated by their ignorance and impatience. Those of the conspirators that belonged to captain Forrester's estate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxication, fell suddenly upon the overseer, while he sat at supper with some friends, and butchered the whole company. Being immediately joined by some of their confederates, they attacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated the same barbarity; and seizing all the arms and ammunition that fell in their way, began to grow formidable to the colony. The governor no sooner received intimation of this disturbance, than he, by proclamation, subjected the colonists to martial law. All other business was interrupted, and every man took to his arms. The regular troops, joined by the troop of militia, and a considerable number of volunteers, marched from Spanish Town to St. Mary's, where the insurrection began, and skirmished with the insurgents: but as they declined standing any regular engagements, and trusted chiefly to bush-fighting, the governor employed against them the free blacks, commonly known by the name of the Wild Negroes, now peaceably settled under the protection of the government. These

* The service performed on this occasion was deemed so essential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the house of commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to lieutenant-colonel Jennings, for his spirited behaviour at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork was presented in silver boxes to

the captains Elliot, Clements, and Logie. The name of Thurot was become terrible to all the trading sea-ports of Great-Britain and Ireland, and therefore the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as the most important victory could have produced.

Engraved for Ashburton's History of England.



auxiliaries, in consideration of a price set upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, slew them by surprise, until their strength was broken, and numbers made away with themselves in despair; so that the insurrection was supposed to be quelled about the beginning of May: but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury, and the rebels were reinforced to a very considerable number. The regular troops and the militia, joined by a body of sailors, formed a camp, under the command of colonel Spragge, who sent out detachments against the negroes, a great number of whom were killed, and some taken; but the rest, instead of submitting, took shelter in the woods and mountains. The prisoners being tried, and found guilty of rebellion, were put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some burned, and some fixed alive upon gibbets. One of these last lived eight days and eighteen hours, suspended under a vertical sun, without being refreshed by one drop of water, or receiving any manner of sustenance.

While the arms of Great-Britain still prospered in every effort tending to the real interest of the nation, an event happened which for a moment obscured the splendour of her triumphs. On the 25th of October, 1760, George II. without any previous disorder, was in the morning suddenly seized with the agony of death, at the palace at Kensington. He had risen at his usual hour, drank his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; then he opened a window of his apartment, and perceiving the weather, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor: the noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he expired in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be called; but before she could reach the apartment he expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art: for when the cavity of the thorax or chest was opened, and inspected by the serjeant-surgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium; so that he must have died instantaneously, in consequence of the effusion.

Thus died George II. at the age of seventy-seven, after a long reign of thirty-four years, distinguished by a variety of important events, and chequered with a vicissitude of character and fortune. He was in person rather lower than the middle size, well shaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose, and fair complexion. In his disposition, says Smollet, he is said to have been hasty, prone to anger, especially in his youth, yet soon appeased; otherwise mild, moderate, and humane; in his way of living, temperate, regular, and so methodical in every branch of private œconomy, that his attention descended to objects which a great king, perhaps, had better overlook. He was fond of military pomp and parade; and personally brave. He loved war as a soldier; he studied it as a science; and corresponded on this subject with some of the greatest officers whom Germany has produced. The extent of

his understanding, and the splendour of his virtue, we shall not presume to ascertain, or attempt to display; we rather wish for opportunities to expatiate on his munificence and liberality; his generous regard to genius and learning; his royal encouragement and protection of those arts by which a nation is at once benefited and adorned. With respect to his government, it very seldom deviated from the institutions of law; or encroached upon private property; or interfered with the common administration of justice. The circumstances that chiefly marked his public character, were a predilection for his native country, and a close attention to the political interests of the Germanic body: points and principles to which he adhered with the most invincible fortitude; and if ever the blood and treasure of Great-Britain were sacrificed to these considerations, we ought not so much to blame the prince, who acted from the dictates of natural affection, as we should detest a succession of venal ministers, all of whom in their turns devoted themselves, soul and body, to the gratification of his passion, or partiality, so prejudicial to the true interest of their country.

C H A P. IV.

G E O R G E III.

HIS present majesty *, upon receiving intelligence of the late king's decease, immediately repaired to Carlton-House, where the council were at that time sitting. Entering the council-chamber, he addressed himself immediately to the members in the following energetic strain: "The loss the nation and I have sustained by the death of the king, my grandfather, would have been severely felt at any time; but coming at so critical a juncture, and so unexpected, it is by many circumstances augmented; and the weight now fallen upon me is much encreased: I feel my own insufficiency to support it as I wish; but, animated by the tenderest affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordships, the support and assistance of every honest man, I enter with cheerfulness into this arduous situation; and shall make it the business of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happiness of these kingdoms; to preserve and strengthen the constitution, both in church and state; and as I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in a manner the most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies." His majesty then took the oaths to maintain the church of Scotland as by law established; and having signed two instruments for that purpose, one of them was deposited among the archives of the council, and the other transmitted to Edinburgh, to be recorded in the court of sessions.

The parliament was assembled on the 18th of November, and his majesty addressed both houses in a most pathetic speech from the throne †. The oaths of allegiance were then administered to the members of both houses. In the mean time addresses of condolence were

* When his majesty ascended the throne he was only in the twenty-third year of his age.

† The following is an extract from his majesty's speech:

"The just concern which I have felt in my own breast, on the sudden death of the late king, my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt but you must all have been deeply affected with so severe a loss. The present critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loss the more sensible, as he was the great support of that system, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms can be preserved, and give life to measures conducive to those important ends.

"I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at such a time and under such circumstances. My consolation is in the uprightness of my own intentions, your faithful and united assistance, and the blessing

of Heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my inviolable resolutions to adhere to, and strengthen, this excellent constitution in church and state, and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue."

presented to his majesty from most parts of the kingdom. Perhaps so great a number of addresses were never before seen, on any similar occasion. The clergy of London and Westminster, with the archbishop of Canterbury at their head, waited on his majesty with their compliments on his accession to the throne; and were followed by the two universities, and other respectable bodies. His majesty having represented to the house of commons, that it was necessary to make provision for supporting his civil government with honour and dignity, they granted the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds to defray the expences of the civil list. They then proceeded to grant the supplies for the service of the current year, the whole of which amounted to upwards of nineteen millions.

In the beginning of 1761 the parliament passed an act in favour of insolvent debtors, who, by giving up all their effects, were to be discharged by the justices at the quarter session*. In March the king sent a message to both houses, importing that as nothing could contribute more towards promoting the interests of the people than that of rendering the judges independent, so he desired they would grant him leave to advance their salaries, and that they should hold their places by patent for life; for by the act of settlement at the revolution, they were to expire within six months after the death of the king†.

The public business being now dispatched, the king repaired to the house of lords on the 19th of March, and having signed such bills as were ready, closed the session with a speech from the throne: shortly after which the parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for a new one.

In the beginning of this year the French king, in consequence of the losses he had sustained through the victories with which the British arms had been crowned in every quarter of the globe, began to hint by means of his ambassadors at different courts his disposition to restore the peace of Europe, and affected a peculiar moderation with respect to Great Britain, provided she should appear in any degree to acquiesce in reasonable terms. In consequence of this intimation the courts of Petersburg, Vienna, France, Sweden, and Poland, having made several declarations which were signed at Paris the 25th of March, and delivered at London the 31st of the same month; the counter declaration of Great Britain and Prussia appeared on the 3d of April; and Augsburg was appointed for the place of congress, as being most conveniently situated for the several powers at war. Lord Egremont, lord Stormont, ambassador in Poland, and general Yorke, ambassador in Holland, were nominated as plenipotentiaries for England; and the count de Choiseul was appointed on the part of France. It was unanimously agreed, with a view to render the negotiation as unembarrassed as possible, to admit none but the principal parties, and their allies, to this treaty. As the German war was referred to the treaty of Augsburg, the limits of America were separately considered at London and Paris. For this purpose, ministers were mutually sent from those courts; M. de Buffy on the part of France, and Mr. Stanly on that of England.

But notwithstanding these seeming dispositions for peace, the war in Germany was carried on with great spirit. In the beginning of February prince Ferdinand assembled his army, and began his march towards Cassel, on the 18th of that month, in four columns, the com-

mand of the vanguard being assigned to the marquis of Granby, who advanced to Kirkberg and Metz. In the mean time the hereditary prince having received intelligence that the French garrison of Fritzlar was not prepared for a defence, he marched thither with a few battalions, in hopes of carrying the place by a sudden assault, with musquetry only: but he met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to wait for the arrival of some artillery, by which they soon compelled the governor of the place to capitulate. In the interim, general Briedenback took possession of a large magazine at Rosenthal, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Marburg, in which he lost his life; but this place was afterwards abandoned by the French at the approach of the marquis of Granby, who took possession of it.

It was now resolved by prince Ferdinand to reduce Zeigenheim and Cassel, before the duke de Broglie should receive his reinforcements, and these two places were accordingly invested; but they proceeded very slowly in their operations, and received several rebuffs from sallies made by the garrison. By this time the duke de Broglie was joined by all the detachments he expected from the Lower Rhine, and advanced towards the army of the allies, which was now not sufficiently strong to meet him in the field. On the 21st of March the detachment under the hereditary prince was, in its march from Heimbach, encountered by a numerous body of the enemy, near Stangerode, in the neighbourhood of Gronberg. Two thousand of the allied army were either killed or taken, together with eighteen pair of colours, and twelve pieces of artillery. The allied army now broke up the blockade of Zeigenheim, which was followed by raising the siege of Cassel, after the trenches had been opened twenty-seven days. They then evacuated the whole country of Hesse, retiring behind the Dymel, and falling back nearly to the quarters they possessed before this attempt.

About the middle of May the hereditary prince of Brunswick, at the head of a separate body, advanced to Nettolen, in the neighbourhood of Munster, to make observations on another French army under the prince de Soubise's command. Soubise had by this time formed three different camps at Duffeldorp, Burch, and Rees, though part of his forces still continued in cantonment. In the mean time the war was prosecuted by detached parties, and skirmishes were fought with various success. The army of the duke de Broglie, having about the latter end of June, crossed the Dymel, dislodged general Sporcken from his post on the left of that river, with the loss of eighteen hundred men taken prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, four hundred horses, and two hundred waggons. The French next took possession of Warbourg, Paderborn, and Drüggenbroen, and on the 2d of July, compelled prince Ferdinand to pass the Lippe. These successes, however, were over-balanced by the achievements of small parties of the allies, who, at different times, were dispatched to harass them in their motions, and cut off their convoys of provision.

July 13, general Luckner, with a detachment, advanced to Salme, where the count de Chabot was posted with a strong body of horse and foot, which he attacked with such fury, that they were forced to repass the Lippe in haste, having lost about two hundred men, and as many horses in their retreat. Other parties intercepted the French convoys near Cassel, and did such damage

* This act, however beneficial in other respects, had in it a clause, attended with such consequences, that it was found necessary to repeal it. It was imagined that every creditor might compel a debtor to give up his effects, and if he concealed any of them to the amount of twenty pounds, he was to suffer death as a felon. This clause was laid hold of by many of the lower sort of tradesmen, who, in order to cheat the creditors, got one of their own relations to compel them to account; so that a door was opened for perjury, and many persons were deprived of their property under the prostituted authority of an act of parliament. Indeed the abuse became so glaring,

that the city of London presented a petition to have it repealed; but it did not take place till the meeting of the new parliament.

† In consequence of this message, the salaries of the nine puisne judges in England were advanced from fifteen hundred pounds to two thousand pounds *per ann.* and the three chief justices in proportion. In Scotland, the lord president, instead of two thousand pounds a year, was allowed thirteen hundred; the lords of session seven hundred pounds instead of five hundred; and the lords justiciary, one thousand instead of five hundred pounds.

to the enemy, that they resolved to unite their armies and give battle to prince Ferdinand. The armies formed their camp at Hohenover. On the 15th of the same month the army of Soubise, having struck their tents, advanced on the left of the allies, and dislodged an advanced post of the allied army. In the evening of the 15th, the enemy made a furious attack on a post assigned to the command of lord Granby, which was sustained with the most intrepid bravery and resolution till the arrival of Wutgenau, who advancing on his left, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire into the woods with precipitation. At three in the morning of the 16th, the whole French army advanced again to the attack on the side where Wutgenau was posted, and a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry was maintained on both sides for five hours, during which the enemy was not able to gain one inch of ground. About nine prince Ferdinand received advice that Broglio's design was to cannonade lord Granby's camp, from an opposite eminence. Hereupon a body of troops received immediate orders to anticipate this operation by making a vigorous charge. They advanced accordingly with the greatest intrepidity, and attacked the enemy with so much fury, that the French were soon obliged to abandon the field of action. Their left, however, still maintained a severe cannonade; but were no sooner informed of their defeat on the right, than they desisted from the attack, and retreated in good order. During this action the French lost near five thousand men killed and taken, some colours, and a few pieces of artillery. Prince Ferdinand's loss did not exceed five hundred men. The two French generals, from some misunderstanding between them, now divided their armies: Broglio, with his division, marched towards Cassel, and Soubise retreated to Dortmund, and crossed the Roer, in order to secure a great number of barges then passing down the Rhine with provisions for his army. He did not, however, take this step, before he sent off two large detachments to reinforce Broglio. Nor did he continue any longer on the other side of the Roer, than was necessary to receive his provisions, when he repassed both that river and the Lippe, advancing as far as Dümmer. In the mean time Broglio penetrated still farther into the electorate of Hanover, took possession of Kester, and fortified the place.

The army of the allies being greatly inferior to the French, prince Ferdinand retired to Dümolt, and called in most of his detachments. The French encamped near him on the heights of Neim, and several skirmishes happened between the two armies, in one of which prince Henry, brother to the hereditary prince, was mortally wounded. During these transactions general Luckner gained a considerable advantage at Cassel. He attacked and routed a large body of the enemy, and took many prisoners, together with some horses, and a large quantity of ammunition. Nor did the French remain idle. Broglio, having crossed the Weser with his whole army, prince Ferdinand made a forced march, passed the Dymel, and advanced to Cassel. Broglio perceiving that he could not now advance to the city of Hanover, without bringing on a general engagement with the allied army, thought proper to retreat. The French being thus retired, prince Ferdinand proceeded to Paderborn, and established his head quarters at Belme. The duke de Broglio, having crossed the Weser, encamped his army at Eimbeck, where he laid the whole country under contribution. Mean while Soubise erected his ovens at Dorten, and garrisoned the place with one battalion, but the hereditary prince attacked and reduced the town. The garrison were made prisoners, the ovens demolished, and large quantities of provisions destroyed. Soubise now retreated to the other side of the Lippe; but he soon after re-passed that river, and advanced to Coesfeld, ravaging the neighbouring parts of the country.

In September a detachment from the army of Soubise, under the command of the count de Conflans, advanced to the gates of Eimbeck, which was garrisoned by two

companies of English invalids, who obtained an honourable capitulation, and embarked for Bremen. The French did not, however, continue long in the town: they laid the neighbouring country under contribution, and immediately evacuated the place. But the country people flew to arms, and sunk the pontoons, on which the enemy had passed the river, so that it was some time before the detachment could return to their camp. Another party entered the city of Osnaburg, and pillaged the place, the inhabitants not being in a condition to pay the enormous contributions demanded by the enemy. A third party made an attempt upon Bremen: but the inhabitants joining the garrison, the French were repulsed. In the beginning of November prince Ferdinand formed a plan for attacking marshal Broglio unexpectedly, before he could call in his detachments. In order to this he ordered the hereditary prince and general Luckner, reinforced by the garrison of Wolfenbüttele, to advance from their respective posts, so as to be in the neighbourhood of Eimbeck by a certain hour on the 5th of November. He commanded the marquis of Granby to force the French post at Cappelnhagen on the 4th; to proceed next day to Wickenen, and block up a defile in that neighbourhood, on the road from Eschershausen to Eimbeck. On the 4th he crossed the river near Hastenbeck with the main body of his army, and advanced towards Eimbeck. When he approached Wickenen, he found part of his orders already executed, the road being occupied by a strong body of British grenadiers and highlanders; for the marquis of Granby had bravely forced the enemy's post at Cappelnhagen, and by the hour appointed, blocked up the defile. In the mean time M. de Chabot finding he was intercepted, retreated towards Eschershausen, and struck into the road to Eimbeck, which general Hardenberg had been ordered to secure: but, unfortunately, some of that officer's pontoons were overturned, which retarded him so long, that he did not arrive at the place appointed till seven in the morning; by which time Chabot had passed the defile on his way to Eimbeck, which place he reached without farther interruption. Prince Ferdinand advanced towards the French camp, which he found too strong to be attacked with any probability of success. He therefore resolved to cut off their flank, as if he designed to cut off their communication with Göttingen, a motion which, he imagined, would either bring Broglio to an engagement on equal terms, or oblige him to retreat. He chose, however, the latter, and on the 9th of November the whole French army retired. After this no transaction of consequence happened in Germany. The duke de Broglio quartered his forces in and about Cassel; while those of Soubise were distributed at Duffeldorp and along the Lower Rhine. The allies fixed their quarters at Hildersham, Munster, Hamelen, and Eimbeck. The British cavalry wintered in East Friesland, and the infantry in the bishopric of Osnaburg.

Several successful exploits were performed in the East and West-Indies in the course of this year. After the reduction of Pondicherry, an armament was equipped against the French settlement of Mahé, situated about thirty miles to the northward of Tillicherry on the Malabar coast. A body of forces for this expedition was embarked at Bombay, under the command of major Hector Monro, who obliged M. Loner, the French governor at Mahé, to surrender the place with all its dependencies in the beginning of February. But the French officers in the East-Indies interested in their cause Shah Zadda, a prince of the Mogul empire, who, at the head of eighty thousand men, took the field against the East-India company's forces, commanded by major John Charnock, and reinforced by the siba of Bengal. This army consisted of five hundred Europeans, two thousand five hundred sepoy, and twenty thousand black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon. Both armies advanced to the neighbourhood of Guya, where, on the 15th of January, the Mogul's troops were routed in a pitched battle. All their artillery was taken,

taken, together with part of their baggage, and a number of French officers.

In June, the island of Dominica, in the West-Indies, was taken from the French, by a party of English forces under lord Rollo, assisted by commodore Sir James Douglas, with four ships of the line. The forts that had been damaged during the sieges were repaired, and every thing settled in a proper manner; after which lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas bent their course towards Guadaloupe.

The English navy was this year remarkably successful; several engagements happened in different parts of the world, and many of the enemy's ships were taken. But the following is justly esteemed one of the most remarkable and gallant actions which distinguished this war, and fully evinced the vast superiority possessed by the English navy over that of France. On the 10th of August, captain Faulkner, of the *Bellona*, a ship of the line, and the *Brilliant*, a frigate of thirty guns, sailed from the river Tagus, in Portugal, for England; having on board a considerable sum of money for the merchants of London. On the 13th they descried, off Vigo, three sail of ships standing in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. As soon as they perceived captain Faulkner, they bore down upon him till within the distance of seven miles, when they crowded all the sail they could and bore away. Captain Faulkner being by this time convinced of their size, and from the intelligence he had received, conjecturing that the large ship was the *Courageux*, as it actually proved to be, he hoisted all the sail he could carry, and gave chase till sun-set, when one of the French frigates hauling out in the Offing, he threw out a signal to the *Brilliant* to pursue in that direction, which order was immediately obeyed. They did not lose sight of the enemy all night, but at sun-rise had gained only two miles upon them in a chase of fourteen hours, so that the French commodore might still have avoided an engagement, had he thought proper; but he no longer declined the action, for by this time he plainly perceived that one of the English ships was a frigate, and the *Bellona*, at that distance, appeared to him much smaller than she really was. He now hoisted a red ensign on the mizen shrouds, as a signal for his two frigates to close with, and engage the *Brilliant*; at the same time he hauled down his studding sails, wore round, and stood for the *Bellona* under his top-sails, while captain Faulkner advanced towards him with an easy sail, and ordered his quarters to be manned. The two ships were equal in burthen, in number of guns, and in weight of metal. The crew of the *Courageux* amounted to seven hundred men, commanded by M. du Guy Lambert; but the *Bellona*'s complement consisted of only five hundred and fifty men. The fire on both sides was suspended till they were within musket shot, when the engagement began with a terrible discharge of small arms and artillery. In less than nine minutes all the *Bellona*'s braces, bowlings, shrouds, and rigging, were cut and shattered by the shot, and the mizen-mast fell over the stern, with all the men on the round top, who nevertheless saved their lives, by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room. Apprehensive that the enemy might seize this opportunity of escaping, captain Faulkner gave orders to board them immediately; but this attempt was soon rendered impracticable, by the position of the two ships. The *Courageux* was now fallen athwart the bows of the *Bellona*, in which situation she must have raked the latter fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards and most of the other ropes by which the *Bellona* could be worked, were already shot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the assistance of his master, made use of

the studding sails with such success, as to wear the ship quite round, and fall upon the opposite quarter of the *Courageux*. The officers and men now flew to the guns on that side of the ship opposed to the enemy, from whence they poured in a most dreadful discharge, and maintained it without intermission or abatement. Every shot took place. The sides of the *Courageux* were terribly shattered, and her decks strewed with carnage. The enemy sustained this fire for about twenty minutes, when the ensign was hauled down, and the engagement ceased; but in a short time after a shot was fired from the lower tier of the *Courageux*; upon which the British seamen ran to their quarters, and without waiting for orders, poured in two broadsides upon the enemy, who now called for quarter, which was granted them. The *Bellona* suffered greatly in her rigging, but very little in the hull, and her number of killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The case was very different with the *Courageux*. Nothing was left standing but her foremast and bowsprit; large breaches were made in her sides; her decks were torn up in several parts; many of her guns were dismounted; and her quarters filled with mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above two hundred and twenty were killed, and half that number wounded. The prize was conducted to Lisbon*.

This year a squadron was equipped under the command of commodore Keppel, consisting of ten ships of the line, several frigates, two fire-ships, and two bomb ketches, besides transports. The object of this armament was against Belleisle, the largest of all the European islands belonging to the French king. The troops destined for this expedition amounted to ten battalions, under the command of major-general Hopson, assisted by major-general Crawford, with proper engineers, some troops of light horse, and a detachment of artillery. On the 29th of March the whole armament sailed from Spithead; and on the 7th of April came to an anchor in Belleisle-Road. A feint was first made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ships conveyed the troops to the landing-place, and silenced a battery which the enemy had erected there. This attempt, however, did not succeed, and was attended with the loss of near five hundred men. It was some time before the weather would permit a second attempt to be made. In the morning of the 22d the following successful stratagem was adopted: the troops were disposed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the island, as if they intended to land in several places; by which means the attention of the enemy was so distracted, that they knew not where to expect the descent, and were obliged to divide their forces at random. In the mean time, brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterfon, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with amazing intrepidity, and sustained the fire of a strong body of the enemy, till they were supported by the rest of the troops, who joined as they landed, and the French were obliged to abandon their batteries. But this advantage was not gained without loss. About forty men were killed, and many more wounded, among whom were colonel Mackenzie, and the captains Murray and Paterfon. M. de Croix, the French governor, finding that the English troops were disembarked, to the number of eight thousand men, recalled all his detachments to Palais, and prepared for a vigorous defence. After various skirmishes a detachment of marines, supported by part of Loudon's regiment, advanced to the parapet, drove the French from the works, and, after a very obstinate dispute, took possession of the place. Five other redoubts were all reduced in the

* The success of the *Bellona* was, in a great measure, owing to the brave conduct of captain Logie, who resolved to amuse the French frigates in such a manner as to prevent either from assisting the *Courageux*. Accordingly, he began the attack on the *Malicieuse*, but the other coming up imme-

diately, he stood their whole fire all the time the great ships were engaged, and near an hour after she had struck her colours; when they both thought proper to seek for safety in flight, having suffered considerable damage in their masts and rigging.

same manner, and great slaughter was made of the enemy, who withdrew into the citadel; and such was the ardour of the assailants, that they entered the streets of Palais with the fugitives, a great number of whom were made prisoners, and took possession of the town, in which they found the French hospital, and some English prisoners, who had been taken in different sallies. Every endeavour was now exerted for the reduction of the citadel, and by the end of May a breach was made, which by the 7th of June became practicable, when M. de St. Croix, being apprehensive of a general assault, demanded a capitulation. This being granted him on very honourable terms, the articles were immediately signed and executed, and the citadel was taken possession of by Beauclerk's grenadiers.

While war was thus raging in almost every part of the globe, the congress at Augsburg was intended to be opened for a general peace; but such was the subtle and politic prevarication of the French, and the unprecedented interposition of the Spaniards, that the intention was rendered abortive, and the congress never took place. The Spanish ambassador was called upon to disavow the representation he had made, but so far from that, he returned, as authorized by the court of Madrid, a written answer, in which he justified the step he had taken as agreeable to the sentiments of his master. He declared that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the tie of blood, but by a mutual interest; he applauded his most Christian majesty for the humanity and greatness of mind he had demonstrated in the proposition that was complained of. He insisted much on the sincere desire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs; and he presumptuously added, "That if his matter had been governed by any other principles, his catholic majesty, giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken for himself, and as became his dignity."

On account of the partiality of the Spanish court, Mr. Pitt declared that a war was absolutely inevitable; and if, for the present moment, the Spaniards had rather delayed their declaration of war, than laid aside their hostile intentions, it was in order to strike the blow at their own time, and with the greater effect; and therefore their reasons for delaying to act were the very motives, which ought to induce us to act with the utmost speed and vigour: that we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war: that we ought from prudence, as well as from spirit, to secure ourselves the first blow; and to be practically convinced, that the early and effective measures, which had so large a share in reducing France to the dependence upon Spain, would also be the fittest for deterring or disabling Spain from affording any protection to France; that to carry on this war with vigour, it was only necessary to continue our present efforts; no new armament would be necessary; and that, if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain: that their fleet had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once disable their hands and strengthen ours. The sentiments of most of the other ministers, on this occasion, were very different from those of Mr. Pitt; and on the division Mr. Pitt and lord Temple were the only voices in favour of the immediate declaration of war against Spain,

upon which, having declared their reasons in writing, they resigned their employments*. His majesty, the day following, in consideration of his eminent services, settled a pension of three thousand pounds *per annum* on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and at the same time his lady was made countess of Chatham in her own right.

We must not pass over the transactions of this year without mentioning the marriage and coronation of their present majesties. The king, desirous of giving all possible permanency to the present happy establishment, resolved to choose a consort, whose participation might sweeten the cares of government, and whose virtues should make his private happiness coincide with the satisfaction of his people. Struck with the character of the princess Charlotta Sophia, princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz †, he privately employed persons, in whom he could confide, to ascertain the report of her engaging qualifications: and being fully convinced of her personal attractions, her amiable disposition, and superior understanding, he made a formal demand of her in marriage. The proposal of such an illustrious alliance could not but be acceptable to the court of Mecklenburg; and the princess herself was not insensible of the extraordinary accomplishments of the young monarch, who had thus distinguished her by his affection and esteem. The king's intention of marriage was declared in council on the 8th of July, and the members being highly pleased with the declaration, unanimously requested it might be made public for the satisfaction of the nation in general. The earl of Harcourt was appointed ambassador plenipotentiary to the court of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, to demand the princess, and sign the contract of marriage; and the royal yachts were prepared, under convoy of a large squadron, commanded by lord Anson, to convoy the future queen to England. In the mean time her household being established, the ambassador set out for the continent on this important affair. The duchesses of Ancafter and Hamilton, and the countess of Effingham were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburg in her passage to England; and embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet set sail for Stade on the 8th of August. The contract of marriage being signed by the earl of Harcourt at Strelitz, her royal highness was complimented by the states of the country, and the deputies of the town. The ambassador and the ladies were magnificently entertained: and the event was celebrated with the most splendid rejoicings. On the 17th the princess, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, set out for Mirow, amidst the tears and prayers of all ranks of people, the poor in particular, whose zealous patroness she had always shewn herself. Next day she arrived at Perleberg, where the count de Gotter complimented her in the name of the Prussian monarch. Thence she continued her journey by Lutzen to Gourde, and on the 22d reached Stade, under a general discharge of cannon, and amidst the acclamations of the people. She was received by all the burgeses in arms: the whole town was illuminated: triumphal arches were erected; several of the principal ladies presented her with verses on her approaching nuptials; and the public joy was expressed by every possible demonstration. On the 23d she embarked in the yacht at Cuxhaven, where she was saluted by the British squadron assembled for her convoy ‡.

After

* Certain it is, that no man was ever better qualified to conduct the affairs of government than Mr. Pitt. To a liberal education he had joined an extensive reading; and his conduct in parliament convinced the British senate, that his memory was equal to his judgement and eloquence.

† The duchy of Mecklenburg lies between Lauenburg and the Baltic, and is neither rich nor extensive. The dukes are said to be descended from the kings of the Vandals. The people were converted to the Christian religion in the twelfth century, and at present profess the Lutheran persuasion. The duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, being the eldest branch, possesses a yearly revenue amounting to about forty thousand pounds. The duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz does not receive

above twenty thousand pounds a-year; but he has a voice in the diet of the empire. The princess Charlotta-Sophia, who was then in the seventeenth year of her age, is sister to the last mentioned prince, born of Elizabeth, daughter of the Ernest-Frederic, duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen.

‡ In the interval the minds of the English people were wound up to the highest pitch of expectation. The king having signified his intention that the princess should land at Greenwich, both sides of the Thames were lined with innumerable multitudes. The river itself was covered with pleasure-boats, wherries, and other vessels filled with spectators, and cruising between Blackwall and Gravesend, in order to meet and welcome their future queen's arrival. Seats and scaffolds

After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet was exposed to three different storms, and often in danger of being driven on the coast of Norway, the princess landed on the 7th of September in the afternoon at Harwich, where she was received by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities. She advanced with her attendants by the way of Colchester to Witham, where she obligingly gratified the curiosity of the people. In the mean time, the king being apprized by the couriers of her arrival, dispatched his own coaches, with a party of horse-guards, who met her at Rumford, and conducted her to London, through innumerable crowds of people, assembled on the road to gratify their curiosity, and welcome her arrival. Their applause was signified in tumultuous acclamations, which attended her several miles. Thus accompanied, this amiable princess proceeded to the garden-gate of the palace of St. James, where she was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonshire, in quality of lord-chamberlain. At the gate she was received by the duke of York, and in the garden she was met by the king himself, whose looks declared the transports of his joy. When she made her obeisance, he raised her by the hand, which he kissed, and then led her up stairs to the palace, where they dined together, with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed by Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the occasion*. The ceremony of the nuptials was soon succeeded by that of the coronation. Westminster-Hall was prepared for the royal banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, boarding the floor, erecting canopies, and building three rows of galleries for the accommodation of the spectators. A platform was laid between the hall and Westminster-Abbey, where the king was actually crowned. All the houses and streets within sight of the procession were faced and crowded with benches and scaffolding, which extended on both sides within the abbey from the western entrance almost up to the choir. A new parliament, having been summoned, met on the 3d of November, and, as no ministerial influence had been used in electing the members of which it was composed, it undoubtedly deserved the appellation of a free parliament. The king, being seated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons; to whom he signified his pleasure, by the mouth of the lord-chancellor, that they should return to their house, and choose a new speaker. Accordingly their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cust, a gentleman of extensive knowledge and distinguished probity. His majesty, repairing again to the house of peers on the 6th, approved of the speaker, and made an excellent speech to the members of the parliament.

The commons, after presenting their address, immediately proceeded to settle the supplies necessary for the support of the nation, which amounted to 18,229,135l. 18s. 11d. But they had hardly settled this important measure, when advice arrived from the earl of Bristol, his majesty's ambassador at Madrid, importing, that having demanded a categorical declaration with respect to the part his catholic majesty intended to act in the disputes between the courts of London and Versailles, he had received at first a very evasive and unsatisfactory answer. He added, that on repeating his remonstrance, he was answered, that the Spanish monarch had already taken his measures in concert with the court of Versailles, and that war was that moment declared against Great-Britain; and therefore, that he might retire when he thought proper. Soon after the count de Puentes, ambassador from Spain at the court of London, delivered

to the earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary of state for the southern department, a paper calculated for sowing jealousies, and fomenting divisions among the subjects of Great-Britain, and containing invectives against Mr. Pitt.

On the 4th of January, 1762, war was declared against Spain, in consequence of which letters of marque were issued, and preparations made with the greatest diligence and dispatch, to humble the pride and insolence of the Spanish monarch. On the 19th of the same month his majesty went to the house of peers and addressed the parliament in a speech, in which he expressed his reliance on the Divine blessing, on the justice of his cause, on the zealous and powerful assistance of his faithful subjects, and the concurrence of his allies; who must find themselves involved in the pernicious and extensive projects of his enemies. The two houses then presented addresses to his majesty, assuring him, in the most affectionate and loyal manner, that they would vigorously support the justice of his cause.

A short time before Mr. Pitt's resignation, he had determined to employ a very considerable part of the British forces against the French colonies in the West-Indies. Nor was this resolution merely speculative; a strong squadron was fitted out, and sailed from Spithead in the month of October in the preceding year. This armament had under their convoy a number of transports, with four battalions from Belleisle to join at Barbadoes a strong body of forces from North America, together with some regiments and volunteers from Guadaloupe and the Leeward Islands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that station, and make a conquest of Martinico, which, since the attempt of general Hopson, had been strengthened with new fortifications, and a strong body of troops. The armament from North America and England, under the command of major-general Monckton and rear-admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions, and as many ships of the line, besides frigates, bombs, and fire ships, having rendezvoused at Barbadoes, sailed from that place on the 5th of January, and on the 8th the fleet and transports anchored in St. Ann's Bay, in the eastern part of Martinico, the men of war having first silenced some batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the coast†. General Monckton, not thinking this a proper place for disembarking, detached two brigades under the command of brigadiers Haldimand and Grant, to the bay of Petite Anse, where a battery was cannonaded, and taken, by the seamen and marines. These brigades were soon followed by the whole army, and the rest of the squadron; when some other batteries being silenced, general Monckton, with the forces, landed, on the 16th, in the neighbourhood of the Cas des Navires, and having received a reinforcement of two battalions of marines from the squadron, he determined to besiege the town of Fort Royal; but previous to this attempt he found it necessary to attack the heights of Garnier and Tortuefon, which the enemy had fortified, and seemed resolved to defend to the last extremity. For this purpose he raised a battery to protect the passage of a ravine that separated him from those heights, and made every other disposition for the attack, which began on the 24th of June. On the 28th the governor, perceiving the English had obtained several advantages, and were employed in erecting batteries on the different heights which commanded the citadel, ordered the chamade to be beat, and surrendered by capitulation. On the 4th of February, the gate was delivered up to the victors, and next morning the garrison, amounting to eight hundred men marched

scaffolds were prepared along the shore for several miles; and all the publicans residing near the banks of the river both in Kent and Essex, were enriched by an amazing conflux of company.

* Besides the royal family, all the great officers of state, the nobility, peers, and peeresses, and the foreign ministers, attended at the service, the conclusion of which was announced

to the people by the discharge of the artillery at the Park and the Tower; and the cities of London and Westminster were illuminated in honour of this auspicious event.

† In the course of this service, the *Ratonable*, a ship of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence she could not be got off; but the men were happily saved, together with her stores and artillery.

out with all the honours of war. Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were sent from different parts of the island, requesting a capitulation: but M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he proposed to defend to the last extremity. On the 7th, Pidgeon Island, which was strongly fortified, and esteemed one of the best defences of the harbour, surrendered at the first summons. This conquest was obtained at a small expence of about four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loss of the enemy was very considerable. General Monckton was just setting out for the reduction of St. Pierre, when two deputies arrived from M. de la Touche, with proposals of capitulation signed. On the 16th the English commander took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood; while the French governor-general, with M. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the staff officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked on board some transports, and conveyed to France*.

It was now resolved to carry on the war against Spain in the West-Indies. The Havannah, the center of their Indian commerce, was at this time strongly defended, and it was reckoned impregnable. Nineteen ships of the line, with many smaller vessels, were fitted out, under the command of admiral Pocock, and about ten thousand land forces commanded by the earl of Albemarle. At first the admiral intended to have landed on the south side of the island of Cuba, where it was supposed he might fall in with the Spanish galleons; but that opinion being over-ruled in a council of war, the fleet continued on a course of seven hundred miles, in a very dangerous sea. The admiral had no pilot to direct him; but being in possession of an excellent chart of those seas taken by lord Anson, he depended on his own judgement, and dispatched a ship to make proper enquiries whether there was a probability of passing. On the return of the ship, the admiral ordered the fleet to weigh anchor, and hoist sail, continuing under way, in three divisions, consisting of the ships of the line, the frigates, and the transports. On the 9th of June, they got out of these dangerous seas, and came within sight of St. Jago, on the eastern extremity of the island of Cuba†. From St. Jago the fleet continued their voyage to the Havannah; but here they found more difficulties to encounter than they had as yet imagined‡. The difficulties they had to encounter seemed insurmountable; and the admiral, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, bore away, with a large part of the fleet, to the westward, where he seemed inclined to land; while commodore Keppel and captain Hervey landed the forces on the east of the harbour, without the loss of a single man, although the Spaniards had a considerable fleet lying at anchor, which might have greatly annoyed them. The earl of Albemarle divided the army into eight brigades; one of which, under the command of general Elliot, was ordered to march up the country, in order to prevent any supplies being sent to the town, and to cover the siege in the rear. General Keppel and colonel Howe were ordered to make a diversion on the west of the town; while the earl of Albemarle, with the main body of the forces, attacked the Moro castle, that being the grand object in view, because it defended the entrance to the harbour. There was no fresh water to be had; and as the British troops were obliged to cut their way through woods, and drag the cannon along with them, many of them died through the heat of the

climate, and the fatigues they underwent in the service of their country. But their courage and perseverance overcame all difficulties; for batteries were erected in the night on the rising grounds, to cover the approaches, and make way for the reduction of the place. The Spaniards defended the place with great bravery, and, for some time, the fire was, in a manner, equal on both sides. On the 29th of June, in the evening, they made a sally; but although they acted with great courage and resolution, they were obliged to retreat, with the loss of above three hundred men. All the batteries being now opened, the admiral ordered the Cambridge, the Dragon, and the Marlborough, to sail up to the fort, under the command of captain Hervey; and then a most dreadful firing began. The Spanish artillery was well conducted, and it appeared that the best officers under their government were at this time at the Havannah. As the Moro Castle was situated on a high rock, the ships could not, after seven hours firing, make the least impression on it. In the attempt the English lost one hundred and thirty men, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that, besides the Moro Castle, they had another battery playing upon them from an opposite fort, which galled them excessively; so that they were obliged to retire, otherwise they would have been destroyed. As soon as the English men of war were gone to rejoin the fleet, the Spaniards turned their attention to the eastern part of the fort, and resolved to hold out to the last extremity; so that the English officers found the reduction of the place would be a work of time. An unforeseen accident likewise tended, in a great measure, towards retarding their operations; namely, the reduction of a battery, which took fire by the explosion of a mortar. Sickness also rendered many of the men incapable of acting, and the few who remained in health, were fatigued beyond description. Add to this, the want of fresh provisions, the heat of the climate, and the insupportable fatigue which both officers and men underwent, by which many gave themselves up to despair, and died in consequence of their misery. They were, however, shortly after relieved by the arrival of two fleets, one from New York, and another from Jamaica, having on board a large quantity of provisions.

No time was now to be lost, and it was agreed that the miners should be employed; but they had a deep ditch to cross, so that it was with the utmost difficulty they got over it, and entrenched themselves under a rock, where they were not perceived by the enemy. The governor of the Havannah, sensible that the English would make themselves masters of the Moro Castle, unless he could send fresh reinforcements to it, ordered one thousand two hundred men to be put on board the boats in the harbour, and to land and attack the English. Accordingly, these men landed, and attacked our forces in three different places, but with so little success, that upwards of four hundred were left dead on the field; some were drowned, and the rest, with much difficulty, saved themselves by getting into their boats. On the 30th of July the marines blew up a part of the wall, by which a breach was made; and although it was small, yet the engineers were of opinion, that the army might attack it. The English troops now mounted the breach in such good order, that the enemy became intimidated, after above four hundred of them had been killed, among whom was the marquis de Gontales, the second in command, a brave officer, who died animating the soldiers to defend the place. The same fate attended Don Lewis de Velaico, the commander in chief, who, dis-

* The surrender of Martinico was followed by that of all the dependent islands, by which means the English were the sole possessors of all the Caribbees, and held that chain of innumerable islands which form an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South-America.

† St. Jago is the capital of Cuba; but although the courts of justice are held there, yet the Havannah is the seat of commerce, and consequently, of the utmost importance.

‡ The passage to the harbour is extremely narrow, and above half a mile in length, at the end of which is a large basin, where a thousand ships may ride in safety. On one side of the narrow passage is the Moro Castle, a strong fort, built for the defence of the place, and to prevent any ships from coming in but such as have passports. To the westward of the harbour stands the town strongly fortified with a parapet, redoubts, and bastions; the whole being surrounded by a ditch, and cannon placed in proper divisions.

daining to ask quarter, collected as many men as yet remained, and making a stand with them, received a mortal wound while holding out his sword to the conquerors. The English being now in possession of the fort, after a siege of forty-four days, turned the cannon against the town. Several batteries were erected on the rising grounds near the town; and the earl of Albemarle sent a message to the governor, desiring him to surrender, as it would be in vain to hold out any longer; but the governor, though he returned a polite answer to the earl, yet refused to comply, declaring that he would defend the place to the last extremity. The firing now recommenced on both sides; but in about six hours the artillery belonging to the enemy were silenced, and the north bastion of the city was almost disabled. This reduced the Spaniard to reason, white flags were displayed all round the place, and in a short time a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters with proposals for a capitulation. The terms, however, which the Spanish governor thought proper to transmit, were not granted: he demanded, that the ships in the harbour should be sent to Spain, and that the harbour should be declared neutral. These appearing more like the demands of a conqueror than a fallen enemy, they were rejected, and hostilities were ordered to be renewed. This produced the desired effect; the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands, and to treat upon very different terms*.

Besides the conquest of the Havannah, the arms of Great-Britain triumphed over those of Spain on other occasions. A scheme had been projected by the ministry for making a descent on the island of Manilla in the East-Indies. It is the center of the Spanish trade, and the port from whence two large ships are annually sent across the Pacific Ocean to Acapulco, one of the sea-ports of Mexico, in North-America, laden with spices, stuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. The attempt was to be made on this island by part of the squadron of vice-admiral Cornish, and the troops destined for the expedition were to be under the command of brigadier-general Draper†. On the 23d of September they anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they found the enemy but ill prepared for a defence, and greatly alarmed at this unexpected visit. The governor was the archbishop, who assumes the title of captain-general of the Philippine Islands: but the garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, was commanded by the marquis de Villa Medina, who now reinforced it with a body of ten thousand Indians, from the province of Pangana; but these were undisciplined, and formed rather a rude rabble than an army. The admiral having found a convenient place for landing the troops, immediately made the proper dispositions for that purpose. The three frigates, *Argo*, *Sea-horse*, and *Seaford*, were stationed near the shore, to cover the descent, three divisions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, and soon landed at the church and village of Malata. The enemy assembled in great numbers to oppose the descent; but the frigates kept such a continual fire of cannon and small arms, that they soon dispersed and sought their safety in a precipitate flight;

* The capitulation was signed on the 13th of August, by which the inhabitants were secured in the enjoyment of their own laws and religion, as well as in their private property; and next day the English took possession of this important conquest. The Spanish garrison, which was reduced to about seven hundred men, including officers, was permitted to march out with the honours of war; and it was stipulated that they and the sailors should be conveyed to Old Spain. About five hundred of the British troops, including fifteen officers, were killed, or died of their wounds, during the progress of this siege, and about seven hundred, among whom were nine officers, were carried off by sickness. The conquerors found in the place great quantities of artillery, small arms, ammunition, and warlike stores. Twelve ships of the line, two upon the stocks, and several trading vessels likewise fell into the hands of the English. But besides these captures they acquired to the amount above three million sterling in silver, tobacco, and

so that the troops were disembarked without the loss of a single man. Next day the general took possession of the *Polverista*, a small fort deserted by the enemy, and which now proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the stores and artillery. The curate's house was made the head quarters, and guarded by the seventy-ninth regiment. The church of the *Hermita* was occupied by colonel Monson, with an advanced party of two hundred men. The marines were left at the *Malata*, in the neighbourhood of the *Polverista*, to secure the communication with the fleet, and protect the stores and artillery. In the mean time a body of men approached within an hundred yards of the town, and possessed themselves of the church of *St. Jago*, which they maintained, notwithstanding the continual fire of the enemy. The admiral on the 20th, landed a battalion of seamen. The Spaniards did not continue idle on this occasion: they were determined, if possible, to prevent the destruction of their city; and accordingly, four hundred of their troops, under the chevalier *Fayette*, with two field pieces, marched up on the right of the English advanced post, the flank of which they began to cannonade; but their attempt was soon rendered abortive: colonel Monson, at the head of the piquets, and a small reinforcement of marines, attacked him with so much fury, that they retreated with the greatest precipitation, leaving one of their field-pieces behind them. The English general, from the smallness of his army, was obliged to confine his operations to one part of the town; and therefore determined to make his attack in the front. Hereupon a detachment under captain *Fletcher* happily passed a ditch, with the loss of only three men, though exposed in this dangerous attempt to the whole fire of the enemy. The bombardment was now begun, and continued day and night without intermission, and on the 29th the admiral ordered the *Elizabeth* and *Falmouth* to lie as near the city as the depth of water would permit, and enfilade the enemy's front in order to second the operations of the besiegers. The task was executed with great intrepidity, and the inhabitants were thrown into the utmost confusion. On the 1st and 2d of October the weather became so stormy that the whole squadron was in danger of being lost. The *South-sea-Castle* storeship was driven a-shore, but even in this situation she continued to perform very great service, by enfilading the whole beach to the southward, and overawing a large body of Indians, who threatened to attack the *Polverista* and the magazines of the besiegers, at the *Malata*. The heavy rains now descended in torrents, but did not prevent the troops and seamen from erecting batteries. At the same time they drew a line of parallel and communication from thence to the advanced post at the church, and established a place of arms on the left of it, not far from the sea beach. They also opened a battery against the left face of *St. Diego's* bastion, and kept such an incessant fire, and pointed their cannon in so masterly a manner, that in a short time, twelve pieces of ordnance mounted on the bastion were silenced, and the enemy obliged to abandon the works. In the evening a battery of three guns was opened on the left of the place

valuable merchandize, collected on his catholic majesty's account, which at once rendered the enemy's loss irreparable, and indemnified the British nation for the expence of this expedition, which was carried into execution with the utmost alacrity, and afforded many instances of true courage and capacity.

† The latter consisted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery; to which were added, by the governor of Madras, some able officers, about thirty men of the company's artillery, six hundred sepoy, one company of callics, one of topazes, one of pioneers, and two companies of French deserters, together with a few hundreds of latcars, for the use of the engineers. The preparations being completed, captain *Grant*, in the *Sea-horse*, was detached to the entrance of the Chinese seas, with orders to intercept all vessels bound for Manilla, that the enemy might not obtain information of their design.

of arms, to silence those that were in Barbette, upon the orillon of the St. Andrew bastion, which annoyed the flank of the besiegers. A close fire of grape shot and musquetry was kept up during the whole night, to prevent the enemy from repairing their embrasures, and remounting their cannon; while seven mortars played incessantly upon the gorge of the bastion, and the neighbouring defences. This had the desired effect; the enemy was intimidated, and the works continued in their defenceless condition. But notwithstanding this, the cantonment of the seamen was attacked early in the morning on the 4th, by a strong body of Indians. Their approach was facilitated by a number of thick bushes growing on the side of the rivulet, through which they passed in the night unobserved by the patrols; but the alarm was no sooner given than colonel Monson and captain Fletcher advanced with the piquets to the assistance of the seamen, who had continued firm within their light posts, choosing to act upon the defensive only, till light should discover to them friend or foe. The Indians advanced with the most determined countenance to the attack, and fought with incredible fury; but about day-break a fresh piquet of the seventy-ninth regiment appearing upon their right flank, they gave way, and fled with the utmost precipitation. In this attempt the enemy lost three hundred men. About the same time another body of Indians, reinforced by a few of the Spanish troops, made a furious assault upon the church, part of which they gained, and, mounting on the roof, fired down among the English soldiers; but this was far from intimidating the British forces; though now exposed to a continual shower of bullets and missiles, they maintained their post behind the church, and, after an obstinate dispute, dislodged the enemy, who, confounded by such a severe check, made no further attempts for the relief of the place: the Indians returned to their own habitations; the fire from the garrison diminished very fast; and all their defences appeared to be ruined. A considerable breach was now made in the wall, and it was hoped the garrison would demand a capitulation; but finding they made no propositions of that nature, the English general resolved to storm the town. Accordingly, on the 6th, at four in the morning, the troops allotted for this service marched off from their quarters in small bodies to avoid suspicion, and while they were assembling, a close fire was maintained in order to clear those places where the enemy might be lodged or entrenched. Every thing being in readiness for the assault, lieutenant Russel, at the head of sixty volunteers, sustained by the grenadiers, led the way. The engineers, pioneers, and other workmen followed in order to clear and widen the breach, and after them the remainder of the army was conducted in proper order. As soon as the assailants mounted the breach, the enemy fled in the utmost confusion, and the troops entered the town with very little difficulty; the only opposition of consequence which they met with being from one hundred Spaniards, who, with some Indians, were posted at the royal-guard house, and, upon their refusal to submit, were all cut to pieces. The governor, with the principal magistrates, withdrew into the citadel, but that being, soon after, entirely demolished, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The Spanish officers, on giving their parole of honour, were enlarged, and all the Indians dismissed with safety. This important conquest cost the English only one hundred men, including officers. By the capitulation it was agreed, that the town and port of Cavile, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be delivered up to his Britannic majesty, and four millions of dollars paid as a ransom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants, who, in return, were to be protected in their religion and private property.

During the above siege, admiral Cornish having intercepted some letters to the Spanish governor, informed him, that the galleon, St. Philippina, was arrived from Acapulco at Cajayagan, he determined to send in quest of her. The Panther man of war, and Argo frigate, were accordingly detached on this service; and on the 30th of October, being off the island of Capul, they discerned a sail standing to the northward. The Panther was unfortunately drove by the current among the Narangoes, and obliged to drop anchor, but the frigate continuing the chase, came up with and engaged her for near two hours, during which her rigging suffered considerably, and obliged the captain to give over the attack till it could be repaired. In the mean time the Panther got under sail again, and in her turn engaged the enemy, who soon after surrendered; but instead of the St. Philippina, the prize proved the Santissima Trinidad, which had departed from Manilla for Acapulco on the 1st of August; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, wherein she was dismasted, had been obliged to put back and refit. The merchandize on board this ship was valued at one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo supposed to be worth double that sum.

The Santissima Trinidad was not the only valuable prize taken from the Spaniards in the course of this year: the Hermione, a Spanish register ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, laden with treasure and valuable effects, was taken in the month of May by two English frigates, which were on a cruize off cape St. Vincent. She was carried into Gibraltar, and afterwards brought to England*.

About the latter end of May Sir Edward Hawke sailed from Spithead, with seven ships of the line and two frigates, in hopes of falling in with a squadron under the command of M. de Ternay, who had escaped from Brest, and his destination not even conjectured. He found means, however, to elude the admiral's vigilance, who having visited the coast of France, and cruized for some weeks in the chops of the Channel, returned to Portsmouth. In the mean time M. de Ternay steered his course to Newfoundland, and on the 24th of June landed some troops at the Bay of Bulls, with which he immediately advanced to the town of St. John's, and this place being in no condition of defence, was obliged to surrender. But the triumph of France on this occasion was of short duration, for Sir Jeffrey Amherst and lord Colville, who commanded by land and sea in North-America, were no sooner informed of this loss than the latter sailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour. Being soon after reinforced with about eight hundred men, commanded by colonel Amherst, they resolved to disembark the forces, which, after a very slight opposition, was effected. On the 16th of September colonel Amherst took post in the neighbourhood of St. John's fort, and next day erected a battery. But contrary winds having driven lord Colville some distance from the coast, M. de Ternay, availing himself of his absence, made his escape. M. de Hauffonville, commander of the French forces at St. John's, who had been summoned, but refused to surrender, thought proper to agree to a capitulation, by which himself and the garrison were to be conveyed to Brest the first opportunity, and accordingly, when lord Colville returned to the harbour, he appointed some ships to convey them to France.

Portugal, being in a defensive alliance with Great-Britain, was now exposed to invasion both from France and Spain, those powers having presented a joint memorial by their ambassadors at the court of Lisbon to the Portuguese ministry†. Notwithstanding the extraordinary memorial, the firmness of his Portuguese majesty compelled him to answer this insulting proposition

with

* Her cargo consisted of near two millions of money, registered, and the unregistered was likewise very considerable, besides two thousand serons of cocoa, and other articles of

merchandize to a large amount.

† The memorial imposed, "That the two sovereigns of France and Spain, having found it necessary to take every method

with a moderate but intrepid resolution. He observed, "That the ties, which equally united him to Great-Britain, and the crowns of France and Spain, rendered him a proper mediator to them all, and consequently improper for him to declare himself an enemy to either: that his alliance with England was ancient, and consequently incapable of giving offence at this juncture; that it was merely defensive, consequently innocent: that the late calamities of Portugal had absolutely disabled her from taking part in any offensive war, into which neither the love his most faithful majesty bore his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could suffer him to plunge them." But this moderate answer was far from satisfying the princes of the Bourbon confederacy. They denied that the alliance with England was either purely defensive, or purely innocent; and added, among other things, that if the king of Portugal did not comply with their requisition, the Spanish troops, which were already marched to the frontiers, should enter his country, seize his forts, and shut them up; and that no choice was therefore left to his majesty, but that of receiving them as friends, or treating them as enemies. But this extraordinary treatment could neither divert his Portuguese majesty from the firmness of his resolution, nor provoke him to depart from the moderation of his language. He declared he would keep his treaties with England inviolate, and mentioned, that they were such as the law of God, of nature, and of nations, had always deemed innocent; and declared, that if the troops of France and Spain should enter his dominions, he would, in defence of his neutrality, repulse them with all his forces, joined by those of his allies. On receiving his Portuguese majesty's final resolution, the ambassadors of the two crowns demanded passports, which being granted them, they set out for their respective courts; and France and Spain, in the month of June, published a joint declaration of war against Portugal.

In the interim about eight thousand troops, with large supplies of stores and ammunition, and a fine train of artillery, arrived in Portugal from England. The command of the Portuguese army had some time before been conferred upon count de la Lippe Buckebourg, an officer of great abilities, and who, during the whole course of the war, had directed the British artillery in Germany. The English forces were conducted by lord Tyrawley and the earl of Loudon, assisted by several officers of great experience. These forces had not been long in Portugal before lord Tyrawley, disgusted at the behaviour of the court of Lisbon, desired to be recalled: his request was granted, and the earl of Loudon succeeded to the chief command.

The Spanish army, which had for some time encamped near the frontiers of Portugal, was divided into three separate bodies, in order to penetrate into the ter-

ritories of Portugal by three different avenues. Their first attempt of consequence was the siege of Miranda, which they invested in the beginning of May. They immediately began to erect batteries against the place; but before the first was finished, the magazine of the besieged accidentally blew up, by which misfortune two large breaches were made in the walls, upwards of five hundred Portuguese were killed by the explosion; and the garrison obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war*.

After this success the Spanish general made an attempt to enter the province of Minho, through the passes of Monte Allegre; but finding those posts occupied by some regiments of Portuguese militia, he changed his route, and attempted to cross the mountains of Maran and Amarante. The city of Oporto is situated at the foot of these mountains, and the garrison had taken proper precaution to obstruct the passage of the Spaniards. Mean while, part of the enemy that remained at Miranda had been repulsed by the inhabitants of Nova de Fosca, supported by some militia, in attempting to pass the river Douro. On the side of Almeida, eight thousand Spaniards passed the frontier in the beginning of June, and encamped between Val-de-la-Mula and Val-de-Coelha, detaching parties to lay waste the adjacent country. The third division of the Spanish army, now encamped in the province of Tra-los-montes, was separated into three bodies, of which the principal was encamped in the neighbourhood of Miranda. In July, that body of the Spanish forces, which had encamped near Val-de-la-Mula, invested Almeida; and before they had finished their trenches they were joined by eight thousand French auxiliaries. The garrison, however, made a much better defence than could be expected; but was at last obliged to surrender on capitulation.

The count de la Lippe, having received advice that the enemy had established large magazines of flour and forage at Valencia d'Alcantara, on the frontiers of Portugal, he determined to attack the place. Brigadier Burgoyne was entrusted with the execution of this enterprize, and on the 25th of July, at midnight, he crossed the Tagus at the head of all the British grenadiers, commanded by lord Pulteney, and eleven companies of Portuguese grenadiers. On the 25th at night he reached Castel-Vida, where he was joined by some infantry, and irregular cavalry. Here he made his final dispositions agreeable to the advices he had received respecting the situation and station of the place he was sent to attack. This being compleated he marched with the utmost expedition, but could not reach Valencia before break of day, when he entered the town with the cavalry, sword in hand, dispersed the guards in the great square, and placed a detachment at the end of every street. This was done with very little resistance, except

thod in their power to curb the pride of the British nation, had thought proper to establish several mutual and reciprocal obligations between them, in order to prevent that nation from becoming despotic over all the maritime commerce of Europe: that the first measure planned by the kings of France and Spain was to engage his Portuguese majesty in their offensive and defensive alliance, and to join his forces with theirs: that they expected his most faithful majesty would not hesitate a moment to acquiesce in so reasonable a request, when he considered what he owed to himself, to his kingdom, and to his subjects, who more severely felt the yoke which Great-Britain had laid upon them, than those of any other nation, and which she was desirous of extending over all those who had any possessions in the New World: that it would be unjust for France and Spain alone to support a war, and sacrifice their subjects for an object in which Portugal was equally interested with themselves: that in order to this, the ambassador of Spain, and the minister plenipotentiary of France, desired his most faithful majesty to renounce the neutrality, and declare himself united in the present war against the English, with the kings of France and Spain: that this declaration was made by those two monarchs, as being agreed and concerted between them: that his catholic majesty had also instructed his ambassador to observe, that it was the brother of the queen, wife to his most

faithful majesty, a true friend, a moderate and quiet neighbour, who had made this proposal to him, and who, considering the interest of his Portuguese majesty as his own, wished to unite the one with the other; so that either in peace or war, Spain and Portugal might be considered as belonging to one master." To this extraordinary memorial the two ministers added, "That they were commanded, by their respective courts, to demand in four days a categorical answer, and that any delay, beyond that period, would be considered as a negative."

* Though the taking of this place was owing more to accident than courage, yet it inspired the Spaniards with an ostentatious pride: they looked down with contempt on the Portuguese; and instead of marching with his whole army, the marquis de Sania thought it sufficient to send a small party to attack the town of Braganza. In this he succeeded, for the garrison retired with precipitation at their approach, and the magistrates presented the keys of the town to the commander of the Spanish forces. The loss of this and several other places was, however, principally owing to the bad conditions of the works, no care having been taken to repair them, notwithstanding the Spanish army had lain so long in the neighbourhood. Chaves shared the same fate, the garrison, though it consisted of two thousand effective men, having abandoned the town at the first appearance of the enemy.

by a few desperate parties, who attacked the troops when drawn up in the square; but were soon dispersed, and the greater part of them killed or taken. Some prisoners and a large number of horses were taken by a detachment of dragoons sent out to scour the country*.

The allied army was animated by this successful enterprize, and that of Spain intimidated. The general Conde de Arnda, who now commanded the Spanish forces in Portugal, after leaving garrisons in Almeida and Castel Rodrigo, advanced by the way of Alfayates to Castel-Branco. This motion obliged the count de la Lippe to abandon his camp at Ponte de Murcella in the Beira, and return into Estramadura. He reached Abrantes on the 18th of September, and lord Loudon with a separate corps encamped in the neighbourhood, in order to prevent the Spaniards from forcing a passage through the passes of the mountains in their front. The count St. Jago, with four battalions, six companies of grenadiers, and a regiment of cavalry, was sent to occupy the pass of Alvito; and Burgoyne, with part of his own regiment, and the English grenadiers, to encamp on the southern bank of the Tagus, opposite Villa-velha. These dispositions being formed, the enemy encamped six thousand men opposite count St. Jago, and attacked Villa-velha, which was for some time protected by the cannon of Burgoyne, placed on the opposite bank of the river; but the castle, as well as the post at the defile of St. Simon, were both taken by the enemy, who, in consequence of this success, made themselves masters of the passes in the mountains, and the count St. Jago was obliged to retire. As this officer was in the utmost danger of being attacked both in front and rear by a superior force, lord Loudon was ordered to advance and cover his retreat. But the attempts of the Spaniards were abortive by the good order and firmness of the English.

The Spanish corps at Villa-velha being weakened in the mean time by the detachments sent against the count St. Jago, a design was formed of surprising them in their camp. Accordingly lieutenant-colonel Lee, at the head of a detachment of British troops, was ordered to ford the Tagus in the night, and attack the Spanish forces. The project happily succeeded; four pieces of cannon were spiked up in their camp; their magazines were destroyed; and many prisoners taken, together with a considerable number of horses and mules, and a large quantity of valuable baggage. The safety of Portugal was, in a great measure, owing to this important advantage: for the season was now far advanced; the rain fell in torrents; the roads were destroyed; and the country, in many places, rendered impassable. The Spaniards, therefore, who had secured any advanced post, where they could maintain themselves during the winter, destitute of magazines for their support, and their convoys continually cut off by the enemy, were obliged to retreat into Spain.

We must now return to our affairs in Germany. Before the allied armies had begun their operations, a detachment of four thousand men was sent from the French garrison of Gottingen, to surprize the east chain of the allied cantonments. The enterprize, however, was rendered abortive by the timely retreat of the troops; so that the French could only make a very small impression upon their rear. Prince Ferdinand, to prevent a similar attempt, sent three thousand to take post at Eimbeck, which effectually answered the purpose. On the other hand general Luckner, who had made several successful invasions into the country possessed by the enemy, obtained a considerable advantage over the marquis de Lortange, who had marched out of Gottingen, at the head of one thousand eight hundred horse,

and two thousand infantry, to intercept Luckner. But the latter falling unexpectedly on the marquis, forced him to retire, with great loss, to Gottingen. About the same time a party of French irregulars were made prisoners at Eichfeld, by major Wingerode, commander of the Hessian hussars.

The castle of Roer, which had been occupied for some time by the French, was besieged in April by the hereditary prince of Brunswick. His batteries had scarce begun to play before the fort was set on fire. Every method was pursued by M. de Muret, who commanded in the castle, to stop the progress of the flames, but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he was obliged, with his whole garrison of two hundred and thirty men, to leap over the walls, and surrender at discretion.

On the 24th of June prince Ferdinand made proper dispositions for attacking the French camp, situated between Græbenstein and Meinbrexten. In order to execute this plan with success, general Luckner left his camp in the morning of the 23d, crossed the Weser in the evening, and by three o'clock the next morning arrived between Mariendorff and Undenhausen. General Sporcken passed the Dymel at Sielem about four in the morning, at the head of twelve Hanoverian battalions, and part of the cavalry of the left wing, in order to fall upon the enemy's flank, while Luckner attacked them in the rear. Prince Ferdinand passed the river about the same time, at the head of twelve British battalions, eleven battalions of the Brunswick troops, eight regiments of Hessians, the English cavalry, and part of the German horse of the left wing. On gaining the bank on the opposite side, he drew up his forces in order of battle behind the ponds of Kasse. All the preparations were made with such judgement, activity, and good order, that the French were attacked with the utmost impetuosity in front, flank, and rear, before they knew any thing of the approach of the allied army. Terrified at this vigorous and unexpected assault, a precipitate retreat immediately followed, and would probably have ended in a total defeat of the whole army, had not M. de Stainville, at the head of a chosen body of troops, thrown himself into the woods of Willemstahl, where he made a noble stand, and effectually covered the retreat of the French marshals, who retired, in the utmost confusion, under the cannon of Cassel. Stainville was attacked by lord Granby with his usual impetuosity, and the whole body, except two battalions, were either killed or taken†.

Encouraged by this success, prince Ferdinand attempted to cut off the communication of the French with Franckfort, while they continued in their strong camp under the cannon of Cassel. This communication was preserved by M. Rochambeau, who, at the head of a body of horse and some brigades of infantry, had possessed himself of a strong post near Hamburg. The marquis of Granby and lord Frederick Cavendish advanced, with a strong detachment, to dislodge them. At their approach the enemy began to retreat, upon which the marquis ordered his horse to attack them in the rear. In performing this service they were in imminent danger of being overpowered by the French cavalry, who, facing about suddenly, fell upon them sword in hand; but the infantry coming to their assistance, the enemy were obliged to fly in their turn, and it was with the utmost difficulty they effected a retreat with the loss of four hundred men.

Prince Ferdinand next resolved to attack the French marshals who had withdrawn to their camp at Milsengen, in order to maintain their communication with Franckfort, and facilitate their junction with the prince of Conde, who had received orders to advance from the Lower Rhine. On the 25th of July Ferdinand

* We must not forget to mention on this occasion, the noble exploit of a British serjeant, who at the head of six men only, fell in with a subaltern of the enemy at the head of twenty-five dragoons, unbroken and prepared for action, killed six, made all the rest prisoners, and took the horses

of the whole party.

† Two thousand five hundred and fifty of the enemy, including one hundred and sixty-two officers, were made prisoners: some standards and colours were also taken, while the loss of the allied army did not exceed three hundred men.

crossed the Eder, and joined the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg, after which he reconnoitred the enemy's situation, where he found there was no probability of engaging them with success: and, having contented themselves with cannonading their camp, he re-crossed the Eder, leaving the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg. The French now crossed the Fulda, and retired to Cassel, having left a body of troops under M. de Guerchy, opposite to the camp they abandoned: at the same time the marquis of Granby took possession of Mulsengen, by which means the enemy's communication with Franckfort was once more cut off. A body of their dragoons advancing towards Ruthenburn, under M. de Stainville, fell into an ambuscade at Morschen soon after, and were entirely routed. This was followed by the loss of Gottingen, which place they relinquished, after having destroyed the fortifications. The French now secured themselves in a strong camp on the banks of the Fulda, whence they sent repeated orders to the prince of Condé to hasten to their relief. That general began his march from Coeffeldt on the 16th of July, and passed the Lippe at Halderen. He was followed by the hereditary prince, at the head of a strong detachment from the allied army; who, having received intelligence, that a large body of the enemy were on their march to meet the prince of Condé, he determined to attack him before their arrival. In the beginning of this action the French were drove from the heights into the plain; but while the allies were eagerly pursuing their advantage, the main army of the enemy arrived. Such a powerful reinforcement could not fail of turning the balance in their favour. The allies were totally defeated, having lost about three thousand men. This misfortune was greatly increased by a wound which the hereditary prince received, from a musquet-ball, in his hip-bone, by which, for a considerable time, his life was in danger. The French, however, obtained no advantage from their victory.

Part of the French army under generals de Castries and Saarsfeldt being posted on the side of the Ohme, and opposite to them a strong detachment commanded by the marquis of Granby, and general Zastrow on the other, a furious cannonade was carried on between them. In the neighbourhood of the allies was the castle of Ameneburg, which they had furnished with a garrison consisting of seven hundred men under captain Cruse. This fortress the enemy determined to take; but, in order to conceal their real intention, they attacked a post of the allies called Brucker-mulk, which defended the passage of a bridge over the Ohme. After a very obstinate engagement darkness put an end to the dispute, the French having sustained a loss of near one thousand one hundred men, and the allies near six hundred. A few days after this action, prince Ferdinand invested Cassel; and notwithstanding all the activity and resolution of a numerous garrison, commanded by the baron de Diesbach, the operations were carried on with such remarkable vigour, that, on the 10th of October, the city capitulated. This was the last action between the French and the allies in Germany. Prince Ferdinand, indeed, was making preparations for laying siege to Ziegenheim, the only place the French were now possessed of in Hesse; but before he could carry his design into execution, the preliminaries of peace were signed between France and Great-Britain; in consequence of which a cessation of arms took place between the two armies.

The preliminaries of peace being signed, and the definitive treaty in great forwardness, the parliament met on the 25th of November, when his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which he observed, that nothing was more desirable to him than a lasting peace, procured on such honourable terms as

would secure the happiness of his people. For that purpose, he had once more condescended to renew the negotiation that had been broken off before; and he spoke of the conduct of his army and navy in the highest terms of applause. He took notice, that he had been obliged to send an armed force to support his good ally the king of Portugal, who was threatened by the whole Spanish army, in consequence of the intrigues of the French, who, notwithstanding their numerous losses, seemed still averse to peace. He concluded by telling them, that nothing gave him so much unhappiness, as the consideration that his subjects were burthened with taxes; but then there was a necessity for it, otherwise it would have been impossible to have defeated the enemy's schemes, and rendered their undertakings abortive. He desired the commons to consider of such methods, in the settlement of the new acquisitions, as should most effectually tend to the security of those countries, and to the improvement of the British trade and navigation. He recommended to their care and attention, his gallant subjects by whom those acquisitions were made. He observed, that union at home was peculiarly necessary to lay the foundation of that œconomy which they owed to themselves and their posterity, and which alone could relieve the nation from the heavy burthens entailed upon it by the necessities of a long and expensive war. In answer to this speech addresses were presented by both houses, containing general compliments upon the approach of peace, as well as upon the birth of the prince of Wales*. The next day a cessation of arms was proclaimed; and orders were issued for opening again all the channels of communication with France and Spain.

The preliminaries of the peace underwent a very severe scrutiny by the parliament; but were at length approved of by a great majority in both houses; and each presented an address to the king on the occasion; in which they declared, "That they owed the utmost gratitude to his majesty for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity upon terms of honour to the crown, and of advantage to the people."

This year happened a circumstance of a very singular nature, and which, for a considerable time, almost wholly engrossed the attention of the public. It was a master-piece of deception, and was then distinguished, as it still is remembered, by the name of the Cock-lane Ghost; the particulars of which were briefly as follow: In 1759 one Mr. K——, a broker, married a young lady of Norfolk, who dying in child-bed, her sister came to reside with him in the character of a house-keeper. In this familiar situation they continued some time; during which they conceived such an affection for each other, that they broke through the laws of prudence, and possessed those enjoyments that were forbidden by the strictness of the canon law. Each of them made their will in the other's favour, and removing to town, lodged for some time in the house of one Parsons, (officiating parish-clerk of St. Sepulchre's,) in Cock-lane, near West Smithfield. Some dispute arising between Mr. K. and his landlord, the former suddenly left his lodgings, and removed to Clerkenwell. Here the young lady died of the small-pox, on the 2d of February, 1760, and was buried in Clerkenwell church. The scheme, supposed to have been concerted by Parsons, now began to shew itself. An alarm was spread that his daughter, a girl of eleven years of age, was visited by a spirit, who having been interrogated, had declared itself to be the spirit of Fanny, which was the name of the deceased lady, and that she had been poisoned by K. when ill of the small-pox. A worthy clergyman, however, who attended her several times, and who administered to her the last comforts of his office, declared, that the small-pox with which she was seized was of the

* He was born on the 12th of August, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, and on the 17th was created prince of Wales, &c. On the 12th of September following,

he was baptized by the archbishop of Canterbury, and named George Augustus Frederick.

confluent fort, and that the gentlemen of the faculty who attended her had pronounced her irrecoverable, some days before her death. On the 13th of February, 1762, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, Parsons desired a gentleman in the neighbourhood to come to his house, in order to be witness of the strange noise and extraordinary circumstances that were supposed to proceed from this invisible agent, which he said, had for two years past greatly terrified his family. The gentleman accordingly attended, and found the child in bed; when several questions being put to the spirit, who was supposed to be present, by the father, they were respectively answered by an unaccountable noise like that of knocking and scratching. The gentleman not choosing to pronounce too hastily upon what appeared to him so extraordinary, left the house, and next evening got together a number of his friends, among whom were two or three clergymen, all of whom went to the house on a determination of satisfying themselves by sitting up during the course of the night. On their first entering the room they examined the bed, bed-cloaths, &c. and being satisfied there was not any visible appearance of deceit, the child was put into bed, which was immediately found to shake extremely by the gentleman who had placed himself at the foot of it. During the course of the night a prodigious number of questions were put to the supposed spirit, all of which were answered either by knocking or scratching. An affirmative was one knock, and a negative two: and the scratching intimated displeasure. The sound of the noises appeared to proceed occasionally from the different parts of the room where the child lay; and as her presence was necessary to the production of the noises, so the spirit declared it would follow her wherever she went. The circumstances of this strange visitation being reported, with many idle exaggerations, the public became so interested in it, that in all companies nothing was heard but remarks on the ghost in Cock-lane; add to this place superstition and curiosity brought a vast concourse of people, of all ranks and conditions. The farce was carried on for some time much to the advantage of the projectors. The girl was actually removed to other houses, where the noises equally accompanied her, and such an impression did this strange occurrence make, even on those of superior understanding, that two clergymen became the avowed patrons of this inarticulate revelation. The supposed spirit, however, was at length decoyed into a promise that entirely destroyed its reputation. It had publicly declared, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen to the vault of St. John's church, Clerkenwell, where the body was buried, and then would give a token of its presence by a knock upon the coffin. It was therefore determined to make this trial of the existence or veracity of the supposed spirit. While they were deliberating on this matter, they were summoned into the girl's chamber by some ladies who were near her bed, and had heard knocks and scratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared that she felt the spirit like a mouse upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed. From that time, though the spirit was very solemnly requested to manifest its existence by appearance, by impression on the hand or body of any present, by scratches, knocks, or any other agony, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited. The spirit was then duly informed, that the person to whom the promise was made of striking the coffin was then about to

visit the vault, and that the performance of the promise was then claimed. At one o'clock in the morning the company went to the church, and the gentleman, with the two credulous clergymen, went into the vault, where the spirit was solemnly required to fulfil her promise. Here, however, she failed, and the company not seeing any thing beside themselves, returned back to the house. It was now they began to suspect some fraud, and strictly examined the girl, but without obtaining any information. However, it was the general opinion of the assembly, that the child had some art of counterfeiting particular noises, and that there was not any agency of a higher cause. But the friends of the ghost, in order to retrieve their reputation, spread a report that the coffin and body had been removed out of the vault; but Mr. K. who began now feelingly to interest himself in defence of his reputation, deprived them of this last refuge, by ordering the coffin to be opened before sufficient witnesses. The coffin was soon discovered by the undertaker, and was opened before the clergyman of the parish, the clerk, the sexton, Mr. K. and some others, when the contents of it exhibited the melancholy remains of mortality. Mr. K. now thought it high time to vindicate his character in a legal manner; this affair appearing to be no more than a contrivance of Parsons, to be revenged on Mr. K. who had sued Parsons for a small sum of money he had lent him while he lodged in his house; and which he found it impossible otherwise to regain. Accordingly Mr. K. preferred a bill of indictment against Parsons and his wife, Mary Frazer, (a woman who lived in the house and officiated as interpreter between the ghost and the spectators,) one of the clergymen, and a tradesman, who had been active dupes in the affair; for conspiring against his life and character. On the 10th of July the cause was heard before lord chief justice Mansfield and a special jury, at the court of King's Bench, Guildhall; when, after a trial of twelve hours, the parties were all convicted of the crimes with which they were charged. The court, however, being willing that the prosecutor, who had been sensibly injured by this iniquitous transaction, should receive some reparation from the offenders, postponed their sentence for some months, in hopes the parties would make it up in the interim. Accordingly the clergymen and tradesmen compromised their part of the matter by a large sum of money, and were dismissed with a severe reprimand. Parsons was sentenced to stand in the pillory three times in one month, and to be imprisoned two years; his wife to be imprisoned one year; and Mary Frazer was committed to Bridewell for six months. Thus ended this mysterious affair, which had not only been prejudicial to the party against whom it was levelled, but also injurious to many people of reputation, who, by their credulity, had been led to place confidence, and were supposed to be active, in the prosecution of this diabolical contrivance.

On the 10th of February, 1763, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris; and being transmitted to England was speedily laid before the parliament. The articles of the treaty, like those of the preliminaries, occasioned violent debates in both houses, where, after a variety of arguments on each side, the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very considerable majority*.

Peace being established, the ministry determined to impose as few new taxes as the public service could possibly admit. Accordingly, the supplies were to be

* By this treaty Canada, Nova-Scotia, and the island of Cape Breton, were ceded to Great-Britain; the river Mississippi was to be the boundary between the British and French colonies in North-America; and in the West-Indies, the king of Great-Britain gave up to the French the conquered islands of Martinico and Guadaloupe, with all the smaller ones depending on them. The island of Belleisle was given in exchange for Minorca; and the Grenades, with all the other islands depending on them, were ceded to Britain. All our conquests on the river of Senegal were confirmed to us; and

in the East-Indies part of the French settlements were restored, and part retained. The French were obliged to give up such places as they had taken possession of in Germany; and in consequence of the king of Spain's giving up all pretensions to Florida, and ceding it to the English, the Havannah, with the whole island of Cuba, were to be restored. The king of Prussia was to remain in the same condition he was in before the commencement of the war; and the same was to take place with respect to the empress queen.

raised, first, by taking two millions out of the sinking fund; secondly, by striking one million eight hundred thousand pounds in exchequer bills; thirdly, by borrowing two millions eight hundred thousand pounds on annuities; and lastly, by two lotteries, for three hundred and fifty thousand pounds each. To pay the interest on these loans, which, in the whole, amounted to seven millions three hundred thousand pounds, an additional duty of eight pounds per ton was laid upon all wines of the growth of France, and four pounds per ton upon all other wines. Thus far the scheme seemed unexceptionable; but another duty was added, which put the nation into a ferment, *viz.* four shillings per hoghead upon cyder, to be paid by the maker, collected by the officers, and subjected to all the laws of excise. The heads of the opposition differed in opinion from the treasury upon every particular in this plan. But after a violent debate the question was put and carried in the affirmative by a very considerable majority. In the upper house also the bill was strongly opposed; but after a smart debate the ministry carried their point, and the bill received the royal assent. On the 22d of March peace was proclaimed in London with the accustomed solemnities.

On the 18th of April two ambassadors extraordinary from the republic of Venice made their public entry into London, in a very splendid and pompous manner; and on the day following, the king went to the house of peers, and having given the royal assent to several bills, he prorogued the parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he expressed his thanks for the zeal and dispatch they had manifested in their proceedings.

A rule for an information was now granted by the court of King's-Bench against the author, printers, and publishers of a periodical paper, called the North Briton, No 45; which contained a severe commentary on the king's speech at the close of the session of parliament on the 19th of April. John Wilkes, Esq. member of parliament for Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, was the gentleman pitched on as the supposed author of this performance. A warrant was therefore issued by the secretary of state for taking Mr. Wilkes, together with the printer and publisher, into custody. Accordingly, on the evening of the 29th of April, the messengers went to Mr. Wilkes's house for that purpose. On their entrance he excepted to the generality of the warrant, as his name was not mentioned in it, and threatened the first who should offer violence to his person in his own house, at that unseasonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order which they might, or might not, have received for that purpose. Upon this the messengers thought proper to retire, and defer the execution of their warrant till next morning, when they took him into custody, and carried him before the secretaries of state for examination. On the intimation of this event a motion was made in the court of Common-Pleas, then sitting in Westminster-Hall, for a habeas corpus, which was granted, though by reason of the Prothonotary's office not being open, it could not be sued till four o'clock in the afternoon. In the mean time several gentlemen applied for admittance to him; which was refused, upon pretence of an order from the secretaries of state, which order was never produced; and though it was well known that the court of Common-Pleas had granted an habeas corpus, and Philip Carteret Webb, Esq. was assured of the fact, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, where many of his friends were also denied admittance to him. On the 3d of May he was brought to the bar of the court of Common-Pleas, where he addressed himself to the judges on the illegality

and hardships of his commitment, in a very bold and animated speech. The case was then argued by eminent lawyers on both sides; but the court, after making a polite excuse to Mr. Wilkes for the delay, (requiring farther time to consider of the affair,) he was remanded to the Tower till the 6th of May, with orders that his friends and lawyers should have free access to him. In the interim orders were given, that Mr. Wilkes should no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham. On the day appointed Mr. Wilkes was again brought to Westminster-Hall, when, after another spirited address to the court, the lord chief justice Pratt proceeded to give his opinion on the three following points, *viz.* The legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment; the necessity for a specification of those particular passages in No 45 of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel; and his privilege as a member of parliament. These points were discussed by his lordship in a manner which greatly redounds to his honour: and his opinion having met with the approbation of the court, Mr. Wilkes was discharged. But before he had quitted the court, a gentleman of eminence in the law stood up, and informed the lord chief justice, that he had just received a note from the attorney and solicitor-general, to desire his lordship would detain Mr. Wilkes till their arrival, as they had something to offer against his plea of privilege. This request, however, was not complied with; and Mr. Wilkes took his leave of the court. A short time after Mr. Wilkes had been released from the Tower, he caused a printing press to be put up, under his own direction, at his house in Great George Street, Westminster, where he advertised the proceedings of the administration, with all the original papers; and the North-Briton was re-published. In the mean time an information was filed against him in the court of King's Bench, at his majesty's suit, as being author of the North Briton, No 45; and on the meeting of parliament a message was sent to the house of commons with the information his majesty had received, that John Wilkes, Esq. a member of that house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel. The examinations and proofs of the said libel, together with the measures that had been taken thereon, were also laid before the house; in consequence of which, the North Briton, No 45, was adjudged a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. On the day appointed for this sentence to be put in execution, December 3, a great mob assembled at the Royal Exchange, who insulted the sheriffs in a very gross manner, and one of them received a slight wound in the scuffle, which obliged him to quit the place. The North Briton, however, was partly consumed by means of a lighted link, but some scraps of it were carried off in triumph by the mob, who, in the evening, displayed them at Temple-Bar, where a bon-fire was made, and the greatest rejoicings exhibited on the occasion.

Mr. Wilkes likewise made a complaint to the house of commons concerning a breach of their privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, the plundering of his house, the seizing of his papers, and the serving him with a subpoena upon an information in the court of King's Bench, &c. Mr. Wilkes, not being satisfied with this, commenced an action against Robert Wood, Esq. under secretary of state, for seizing his papers. The cause was tried on the 6th of December before lord chief justice Pratt, and a special jury; when, after a hearing of near fifteen hours, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff with one thousand pounds damages, and full costs of suit*. Previous to this, a complaint had been exhibited

* On the evening of the day on which this verdict was obtained, a person knocked at Mr. Wilkes's door, desiring to speak with him on particular business; but it appearing by his dialect that he was a Scotchman, and being besides an entire stranger, he was refused admittance; on which he went to a coffee-house in Parliament-street, where a person made affi-

davit, that he heard him declare, himself and ten more were determined to cut off Mr. Wilkes, let the event be what it would. This person the next morning gave information to Mr. Wilkes, desiring him to be on his guard. According to the information, the person sworn against, as was supposed, bringing a letter to Mr. Wilkes's house, signed Alexander Dun,

exhibited against Mr. Wilkes in the house of lords, for affixing the name of a member of that house to a book entitled, "An Essay on Woman;" which book was publicly produced, to the utter confusion and eternal disgrace of every person concerned in it; but Mr. Wilkes could not prefer his answer, being at that time indisposed, in consequence of a wound he had received in a duel with Samuel Martin, Esq. late secretary of the treasury; who, thinking himself grossly insulted in the North Briton, and, by what had passed, presuming Mr. Wilkes was the author of that abuse, he sent him a challenge, which being readily accepted by Mr. Wilkes, he received a dangerous wound in the belly; of which he sent immediate notice to the house of commons, who thereupon allowed time for his appearance, and afterwards, on the report of his physician and surgeon, enlarged it: but at length suspecting some collusion between him and them, on the 16th of December, they ordered Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in order to observe the progress of his cure, and make a report of the same to the house. This being made known to Mr. Wilkes by his physician, he sent cards to the two gentlemen appointed to attend him, expressing his just sense of the kind care of the house for his speedy recovery, but at the same time intimated his perfect reliance on the gentlemen to whom he had committed his case, and assured them, that though he did not wish to see them at present, he was impatient for an opportunity of shewing the just regard he would ever pay to distinguished merit. Eight days after Mr. Wilkes set out for France on a visit to his daughter, who was very ill at Paris, where, for the present, we shall leave him to attend to other important transactions.

On the 16th of January, 1764, her royal highness the princess Augusta, eldest sister to his majesty, was married to his serene highness Charles William, hereditary prince of Brunswick-Lunenbergh. The ceremony was performed in the evening, in the great council-chamber at St. James's, by the archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of a great number of peers, peeresses, and foreign ministers. Their serene highnesses left London on the 26th, and on the 29th embarked at Harwich on board different yachts; but from the badness of the weather, they did not reach Helvoetsluys, till the fourth day after their re-embarkation. Her royal highness's dowry, eighty thousand pounds, was granted by parliament.

On the 20th of the same month the commons expelled Mr. Wilkes, for a contempt of their authority, and publishing the North Briton, being adjudged an infamous libel. His trial came on in February in the court of King's Bench, before lord chief justice Mansfield, for reprinting and publishing the North Briton, No 45, at his own house; of which publication he was found guilty; as he was afterwards of printing and publishing the "Essay on Woman."

On the 18th of April his majesty went to the house of peers, and having given the royal assent to several bills, closed the session with an elegant speech from the throne. One colonel Stumpel, an officious German foldier of fortune, pretending authority from the British ministry, engaged about six hundred protestant Wurtzburgers and Palatines to emigrate from their own country, by a promise of settling them in the islands of St. John and le Croix in America. After they had been

shipped for England in August this year, the contractor, finding himself unable to fulfil his engagements, abandoned them, and they arrived at the port of London in the most imminent danger of perishing through want. Those who were able to pay their passage were permitted to come on shore, and retired to the fields adjoining to Whitechapel, where they continued some days in the most wretched condition, not having the least shelter to preserve them from the inclemency of the weather; while those who remained on ship-board were nearly in as destitute a situation. The only assistance the poor deluded people received for some days, was what could be gathered from the different German churches and chapels about London; but this was far from being sufficient to relieve so great a number. At length, however, Mr. Wachsel, minister of the German Lutheran church in Ayliffe-street, Goodman's-Fields, laid their case before the public in the newspapers of the last day of August; and in so true and affecting a manner was it related, that it immediately attracted the attention not only of the great, but also of royalty itself†. Having obtained some relief, Mr. Wachsel, who with several other benefactors had formed themselves into a committee for the management of the subscriptions, waited on the king to know his pleasure respecting their future disposal. His majesty communicated his intention of establishing them in South Carolina, ordered one hundred and fifty stand of arms to be delivered to them for their defence, and contracts to be immediately made for proper vessels to convey them to that colony. When every thing was prepared for their embarkation, their camp was broke up, and they went on board singing hymns of thanksgiving in praise of their benefactors, whose beneficence had been so extensive, that the committee were not only enabled to furnish them with every necessary while on board, but even to make some provision for them after their landing in North-America.

We must now return to our affairs on the continent. In the beginning of the year the East-India company received advice, that the disputes between their servants and the reigning nabob, Cossim Ali Khân, had been productive of such animosities and jealousies, on the part of the latter, that it was judged highly necessary to use every means to allay them: and for this purpose Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council, were deputed to wait upon the nabob to endeavour to adjust the difference in an amicable manner. Accordingly, being arrived at Mongheer, where he resided, they held many conferences with him, in which he always shewed a great aversion to an accommodation upon the terms offered him; and about this time, a supply of five hundred arms going to Patna, was stopped by his officers. Other acts of hostility were likewise committed, by which affairs were brought to such an extremity that a war with Ali was unavoidable. Messrs. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and the former of those gentlemen, having received the usual passports, set out for Calcutta, accompanied by Messrs. Amphlett, Wollaston, and Hutchinson; the lieutenants Jones, Gordon, and Cooper, and Dr. Crooke; Messrs. Hay and Guiston being left with the nabob as hostages. As the boats were passing the city of Moorshedabad, they were attacked by a number of troops, assembled on both sides the river for that purpose, and some of the gentlemen in the boats being slain, Mr. Amyatt immediately landed

judges; after which a complaint was exhibited against him in the house of commons, and he was ordered to be brought to the bar of the house, when, after an examination, he was discharged, being generally supposed to be insane.

† Before eleven o'clock on the same day one hundred tents were sent from the Tower, by order of his majesty; the passage of those who were detained in the ship was defrayed, and three hundred pounds was sent for their immediate support. Subscriptions were opened, and prodigious sums of money were gathered for their relief. Physicians, surgeons, and midwives offered their service for the sick and those in travail; for the latter of whom proper apartments were hired.

Dun, (the purport of which was to beg an interview with him on business of the utmost importance,) he was desired to call again at one o'clock, which he did accordingly; and seven o'clock in the evening being then appointed, he again attended; but as he was going out of the parlour door two gentlemen, who had placed themselves behind it for that purpose, seized him by the arms, and threw him on his back. On searching his pockets a new penknife was found, which he pretended he had purchased nine months before; but after many equivocations, he acknowledged to have bought it at Chatham within a fortnight. From these circumstances he was taken into custody, and the next morning carried before one of the

with a few sepoy, whom he forbade to fire. He then endeavoured to make the enemy understand that he was furnished with the nabob's passport, and had no design of committing hostilities; but the Moorish horse advancing, some of the sepoy inadvertently fired, and, in the confusion which ensued, Mr. Amyatt, with most of his small party, were killed. In consequence of this disaster Mr. Ellis, and the other gentlemen in council at Patna, agreed, with the approbation of captain Corstair, to attack the city of Moorshedabad. This resolution was executed with success, on the 25th of June, and captain Corstair, with his party, were in possession of the city for four hours, the Moorish governor, and his people having fled. However, he quickly returned again, resolved to make an effort to regain the city, in which he succeeded. Most of the sepoy and Europeans being engaged in plundering the place, were not prepared to receive him, and consequently easily dispossessed of it. Hereupon they retired into the factory, but the men were so dispirited, and the sepoy deserted in such numbers, that it was found impossible to make any stand there; upon which a resolution was taken to proceed to Sujah Dowlah's country. Accordingly they crossed the river on the 26th in the evening, and met with no obstruction till they passed the Churpa; when, on the 30th, they were attacked by the Phousdar, with about two thousand men, whom they easily routed; but he being joined that evening by near five hundred sepoy from Bugepore, who brought six field-pieces with them, he attacked the Europeans, who, quitting their ranks at the first onset, were entirely defeated. Fifty of them were killed, among whom was captain Corstair. Mr. Ellis and the rest were made prisoners. From these and other acts of hostility committed by Cossim Ali, in several of the company's settlements, it was determined to declare war against him, and to restore Meer Jaffier, the former nabob, who had been deposed, to the subahship; obliging him first to enter into a treaty with the company.

The treaty between Meer Jaffier and the company, was signed and sealed at Fort William on the 10th of July, 1763, and a few days after, Meer Jaffier set out to join the army under major Adams, then on his march towards Moorshedabad. On the 19th of July the first action happened opposite to Cutwa on the Cossimbuzar side of the river, in which the English were successful. They likewise possessed themselves of the fort of Cutwa, on the other side of the river, together with all the enemies' artillery. After this success major Adams pursued his march to Moorshedabad, which place he entered on the 24th, at night, with very little opposition; and here the army halted for some days, during which Meer Jaffier was proclaimed in form. On the 28th of July the army was again put in motion, and on the 2d of August they arrived near a place called Sooty, at the head of the Cossimbuzar river. At this place, a numerous army of the enemy's best troops, with artillery, occupied a very advantageous post. Major Adams immediately attacked them, and for four hours they made an obstinate defence; but then, being thrown into confusion, they were easily defeated. In this engagement the loss of the English consisted of six officers, and forty Europeans; together with two hundred and ninety-two sepoy and black cavalry, killed and wounded. Twenty-three pieces of cannon, and about one hundred and fifty boats, laden with military and other stores, were taken. Immediately after this battle major Adams advanced with the army to the neighbourhood of Rajamant, about three or four miles from which place the enemy had thrown up a strong entrenchment from the hills to the river. This the major was resolved to attack, and every thing being ready for the assault by the 5th of September, it was carried on with such vigour, that in a short time the enemy were obliged to abandon the entrenchment to the conquerors. By this victory the province of Bengal was entirely secured to the English.

In July advices were received from North-America, by which it appeared that the military operations in that quarter had been carried on with great vigour; but that Sir William Johnson had at last brought the Seneca nation to concessions highly advantageous to the subjects of Great-Britain, and that they had entered into a treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance with the English, which was reciprocally signed in congress held for that purpose at Niagara. The forces commanded by the colonels Bradstreet and Bouquet met with the same success as those under Sir William Johnson. The Delawares and Shawanese had refused to meet Sir William at the congress of Niagara, but now, intimidated by the march of such a number of troops towards their country, they met colonel Bradstreet at Presque Isle, and, in a very submissive manner, sued for peace, which was readily granted them.

The peace, however, with the Delawares and Shawanese was but of short duration; for they soon after revolted, and renewed their outrages with aggravated insolence. In consequence of this perfidious behaviour, major-general Gage, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in those parts, determined to penetrate into the heart of their country. Accordingly the regular and provincial troops under colonel Bouquet, having been joined by a large body of volunteers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, in the beginning of October marched from Fort Pitt, and about the 16th arrived at Tuscarawas. The sight of the troops in their country threw the savages into the utmost consternation, they having depended on their woods for protection, and had frequently boasted that their situation secured them from the attacks of our army. Not choosing to come to an engagement they had again recourse to negotiation, and received for answer that they might have peace, but every prisoner in their possession must first be delivered up, upon which they brought up about twenty, and promised to deliver the rest; but as their promises were not regarded, they engaged to send the whole on the 1st of November, to a fort about two hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt, the center of the Delaware towns, and near to the most considerable settlement of the Shawanese. Colonel Bouquet being determined not to lose sight of them, moved his camp to that place, and soon obliged the Delawares, together with some broken tribes, to bring in all their prisoners, even to children bought of white women. They were then told, that they must appoint deputies to go to Sir William Johnson, in order to receive such terms as he might think proper to impose upon them, which the nations must agree to ratify; and they were obliged to leave a number of their chiefs in the hands of the English, as a security for the performance of this agreement. All the nations readily agreed to the above terms, except the Shawanese, who did not approve of the conditions, and were particularly averse to the giving of hostages; but finding their obstinacy would only bring on their destruction, they at last consented, gave up forty principal chiefs as hostages, and appointed their deputies to go to Sir William Johnson, in the same manner as the rest. The number of prisoners delivered up by these savages exceeded three hundred, and it was expected that the English parties would bring in near one hundred more from their different towns.

Several accounts were received from the Bay of Honduras, in the month of June, complaining that our log-wood cutters there had not only been disturbed in their business, but suddenly ordered to remove from their usual places of settlement, on pretence of their having nothing to prove that they were subjects of his Britannic majesty; and granting they were, that they had roved too freely about the country, gathering the fruits of it as if it belonged to them. In consequence of these proceedings, a remonstrance was presented to the court of Madrid by the English ambassador there; and on the 27th of September a messenger arrived in London, with a duplicate of the orders, which were immediately dispatched

dispatched to Don Felix Raming de Estenoz, governor of Yucatan*.

The parliament met again on the 10th of January, 1765, when his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which is the following passage: "I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that I have agreed with my good brother the king of Denmark, to cement the union which has long subsisted between the two crowns by the marriage of the prince royal with my sister the princess Carolina Matilda, which is to be solemnized as soon as their respective ages will permit."

To his majesty's speech both houses presented the most loyal and affectionate addresses; and the commons, in order to raise the supplies for the ensuing year, resolved to put the Americans on the same footing as the inhabitants of Great-Britain, by obliging them to pay stamp duties. Great oppositions were made to this bill; but it at length passed both houses, and on the 22d of March received the royal assent. Soon after this his majesty ordered, that America should be divided into two districts, viz. northern and southern, by the river Potomack, and a due West line drawn from the head of the main branch of that river, as far as his majesty's dominions extend, and that a surveyor-general should be appointed in each, to make general surveys both of the sea-coast and the inland country, in order to facilitate the navigation, and to promote the speedy settlement of the new acquisitions. Commissioners were also appointed to settle the new ceded islands in the West-Indies, who received orders, first to divide each island into parishes and districts: then in every parish to trace out a town, its streets, market-place, and other public places; after which they were to parcel out the ground into proper allotments to build on, with a small field annexed to each. It was likewise ordered, that where the land was cleared, the purchasers, besides the purchase money, should pay a quit-rent of one penny per foot in front of each town lot, and six-pence for every acre of the field that accompanied it. On the other hand, if the land was uncleared, it should be granted by the governor, upon security given to build on, inclose, and fence it in a reasonable time, and to pay the same quit-rent.

In April, the trial of lord Byron for murder came on in Westminster-Hall, before the peers; the particulars of which are as follow: in the month of January, at a meeting of the Nottinghamshire club, a dispute arose between lord Byron and Mr. Chaworth, a gentleman of that county, concerning the quantity of game on their respective estates. In consequence of this dispute a duel was fought between them, at the Star and Garter tavern

in Pall-Mall, in which the latter was unfortunately killed; and some time after lord Byron surrendered himself to be tried by his peers. Accordingly, on the 26th of April, about half past nine o'clock in the morning, his lordship was brought from the Tower to Westminster-Hall, where a court had been erected, as is usual on such occasions. The number of witnesses on behalf of the crown was so great that they could not be all examined that day. On the next the trial being resumed, and the examinations against the prisoner finished, the solicitor-general summed up the evidence; after which lord Byron, who declined examining any witnesses on his own behalf, told their lordships, "That what he had to offer in his own vindication he had committed to writing, and begged that it might be read by the clerk, as he feared his own voice, considering his present situation, would not be heard." This request being complied with, the clerk, in a very audible and distinct manner, read his speech, which contained an exact detail of all the particulars relating to the melancholy affair between him and Mr. Chaworth. He said, he declined entering into the circumstances of Mr. Chaworth's behaviour farther than was necessary for his defence, expressed his deep and unfeigned sorrow for the event, and reposed himself with the utmost confidence on their lordship's justice and humanity, observing that he would with cheerfulness acquiesce in the sentence of the noblest and most equitable court of judicature in the world, whether it were for life or for death. When the clerk had concluded, the peers adjourned to their own house; and, after some time, returned, when they found his lordship guilty of manslaughter: and, as by an old statute, peers are, in all cases where benefit of clergy is allowed, to be dismissed without burning in the hand, loss of inheritance, or corruption of blood, his lordship was immediately dismissed on paying his fees.

On the 24th of April his majesty, who had been for some time indisposed, went to the house of peers, and, after signing such bills as were ready, made a speech from the throne †. To which each house presented a loyal address; and in conformity to his majesty's request, a bill was ordered to be brought into the house of lords, where it was passed, and sent to the house of commons. Here, however, it met with some opposition; but an amendment being made, which was approved of by the lords, it received the royal assent on the 15th of May ‡.

The affair of the regency being settled, on the 25th of May his majesty prorogued the parliament by commission, being so indisposed as to be unable to attend in person.

Not long after the rising of the parliament, accounts

* From the tenor of these it appeared, that his catholic majesty disapproved of the proceedings of the said governor, with respect to the subjects of the king of Great-Britain in the bay of Honduras: that he expressed his desire of giving his majesty the greatest proofs of his friendship, and of preserving peace with the British: that he had commanded the said governor to re-establish the said British logwood cutters in the several places from which they had been obliged to retire, and to acquaint them, that they might return to their occupation of cutting logwood, without being disturbed under any pretence whatsoever.

† The following is extracted from his majesty's speech on the subject of his indisposition, and the appointing a regent in case of his demise, during the minority of the prince of Wales: "The tender concern which I feel for my faithful subjects, makes me anxious to provide for every possible event which might effect their future happiness or security. My late indisposition, though not attended with danger, has led me to consider the situation in which my kingdoms and my family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to my life, whilst my successor is of tender years. The high importance of this subject to the public safety, good order, and tranquillity; the paternal affection which I bear to my children, and to all my people; and my earnest desire that every precaution should be taken which may tend to preserve the constitution of Great-Britain undisturbed, and the dignity and lustre of its crown unimpaired; have determined me to lay this weighty business before my parliament. And as my health, by the blessing of

God, is now restored, I take the earliest opportunity of meeting you here, and of recommending to your most serious deliberation the making such provision, as would be necessary, in case any of my children should succeed to the throne before they shall respectively attain the age of eighteen years. To this end, I propose to your consideration, whether, under the present circumstances, it will not be expedient to vest in me the power of appointing, from time to time, by instruments in writing, under my sign manual, either the queen, or any other person of my royal family, usually residing in Great-Britain, to be the guardian of the person of such successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor shall attain the age of eighteen years; subject to such restrictions and regulations as are contained in an act, passed upon a similar occasion, in the 24th year of the reign of the late king, my royal grandfather. The regent so appointed to be assisted by a council, composed of the several persons, who, by reason of their dignities and offices, are constituted members of the council established by that act, together with those whom you may think proper to leave to my nomination."

‡ By this act his majesty was empowered to appoint the queen, with the princes of the blood, and all the great officers of state jointly, regents during the minority of the prince; and that his majesty should be allowed to add to the number of regents such persons as he thought proper, whose names should be left, in case of his death, sealed up in a deed, to be opened by the privy-council.

were received of the success of his majesty's arms in conjunction with the company's troops, in the East-Indies. On the 22d of October, 1764, major Monro, who, on the decease of major Adams, had succeeded to the command of the king's forces in that part of the world, came up with the Indian army at Buxard, on the river Cammassary, about one hundred miles above Patna. They were most advantageously encamped, having a morass in their front, judiciously lined with cannon, so that which-ever way the English should move, they could greatly annoy them. The major, however, not being any way intimidated by the advantageous situation of the enemy, ordered the line of battle to be formed next morning; about nine the Indians began to cannonade the English; and half an hour after the action became general. The morass in the front of our troops prevented their advancing for some time, during which they were greatly galled by the enemy's cannon. The British forces charged the enemy with such success, that before noon their whole army was put to flight, leaving six thousand men on the field, with one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, a proportionable quantity of military stores, and all their tents ready pitched. The loss of the victors was comparatively small, for they had only thirty Europeans, and two hundred and thirty-nine Indians killed; and fifty-seven Europeans, and four hundred and seventy-three Indians wounded. Such was the situation of affairs in the East-Indies, when major Monro was recalled; and Sir Robert Fletcher, an officer brought up in the company's service, was appointed to command in his room. He took the field as soon as he arrived; and marched about one hundred and fifty miles up the Ganges, when he attacked several of the enemy's forts, and made the garrisons prisoners of war.

Great disturbances arose in America on account of the stamp-act. The first intelligence that arrived there of such a bill being in agitation, threw an universal melancholy on the countenances of the people; but when it was known that the bill had passed both houses, and received the royal assent, they were fired with indignation, and nothing but confusion took place throughout most of the provinces. As soon as the news arrived at Boston, the ships in the harbour hung out their colours half mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells were rung muffled: copies of the act were printed, with a death's head in the place where it is usual to fix the stamps, and cried publicly about the streets by the name of "The Folly of England, and Ruin of America." Essays soon followed, not only against the expediency, but even the equity of it, in several newspapers, one of which bore the significant title of "The Constitutional Courant, containing Matters interesting to Liberty, and no ways repugnant to Loyalty; printed by Andrew Marvel, at the Sign of the Bribe Refused, on Constitution-Hill, North-America." The head-piece to this paper was a cut in small pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the several colonies, from New England to South Carolina, affixed to each piece, and above them the words "Join or Die." To these were added caricatures, pasquinades, puns, bon-mots, and such sayings, suited to the occasion, as by being short could be most easily circulated and retained, at the same time that, by being extremely expressive, they carried with them the weights of a great many arguments. The two chief articles urged in these newspaper essays were, first, that the person acting under this statute had it in his power to bring an action, the cause of which had arisen at one extremity of the North American colonies, and extended itself to the other, at almost two thousand miles distance, without the traders being entitled to recover damages, in case the judge certified that there was any probable cause for the prosecution. The second

was, the judge having an interest in giving a decree in favour of the party suing for the penalties of the act, on being allowed, by way of commission, a very large share in these penalties. By the time the act itself, as printed at the king's printing-house, reached the colonies, the populace were every where exasperated against it to such a degree, as to shew it the most public marks of contempt. In several places it was burnt, together with the effigies of those who were supposed to have voted for, or otherwise had any hand in favour of it*. When the news of the American discontents arrived in England, several masters of ships refused to take any stamps on board for the colonies; and it soon appeared that their precaution was well founded; for such as ventured to take them had sufficient cause to repent it on their arrival at their destined ports, where, to save their vessels from fire, and their persons from the gallows, they were most of them obliged to surrender their exonerated cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, which they treated in the same ignominious manner they had done the act: the other vessels were obliged to take shelter under such of the king's ships as happened to be at hand to protect them. Those gentlemen who went from England with commissions to act as distributors of the stamps, met with still worse treatment. Many of them were made to renounce, upon oath, all manner of concern in them: others thought it most prudent to return home, whilst some, who were suspected of obstinately persisting in endeavouring to enslave their country, as it was termed, or of having spoke too freely concerning the behaviour of the people on this occasion, had their houses burnt down, and their most valuable effects plundered or destroyed. Even those who, without their solicitation or knowledge, had been named, or were obliged in virtue of the offices they already filled, to superintend the distribution of the stamped paper, were treated in the same manner; and the populace having suspected one of writing to England in disrespectful terms concerning their proceedings, surrounded his house, and, notwithstanding the most earnest entreaties, obliged him to deliver up the copies of his letters, and thereby turn evidence against himself. Even ships bringing stamped mercantile or custom-house papers, merely in their own defence, from such of the colonies as had thought proper to submit to the stamp act, were forced to part with them to be stuck up in derision in coffee-houses and taverns, and were afterwards publicly burnt.

Several people of higher rank now began to join these popular tumults. One in particular set the act openly at defiance, by advertising under his hand, that those whose business it was to enforce it, might save themselves the trouble of calling upon him for that purpose; for that he was resolved to pay no tax but what was laid by his representatives. The provincial assemblies themselves declined giving the governors any advice concerning their behaviour on this critical occasion, and, though they disavowed these riotous proceedings, and offered rewards for apprehending the rioters, yet they would not condemn them further than decency required; and absolutely refused, when exhorted to it by the governors, to make any compensation to the injured parties; much less would they strengthen the hands of the executive power, so as to prevent any future commotions; which they did not think proper to consider as objects of military restraint. This behaviour of the general assemblies was openly approved, if not encouraged, by assemblies of the freeholders and principal inhabitants of some places, who directed their representatives not to agree to any steps for the protection of stamped papers, or stamp officers, though they owned there had been already some tumults and disorders relating to them; and likewise cautioned them against all

* It was agreed by the Americans, at the meeting of those in higher rank, that thanks should be given to general Conway and colonel Barré, two gentlemen whom they considered as the most strenuous opposers of it in the British house of

commons; that their speeches against it, and their pictures, should be requested. The pictures to be hung up in their places of meeting; and their speeches to be inserted in the books destined to record all their principal transactions.

unconstitutional draughts on the public treasury. The general assemblies went still farther. Instead of con-
 vining at the people's asserting their independence by
 tumultuous acts, they proceeded to avow themselves,
 and they established committees to correspond with each
 other concerning the general affairs of the whole; they
 even appointed deputies from these committees to meet
 in a congress at New York. But such harmony already
 prevailed in the sentiments of the general assemblies of
 the several provinces, that the deputies, when met, had
 little more to do than to congratulate each other upon it,
 and put their hands to one general declaration of their
 rights, and the grievances they laboured under; and to
 one general petition expressive thereof, to the king,
 lords, and commons, of England. At length, those
 invested with the subordinate executive powers began to
 join the legislative; and they resolved rather to give up
 their business, than carry it on with stamped papers.

By the time the act took place, which was on the 1st
 of November, not a sheet of stamped paper was to be
 had throughout the several colonies of New England,
 New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia,
 Maryland, or the two Carolinas, except a small parcel,
 which the governor of New York, terrified by the
 threats of the enraged multitude, had surrendered into
 the hands of the corporation of that place, on condition
 of their not being destroyed; so that all business, which
 could not be legally carried on without stamps, was at
 once put to a stand, except that of news-printing, which
 the printers still continued, pleading in excuse, that, if
 they did not, the populace would serve them as they
 had done the stamp masters themselves. The courts of
 justice were closed, and the ports shut up. Even in
 those colonies where stamps were to be had, the peo-
 ple of the best fortune submitted to be asked in church,
 rather than take out licences for private marriages*.

The merchants of all those colonies which ventured
 openly to oppose the act, now entered into the most so-
 lemn engagements with each other, not only not to or-
 der any more goods from Great-Britain, let the conse-
 quences be what they would, and recal the orders they
 had already given, if not obeyed by the 1st of January,
 1766, but even not to dispose of any British goods sent
 them on commission, that were not shipped before that
 day; or, if they consented to any relaxation from these
 engagements, it was not to take place till the stamp act,
 and even the sugar and paper money acts were repealed.
 The people of Philadelphia also resolved, though not
 unanimously, that, till such repeal, no lawyer should
 put in suit a demand for money owing by a resident in
 America, to one in England; nor any person in Ame-
 rica, however indebted in England, make any remit-
 tances to that country. These resolutions were adopted
 by the retailers, who unanimously agreed, not to buy
 or sell any British goods shipped contrary to their ex-
 press meaning.

Ireland was the only place that received any material
 benefit from these proceedings, as what goods the colo-
 nies could not possibly do without they took from that
 country in exchange for their hemp-seed and flax-seed,
 of which they sent yearly very large quantities. In the
 mean time they endeavoured to free themselves even
 from this dependence. A society of arts, manufactures,
 and commerce, on the plan of the London society, was
 instituted at New York, and markets opened for the
 sale of home-made goods; by which it soon appeared,
 that neither the natives nor the manufacturers, had been
 idle. Linens, woollens, the coarser but most useful
 kinds of iron ware, malt-spirits, paper hangings, &c.

were produced to the society, and greatly approved;
 and when brought to market every body appeared de-
 siring of purchasing them. At the same time, lest the
 new woollen manufacturers should come short of mate-
 rials, most of the inhabitants came to a resolution not to
 eat any lamb; and to extend the influence of their reso-
 lution to those who did not join them in it, not to deal
 with any butcher that should kill or expose any lamb to
 sale.

During these transactions abroad the nation suffered
 an irreparable loss in the death of his royal highness
 William, duke of Cumberland, uncle to his majesty,
 who died on the 31st of October, in the forty-fifth year
 of his age. His royal highness was at court in the
 morning, dined with lord Albemarle, and drank tea
 with the princess of Brunswick at St. James's, whence
 he came to his own house in the evening, to be present
 at a council to be held on affairs of state. As soon as
 he entered the house he complained of a pain in his
 shoulder, and desired to be laid on a couch, where, in
 about twenty minutes, he expired. On examining the
 body a coagulation of extravasated blood was found in
 the right ventricle of the brain, which was the cause of
 his death; but all the other parts were sound, except
 the membrane between the lobes of the brain, which
 was ossified.

In consequence of the distracted state of America, his
 majesty thought proper to assemble the parliament on
 the 17th of December†, which was sooner than he in-
 tended. After having adjourned for the holidays, the
 house met again on the 14th of January, when his ma-
 jesty addressed the parliament in a short speech, in which
 he acquainted the lords and commons, that he had or-
 dered "All the papers that give any light into the ori-
 gin, the progress, or the tendency of the disturbances
 which have of late prevailed in some of the northern
 colonies, to be immediately laid before them."

Petitions were now presented to parliament by the
 merchants of London, Bristol, Lancaster, Liverpool,
 Hull, Glasgow, and, in short, from most of the trading
 and manufacturing towns and boroughs in the kingdom,
 wherein they set forth the great decay of their trade,
 owing to the new laws and regulations made for Ame-
 rica: the vast quantity of our manufactures, (besides
 those articles imported from abroad, which were pur-
 chased either with our own manufactures, or with the
 produce of our colonies,) which the American trade
 formerly took off our hands; by all which many thou-
 sand manufacturers, seamen, and labourers, had been
 employed, to the great benefit of the nation. That in
 return for these exports, the petitioners had received
 from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval stores,
 oil, whale-fins, fins, and pot-ash, with other staple
 commodities; besides a large balance in remittances by
 bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the colonists
 for articles of their produce, not required for the British
 markets, and therefore exported to other places: that
 from the nature of this trade, consisting of British ma-
 nufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials
 from America, many of them used in our manufactures,
 and all of them tending to lessen our dependence on
 neighbouring states, it must be deemed of the highest
 importance in the commercial system of this nation,
 that this commerce so beneficial to the state, and so ne-
 cessary for the support of multitudes, than lay under such
 difficulties and discouragements, that nothing less than
 its utter ruin was apprehended, without the intermediate
 interposition of parliament: that the colonies were then
 indebted to the merchants of Great-Britain, to the

* The consequences of the stagnation of business which
 took place on account of the stamp act soon began to be so se-
 verely felt, that the inhabitants found it necessary to try some
 expedient by which they might elude the act. Accordingly,
 one of them sent a thin piece of bark to the printers at Boston,
 on which he had written, "That it being neither paper, parch-
 ment, or vellum, he would be glad to know, if instruments

written on such stuff might not be valid, though not stamped;
 in which case he was ready to supply, with good writing bark,
 all those whose consciences were bound by the late act."

† On the 29th of this month, between three and four in the
 afternoon, died prince Frederic William, his majesty's young-
 est brother. He was only sixteen years old at the time of his
 death.

amount of several millions sterling; and that, when pressed for payment, they appeal to past experience in proof of their willingness; but declare it is not in their power at present to make good their engagements, alleging that the taxes and restrictions laid upon them, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the vice-admiralty courts established by some late acts of parliament, particularly by an act passed in the fourth year of his present majesty, for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, and by an act passed in the fifth year of his majesty, for granting and applying certain stamp-duties, &c. in the said colonies, &c. with several regulations and restraints, which they represent to have been extending in such a manner as to disturb legal commerce and harass the fair trader, inasmuch that the state of the several provinces was thrown into confusion, and so great a number of actual bankruptcies were brought on, that the former opportunities and means of remittances and payments were utterly lost and taken from them. That the petitioners were, by these unhappy events, reduced to the necessity of applying to the house, in order to secure themselves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burthen to the community, or else seeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrievable loss of the kingdom; and to preserve the strength of this nation entire, its commerce flourishing, the revenues increasing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a state of growth and extension, and the colonies from inclination, duty, and interest, firmly attached to the mother country. Petitions of a similar kind were likewise presented from almost every part of the kingdom, and from the agents for Virginia and Georgia, setting forth their inability to pay the stamp duty.

But the party who had resolved on the support of the stamp act, could not be prevailed on to remit the least of their ardour. Such petitions they represented as the effect of ministerial artifice, and observed, that supposing the distress of trade, (for a due exertion of the authority of parliament, was as real and as great as it was represented,) yet it were better to submit to this temporary inconvenience, than, by a repeal of the act, to hazard the total loss of the just superiority of Great-Britain over her colonies. Those who contended for the repeal were divided in their opinion as to the right of taxation; the more numerous body, among whom were the ministry, insisted that the legislature of Great-Britain had an undoubted right to tax the colonies, but acknowledged the inexpediency of the present tax; as ill adapted to the condition of the colonies, and built upon principles ruinous to the trade of Great-Britain. Those who denied the right of taxation were not so numerous: but they consisted of some of the most distinguished and popular characters in the kingdom. Though this affair was attended to by the house with the most unwearied application, yet the nature of their enquiries, the number of petitions they received, and the multitude of papers and witnesses they had to examine, occasioned a delay which could not easily be avoided. In the mean time there were continual debates, and the opposition made the most strenuous efforts for enforcing the stamp-act, and by every means to prevent the repeal. Two questions arose in the course of this debate upon which the whole turned. The first was, whether the legislature of Great-Britain had a right of taxation over the colonies, or not? The second was confined to the expediency or inexpediency of the late laws.

The arguments made use of against the right of taxation were supported by the learned authorities of Locke,

Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorf. And it was asserted, and, we think, with some degree of plausibility and justice, that the charters of the colonies, which are derived from prerogatives, and are in fact only so many grants from the crown, are not the only right the colonies have to being represented before they are taxed. They, as British subjects, take up their rights and liberties from a higher origin than their charters only. They take them up from the same origin and fountain, from whence they flow to all Englishmen, from Magna Charta, and the natural right of the subject. By that rule of right, the charters of the colonies, like all other crown-grants, are to be restricted and interpreted, for the benefit, not the prejudice of the subjects. Many other arguments were made use of, and several instances brought from ancient history, of the conduct of some of the most famous republics, with respect to their colonies; and likewise of colonies which outgrew their mother countries, such as Carthage, the northern emigrants, &c. Precedents were also quoted from what happened in the United Netherlands and other places, should serve as a beacon to warn us from pursuing such measures as brought about those revolutions.

In answer to these arguments, those on the other side observed, that it was necessary to clear away from the question all that mass of dissertation and learning, displayed in arguments which have been brought from speculative men, who have written upon the subject of government: that the refinements upon that subject, and arguments of natural lawyers, as Locke, Selden, Puffendorf, &c. are little to the purpose in a question of constitutional law: that it is absurd to apply records from the earliest times to our present constitution; because the constitution is not the same; and it is impossible to tell what it was at some of the times that are quoted: that there are things even in Magna Charta which are not constitutional now, and that those records are no proofs of our constitution as it now is: that the constitution of this country has always been in a moving state, either gaining or losing something: that the representation of the commons of Great-Britain was not formed into any certain system till Henry VII.: that with regard to the modes of taxation, when we get beyond the reigns of Edward I. or king John, we are lost in obscurity, the history of those times being entirely uncertain. It was also urged, among other things, that protection is the ground that gives a right of taxation: that the obligation between the colonies and the mother country is natural and reciprocal, consisting of defence on the one side, and obedience on the other; and that common sense tells, that they must be dependent in all points upon the mother country, or else not belong to it at all; that the question is not, what was law? or what was the constitution? but the question is, what is law now? and what is the constitution now? That if a matter of right has been generally exercised, and as generally held to be law, as has been proved in numberless instances, without its ever having been questioned before, it is now the constitution. It was also observed, that the colonies had gone very great lengths; and it was even insisted, that, by appointing deputies, from their several assemblies, to confer together, they had absolutely forfeited their charters. The debates being at an end, and the question put, the power of all the legislature of Great-Britain over her colonies, in all cases whatsoever, and without any distinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed and ascertained, without a division*.

The opposition, however, far from being dispirited at the seeming triumph of the adverse party, gained new vigour, and still resisted the repeal in every part of its

* The grand committee who had passed the resolutions, on which the question was debated, had also passed another for the total repeal of the stamp act; and two bills were accordingly brought in to answer these purposes. By the resolutions on which the former was founded, it was declared, that tumults and insurrections of the most dangerous nature had been raised and carried on in several of the colonies, in open defiance of

government, and in manifest violation of the laws and legislative authority of this kingdom. That these tumults and insurrections had been encouraged and inflamed, by several votes and resolutions which had passed in the assemblies of the said colonies, derogatory to the honour of government, and destructive to their legal and constitutional dependency on the crown, parliament, &c.

progress. So many instances of the inexpediency of the stamp duty had already occurred, that the question was scarcely controvertible; therefore, instead of entering into the merits of that part of the controversy, they rested their principal defence upon the resolutions, on which the late bill for securing the dependency of the colonies had been founded. They argued thence, that the total repeal of the stamp act, while such an outrageous resistance continued, would for the future lessen the authority of Great-Britain, and make it appear even contemptible: that such a submission of the supreme legislature would be in effect a surrender of their ancient unalienable rights, to subordinate provincial assemblies, established only by prerogative; which in itself had no such power to bestow; that a concession of this nature carried with it such an appearance of weakness and timidity in government, as might probably encourage fresh insults, and lessen the respect of his majesty's subjects to the dignity of his crown, and the authority of the laws: the inability of the colonists to comply with the terms of the stamp-act was also denied, and, as an instance in the late war, one million seven hundred fifty-five thousand pounds had been already discharged, and that in the course of three years only: and that the much greater part of their remaining incumbrances, amounting in the whole to seven hundred and sixty thousand pounds will be discharged in two years more. Many other arguments were made use of in order to shew the heavy burthens with which the mother country was loaded; the ability of the Americans; their exemption from all manner of taxation; and their peremptory and refractory refusal to contribute in any degree towards defraying the public expences. These arguments were greatly opposed; and on the question being put, the bill passed by a majority of one hundred and eight, and was carried up to the lords by above two hundred members of the house of commons. Notwithstanding the manner in which it was introduced, it met with a strong opposition in the upper house; a protest was entered against it at the second reading by thirty-three lords, and at the third by twenty-eight, notwithstanding which it was carried by a majority of thirty-four: and on the 18th of March received the royal assent*.

The national business being now finished, his majesty went to the house of peers on the 16th of June, and put an end to the session with a speech from the throne; in which he said that "It was with the utmost satisfaction he had observed the wisdom and moderation by which the parliament had been uniformly guided, through the important deliberations in which they had been engaged." His majesty likewise observed, that "The many regulations which had been made for extending and promoting the trade and manufactures of Great-Britain, and for settling the mutual intercourse of his kingdoms and plantations, in such a manner as to provide for the improvement of the colonies, on a plan of due subordination to the commercial interests of the mother country, where the strongest proofs of their equitable and comprehensive regard to the welfare of all his dominions." He declared, "That it should be his endeavour, that such care be taken, as might tend to secure and improve the advantages which might be expected from such wise and salutary regulations." Soon after the rising of the parliament his majesty thought proper to make the following change in the ministry: his grace the duke of Grafton was appointed first lord of the treasury in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne succeeded the duke of Richmond as secretary of state; lord Camden was created lord high chancellor in the place of the earl of Northington,

as was the honourable Charles Townshend chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of the right honourable William Dowdeswell; and the right honourable William Pitt, who some days before had been created viscount Pynsent and earl of Chatham, was made lord privy-seal.

The very high price of provisions at this time caused the poor to rise in several parts of the kingdom; when they destroyed the flour mills, seized on corn, and other necessaries of life, which they sold at a moderate price, and delivered the money to the owners. In some places they were much more violent; for, instead of taking the above method of supplying their wants, they ripped open the sacks, and scattered the corn about, seized butter, cheese, and bacon, in the shops, which they threw into the streets, and behaved in the most outrageous manner to the proprietors of the goods they thus demolished. To prevent the dreadful consequences that were likely to ensue on this account, a proclamation was published on the 11th of September; for putting in execution the laws against forestalling, regrating, and engrossing of corn. And on the 23d of the same month two other proclamations were published; by the first of which an embargo was laid on all vessels laden, or to be laden, with wheat or flour for exportation, till the 14th of November; and the other prohibited the distilling of spirits from wheat.

On the 1st of October her royal highness Caroline Matilda, youngest sister to his majesty, was married to the king of Denmark, at the chapel royal at St. James's, the duke of York being proxy for the Danish king. The next morning her majesty set out from Carlton-House for Harwich, accompanied by his royal highness the duke of Gloucester, the right honourable lady Mary Boothby, and count de Bothmar, her majesty's vice-chamberlain. The next day her majesty embarked with her whole retinue, and on the 18th landed at Altena, amidst the acclamations of her new subjects. Her marriage portion was one hundred thousand pounds.

The parliament met on the 18th of November, when his majesty repairing to the house, opened the session with a speech from the throne. As the ministry had been recently changed, great opposition was made to every thing proposed by administration. Nay, some of the discarded ministers went so far as to attempt to palliate, and even excuse, the rioters, who had made such disturbances in different parts of the kingdom. However, it was agreed upon, by a great majority in both houses, that addresses of thanks should be presented to his majesty, in answer to his speech, which being done, they adjourned till after the holidays.

The first object that attracted the notice of parliament this session, was the state of the East-India company, which was become extremely rich, and actually exercised a sovereign authority over their settlements. To all wise ministers such a circumstance must have been very alarming; and therefore a committee was appointed to examine into the affair. The charter of the company was ordered to be produced, and that a perfect knowledge might be obtained of every thing relating to their transactions, they were obliged to deliver up to the house the originals of such treaties as they had entered into with the princes in the East-Indies; and also an account of all the expences incurred by the government for the support of the company†. By the charter granted to the East-India company, they were excluded from making any conquests; and yet it was certain that they had subdued several of the princes in India, and annexed their dominions to their own settle-

* On this occasion the American merchants made a most numerous appearance, to express their joy and gratitude; the ships in the river displayed their colours; several houses in the city were illuminated; and every proper method was taken to demonstrate the just sense that was entertained of his majesty's goodness, and the wisdom of parliament, in conciliating the

minds of the people on this critical juncture.

† This was a mortifying affair for the proprietors of East-India stock; and what was still worse, all these papers were printed and published. The question stated by administration was, "What right had the East-India company to territorial jurisdiction?"

ments: The disputes between the partizans for and against the company were carried on with great warmth; and the result was, that the company should, during the space of two years ensuing, pay a certain sum to the government; and that no dividend of their stock should be made without the consent of a general court of proprietors. On the 24th of June his majesty went to the house of peers, and, after signing such bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament*.

The attention of the people in Europe was, this year, particularly directed to Corsica, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, almost adjoining to the island of Sardinia. It is extremely fertile and populous, and some centuries ago had been given by the pope to the republic of Pisa; but the Genoese afterwards took it, and for many years treated the inhabitants in the most arbitrary and cruel manner. The spirit of liberty, however, was not extinct, it wanted only the breath of a hero to kindle it; and such an one was found in the person of the famous Paoli, a native of the island, but who had travelled into other countries, where he had learned the art of war. The prudence and valour of that hero will be transmitted to the latest ages; but we shall see in the sequel, that, overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to abandon the island.

On the 24th of November his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he told the members that he had assembled them at so early a period, that they might have time to deliberate with steadiness and judgement; and in particular he recommended to them the state of the nation with respect to the high price of provisions. The business of this session, in the course of which one hundred and twelve public and private bills received the royal assent, being brought to a conclusion, on the 10th of March his majesty went to the house of peers, and returning thanks to the parliament, for the many signal proofs they had given him of their affectionate attachment to his person, family, and government; he concluded with the following words: "In the approaching election of representatives, I doubt not but my people will give me fresh proofs of their attachment to the true interest of their country; which I shall ever receive as the most acceptable mark of their affection to me. The welfare of all my subjects is my first object. Nothing therefore has ever given me more real concern, than to

see any of them, in any part of my dominions, attempting to loosen those bonds of constitutional subordination, so essential to the welfare of the whole; but it is with much satisfaction that I now see them returning to a more just sense of what their own interest, no less than their duty, indispensably requires of them; and thereby giving me the prospect of continuing to reign over an happy, because an united people." The parliament was then prorogued to the last day of the month; but on the 12th of April it was dissolved by proclamation.

The year 1768 began with a very severe frost, which greatly contributed to the calamity of the lower sort of people, who were already much distressed from the exorbitant price of provisions. On the 9th of January, the river below London Bridge bore all the appearance of a general wreck; ships, boats, and small craft lying in a confused manner, some on shore, and others sunk or overset by the ice. A fishing boat was discovered near Deptford creek jammed in by the ice, and all the people in it frozen to death; one of whom, a youth about seventeen, was found sitting erect as if alive.

We have already observed that Mr. Wilkes had retired to France. By his long residence there, and not appearing to the indictments laid against him, he was declared an outlaw. Previous, however, to the general election he returned to England, and, to the great astonishment of the public, declared himself a candidate to represent the city of London in parliament; but lost his election. He then became candidate for the county of Middlesex, and on the 28th of March was elected by a prodigious majority†.

The general election was carried on with great heat, and violent contests ensued in many parts of the nation. Nor did the disorders, which this occasion gave rise to, subside with it. A general murmuring and dissatisfaction prevailed among the lower class of people, partly from other causes. The riotous assemblies of the weavers, coal-heavers, and sailors, kept the capital and its environs in continual alarm. From some unknown cause, just at this time, when it was most wanted, the civil power seemed to lose its force and energy, and too frequently to give occasion for the dangerous interposition of a military force in its support: the unhappy effects of which are still recent in the minds of the greater part of the present age‡.

On the 10th of May the members of the new parliament

* On the 27th of September captain Wrottesley arrived from Monaco, a strong town of Genoa in Italy, about twelve miles from Nice, with the melancholy news, that his royal highness Edward Augustus, duke of York and Albany, died at that place, on the 17th of the same month, about eleven in the morning. His royal highness's disorder was a malignant fever, in which he lay fourteen days. The body was afterwards interred in the royal vault in king Henry the VIIth's chapel.

† On the 20th of the same month he surrendered himself to the court of King's-Bench, and on the 27th was committed to the King's-Bench prison. Some time after his trial came on in that court, and being found guilty, the following sentence was pronounced on him: "That for the republication of the North Briton, No 45, he should pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be imprisoned ten calendar months: and for publishing the "Essay on Woman," that he should likewise pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be imprisoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the term of the former imprisonment; and that he afterwards find security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself to be bound in the sum of one thousand pounds, and two sureties in five hundred each."

‡ Of all the disturbances that drew the attention at this time, the most fatal was that which happened in St. George's Fields on the 10th of May, and which evinced the rash violence exercised against the people on account of their attachment to Mr. Wilkes, then a prisoner in the King's-Bench. The particulars of this remarkable affair were as follow: The parliament being to meet that day, great numbers of people assembled about the prison, in expectation that Mr. Wilkes would, on that account, obtain his liberty, and intending to conduct him to the house of commons. Finding themselves disappointed, they grew tumultuous, and a party of the third regiment of guards was sent for. The riot was greatly increased by a paper, that had been stuck against the wall of the

prison, which was forcibly taken down by one of the justices for the Borough. The populace insisted on having this paper, which the justice not regarding, the tumult became exceedingly violent; the drums beat to arms, and the riot act was read, during which great quantities of stones and bricks were thrown by the populace. William Allen, a young man, son of Mr. Allen, keeper of the Horse-shoe inn, in Blackman-street, Southwark, being pursued, along with others, was unfortunately singled out, followed by three soldiers, and shot dead. These measures not having any tendency to disperse the mob, an additional number of the guards was sent for, as also a party of horse grenadiers; but the people growing still more numerous, they were fired upon by the soldiers, when five were killed on the spot, and about fifteen wounded. Among the latter were two women, one of whom afterwards died in St. Thomas's hospital. The following day an inquisition was taken by the coroner for Surrey, on the above William Allen, when the jury gave their verdict, that Donald MacLaine was guilty of wilful murder, and Donald MacLauray and Alexander Murray (the last of whom was commanding officer) were aiding and abetting therein. This inquest was held at the house of Mr. Allen; and it appeared on examination, that the deceased was only a spectator, and, on seeing some persons run, he ran also, but was unhappily mistaken, and followed by the soldiers into a cow-house, where he was fired at. MacLauray and Murray were admitted to bail, but MacLaine was committed to prison for the murder. He was afterwards tried at the Surrey assizes at Guildford, and acquitted. Two other inquisitions were taken in the Borough on persons killed by the soldiers in this riot; one on the body of Mary Jeffs, who having a basket with oranges, was shot in removing them; the other, on one William Bridgman, who was shot on the top of a hay-cart, as he was looking at the disturbance at a distance: on both these inquisitions, the jury brought in their verdict, "Chance Medley."

ment were sworn in and took their seats in the house: and the following day the commons, having re-chosen Sir John Cull for their speaker, presented him to the lords commissioners for their approbation, who were pleased in his majesty's name to approve their choice. After which the lord chancellor opened the session with a speech, by the authority of his majesty's commission. A joint address was presented by the lords and commons to his majesty on the occasion, beseeching him to exert his authority for quelling the disorders and tumults which prevailed to so alarming a degree; at the same time assuring his majesty, that nothing should be wanting on their parts which might enable him to maintain the public authority, and carry the laws into due execution; and soon after an end was put to this short session.

It should here be observed, that on the 19th of the same month (May) after a long and painful illness, her royal highness the princess Louisa Anne, daughter of her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, and second sister to his present majesty, paid the great debt of nature. On the 22d, after laying in state that day, the royal corpse was interred in Henry the VIIth's chapel.

On the 11th of August the king of Denmark arrived at St. James's, on a visit to his royal brother-in-law, our sovereign. He was attended by most of his great officers of state, and the utmost respect was paid to him by all ranks of people. But nothing less than the most unbounded dissipation seemed to have taken place. His Danish majesty gave orders for a masquerade, which was one of the most magnificent ever seen in England; and while the preparations for it were going on, he visited Cambridge, where he was elegantly entertained in the hall of Trinity College. From thence he proceeded to York, Leeds, and Manchester; and on his return to London, coming through Oxford, he was met by the whole university in procession. When he came to the senate-house, the public orator complimented him in a most elegant Latin speech, to which his majesty replied in the same language. He was then presented with a diploma, as doctor of the civil and canon laws, and walked in honorary robes along with the doctors and regents. In the beginning of October, his Danish majesty left England; and nearly at the same time, several changes took place in the English ministry.

In August this year, the French concluded a treaty with the republic of Genoa, of a very extraordinary nature, and such as ought to have been opposed by all the maritime states in Europe. The brave Corsicans still

continued to defend those rights which the Genoese sought to deprive them of; and the latter despairing of ever bringing them into subjection, agreed to give up that valuable island to the French king, upon condition of his sending an army thither to subdue the people.

Great disturbances happened in America on account of some duties which had been laid on glass, salt, and other commodities imported from England. It was thought that the repeal of the stamp-act would have given some satisfaction to these people, but they still insisted that it was their inherent privilege to tax themselves. At Boston, the people met in a large body, and entered into several resolutions not to import any goods of a superfluous nature, but to attend to the strictest oeconomy, both in dress and furniture. A subscription was opened for the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the establishment of new ones. The freeholders, and, in general, all the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, had placed the greatest confidence in their representatives, and there was a continual contest between them and their governor*. Governor Barnard had dissolved the assembly of representatives, and new ones being chosen, he insisted, that they should make a public act to disapprove of the conduct of the late assembly. They, however, desired to see a copy of the governor's instructions, which was granted them; and, to their surprize, they found, that in case they refused to comply with his request, they were to be dissolved, and an account of their conduct sent to England, in order to be laid before the next session of parliament. This set the whole colony in a flame; and when the bill was brought in to pass a censure on the conduct of the last assembly, ninety-two voted against it, and no more than seventeen for it. The rest of the colonies took the alarm, and followed their example; while combinations were formed almost every where not to take any goods from England, except such as were absolutely necessary.

The discontents among the people of Boston now broke out into open violence: for a ship having landed a cargo of wine, and taken on board another of oil, without paying any regard to the new laws by which the new customs were to be regulated, the officers made a signal to the Romney man of war, who sent her boats; and having cut down the masts of the trading vessel, hawled her along-side of the king's ship. This was so severely resented by the populace, that they rose in great numbers, demolished the houses of the custom-

William Allen, the unfortunate youth just mentioned, was buried in the church yard of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey, where the following inscription is placed upon his tomb:

ON THE NORTH SIDE,

" Sacred

To the memory of

WILLIAM ALLEN;

An Englishman of unspotted life and amiable

Disposition;

who was inhumanly murdered near St. George's
Fields on the 10th of May, 1768, by [a] Scottish
Detachment from the ARMY.

His disconsolate Parents, Inhabitants of this Parish, caused
this tomb to be erected to an only Son, lost to them and to
the world in his 20th year, as a monument of his *Virtues*,
and their *Affection*."

ON THE WEST END,

" Take away the wicked from before the king, and his
throne shall be established in righteousness." Prov. xxv.
verse 5.

ON THE SOUTH SIDE,

" O disembod' d Soul! most rudely driv'n,
From this low orb (our sinful seat) to Heav'n!
While filial piety can please the ear,
Thy name will still occur for ever dear:
'Tis very spot, now humaniz'd, shall crave
From all a Tear of pity on thy grave.
O Flower of Flowers! which we shall see no more,
No kind returning Spring can thee restore;
Thy loss thy hapless countrymen implore."

ON THE EAST END,

" O Earth, cover not thou my blood," &c. Job. xvi.
verse 18.

* The earl of Shelburne had sent over a letter to the governor, complaining of these abuses, and it was read in the open assembly of the representatives. This occasioned most violent debates; and some of the members declared, that the governor had misrepresented their conduct to the ministry. They denied the charges in the letter, and wrote to the earl of Shelburne on the subject, vindicating themselves, and throwing the whole blame on the governor. At the same time, the merchants of Boston ordered their agent to represent to the lords of the treasury, that unless these duties, which had occasioned so much mischief, were taken off, the trade of the province would be destroyed, as they seemed to them contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and inconsistent with their charter. Their representations occasioned the establishment of a new officer, who was to act as secretary of state for the colonies in America; and the first person made choice of was the earl of Hillsborough, at that time first lord of trade. The first thing done by his lordship, was to send circular letters to the governors of the provinces, informing them, that his majesty was highly displeased at the conduct of the people, as it was apt to create confusion, and throw every thing into the utmost disorder. He said, that their conduct in opposing the legislative power of Great Britain was little better than an act of open rebellion; for, by giving encouragement to such practices, the government would be overturned, and no regard paid to the laws. He concluded by recommending to them to preserve the public peace, by punishing all disorders of an evil tendency, but as to mere opposition in words, or in scandalous libels, they were to treat them with contempt.

house officers, and laying hold of the commissioner's boat, dragged it on shore, and then set it on fire. While these disorders continued in the town, the governor dissolved the assembly; but that had not the desired effect, for the disturbances increased every day, so that two regiments were sent over from Ireland to support the civil power. Their place of rendezvous was to be at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia; and no sooner had the people of Boston received intelligence that they were landed at that place, than they met, and chose a president from among themselves, who was deputed to wait on the governor, to know for what reason, or with what view, his majesty's forces were to be sent among them. They desired, at the same time, that a general assembly might be summoned to meet; but he refused to give them any satisfactory answer, and only told them, that it was their duty to break up their tumultuous meetings, and submit quietly to the laws. He added, that as they seemed ignorant of the offence they had committed, he must freely tell them, that unless they submitted to the government, he should be obliged to treat them as rebels. From this time he refused to receive any messages from them; upon which they sent a long detail of their grievances to London, in order to be laid before the ministry. In the mean time, the transports, with the two regiments, and a train of artillery, arrived from Halifax, and were quartered in the houses of townsmen; but as the military laws did not extend to America, any farther than providing barracks for them, it was ordered by the governor that they should have barrack provisions, so as to be as little burthenome to the people as possible. This part of the governor's conduct gave general satisfaction to such of the people as were moderate in their sentiments; but notwithstanding, a great majority were still discontented. They could not behold without jealousy, an armed force quartered among them in time of peace; for, with respect to their late combinations, they considered them as efforts to maintain their freedom.

During the latter end of the last, and the beginning of this year, affairs began to assume a new form in the East-Indies; and it was even feared that a revolution would take place much to the disadvantage of the English East-India company, whose stock was now advanced to a surprizing height. Hyder Ally, a person who had served some time as a common soldier, having received an affront from his officers, left the army, and raised a chosen band of followers, with a view of driving the English out of all their settlements in that part of the world*. Having brought over the Nizam of the Decan to his interest; and having raised a large body of forces, he prepared to take the field. Colonel Smith, in the company's service, was sent to oppose this formidable alliance; and a most desperate engagement ensued, in which Hyder Ally discovered all the courage and conduct of the bravest general. He made his dispositions with so much prudence, that it was no easy matter to attack him; so that colonel Smith, in order to avoid the force of his cannon, which galled the company's troops on the right, marched to the rising ground on the left, and so turned his lines. The Asiatic general rode from one place to another, to encourage his men; but at last they gave way, and the English continued pursuing them with great slaughter. All their

cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the English, besides a vast quantity of treasure; and the Nizam perceiving the danger he was in from his connections with Hyder Ally, made peace with the company. This, however, did not put an end to the war; for Hyder Ally finding himself deserted by the Nizam, transferred the seat of war into a mountainous part of the country, where it was extremely difficult to attack him, as he was well acquainted with all the passages and defiles, and could defend himself even against superiority of numbers.

The war was now carried on with great violence in Corsica: for although the French had landed there with a numerous army, the brave islanders disputed the ground with them inch by inch. Paoli had some hopes of assistance from England, and, for that purpose, sent notice of his distress to our ministry by Mr. Boswell, a young gentleman with whom he had become acquainted while on his travels: but no assistance being given him, he had nothing to depend on besides the justice of his cause, and the bravery of his countrymen. At first, the French obtained some very considerable advantages; but the Corsicans killed such vast numbers of them in straggling parties, that had they not been continually reinforced by fresh succours, the whole army that first landed would have been totally cut off. The Corsicans concealed themselves in bushes and caves near the roads where the enemy were to pass, and galled them so much, that many of them deserted, while such as fell into the hands of the Corsicans as prisoners, were instantly put to death†. Paoli, who still hoped for assistance from England, as well as from some of the other European powers, called an assembly of the Corsican chiefs, and asked their opinion concerning the most proper methods to be used in the prosecution of the war. He laid before them all the papers which the French had caused to be distributed throughout the island; but no sooner did the chiefs perceive that they were looked upon as vassals to the crown of France, than they tore them into a thousand pieces. Although this campaign was but short, yet so great was the loss the French sustained, that, notwithstanding the new reinforcements which were daily sent them, they were on the point of being totally routed. Adjoining to Corsica are some small islands; and as the harbours of them were safe and commodious, so the Corsican privateers prevented, in a great measure, the enemy from receiving such supplies as had been sent them from France. This induced the French, in November this year, to embark a considerable body of forces on board thirteen transports, in order to attack these small islands; but the bravery of the Corsicans repulsed the forces sent by the French, near one thousand of them being destroyed before they returned to their ships.

During these transactions the English ministry were thrown into some confusion by the death of Mr. Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer. This occasioned a change in the ministry; lord North was made chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Thomas Townshend paymaster of the forces, earl Gower president of the council, lord Weymouth one of the secretaries of state, and Mr. Rigby was appointed one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland. The parliament met on the 24th of November, when his majesty went to the house, and opened

* Although brought up in a most humble station, yet, like Tamerlane, he had all the qualities of a great general, which were only obscured for want of a proper opportunity of displaying them to public view. He had conquered several provinces on the coast of Malabar, and, upon the whole, was considered as one of the most formidable princes in the east. He was sensible, however, that the East-India company would be so powerfully supported, that policy must be added to force.

† Some persons may be apt to blame the conduct of the Corsicans on this occasion, as inconsistent with the law of nations; but whoever does so, must be acquainted with the peculiarity of their circumstances. They had been so much oppressed by the Genoese, that they had, consistent with the opi-

nions of the best writers on natural law, asserted their own freedom; and when the republic of Genoa found that they could not again reduce them to a state of subjection, they gave them up to the French, as if they had been a parcel of sheep or oxen. The French, upon their landing in the island, commanded all the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and take an oath of allegiance to their sovereign, otherwise they were to be treated as rebels. Thus these innocent people, knowing that no mercy was to be shewn to such of themselves as were taken prisoners, resolved to treat the French in the same manner, and sell their lives and liberty as dear as possible. Such was the state of the Corsicans: and their putting the French prisoners to death was no more than an act of just retaliation.

the session with a speech from the throne, in which he expressed his wishes that the parliament would prosecute the consideration of those great commercial interests which had been entered upon before, but which the shortness of the last session of the late parliament had prevented from being brought to a final conclusion. He took notice of the conduct of the Americans, and observed, that the capital of one of the colonies was in an actual state of disobedience, having proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances that manifested a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great-Britain; but that he did not doubt, with their assistance and concurrence, of being able to defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent and seditious persons, who, under false pretences, had too successfully deluded numbers of his subjects in America; and whose practices, if suffered to prevail, could not fail to produce the most fatal consequences to his colonies immediately, and in the end to all the dominions of his crown. The only material thing the parliament did previous to their breaking up for the holidays was, to bring in a bill to prevent the exportation of corn for a limited time, which, after long debates in both houses, passed into an act, to the great satisfaction of the poor in general.

The parliament having again assembled on the 19th of January, 1769, took into consideration the state of public affairs in America. A petition was presented, signed by Mr. Danforth, president of the council of Boston, praying that the revenue acts might be repealed. The petition was penned in the most modest manner, with a promise, that if the acts were repealed, the people would make an ample compensation, by taxing themselves. Great debates arose in both houses concerning the petition, those of the antiministerial party making use of similar arguments to those which had been urged in the debate concerning the stamp-act. The lords agreed to address his majesty on the American affairs; and their resolution being adhered to by the commons, became the joint act of both *. It was farther resolved, that the town of Boston was in a state of the utmost disorder and confusion, disturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, in which the officers of the revenue had been obstructed in the discharge of their duty, and their lives endangered: that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary magistrates, had exercised their authority for suppressing these riots and tumults; and that the execution of the laws would be rendered abortive, without the assistance of a military force to support the civil power, and protect the officers of the customs: that the resolutions of the town meetings in Boston were unconstitutional, and calculated to excite sedition and insurrection against the government. It was also agreed to by both houses, that all those who had written circular letters to the other colonies, were guilty of a high indignity to the crown, and that they had committed a daring insult on the legislative power of Great-Britain. In the end, his majesty was desired to issue a special commission, to enquire into the causes of these disorders, according to statute 30th of Henry VIII. These arguments were strongly opposed by the antiministerialists. It was observed, among other things, that it was the duty of all those in power to promote the interests of the people, both at home and abroad; but if the above measure was carried into execution, it would increase the seditions complained of in the colonies, and, consequently, injure the trade of the mother country. They concluded by calling upon the ministry to produce the person who had advised his majesty to put the above act in force.

While the parliament were debating on the affairs of

America, Mr. Wilkes published a letter, written by lord Barrington, secretary at war, to the justices of the county of Surrey, to which he prefixed an introduction that gave great offence to the house of lords, who voted it "an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to inflame and stir up the minds of his majesty's subjects to sedition, and to a total subversion of all good order and legal government." The lords then complained to the commons, who confirmed the vote of the peers, expelled Mr. Wilkes their house, and ordered a new writ to be issued for the county of Middlesex: Mr. Wilkes was, however, unanimously re-chosen, and again expelled by the commons, who at the same time declared him incapable of being a member of that house. On the 13th of April a new election for the county of Middlesex came on at Brentford. The candidates on this occasion were Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Serjeant Whitaker, and Mr. Roach, when Mr. Wilkes had a majority of eight hundred and forty-seven votes: notwithstanding which he was rejected by the house of commons, and Mr. Luttrell was accordingly declared duly elected †.

On the 9th of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, in which he told them, that every part of their conduct gave him the greatest satisfaction. He applauded them in the warmest manner for having attended with so much care to the interests of the people, and the suppression of riots and tumults, which had been so frequent, not only in London, but in many parts of the country.

On the 24th of the same month, the freeholders of Middlesex, who thought themselves particularly injured by the decision of the house of commons against Mr. Wilkes in favour of Mr. Luttrell, presented a petition to the king; which contained a very long catalogue of grievances relative to infringements on the constitution, from the first prosecution of Mr. Wilkes, to his being expelled from the house of commons as member for Middlesex: after which the petition concludes thus:

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"Such are the grievances and apprehensions which have long discontented and disturbed the greatest and best part of your majesty's loyal subjects. Unwilling, however, to interrupt your royal repose, though ready to lay down our lives and fortunes for your majesty's service, and for the constitution, as by law established, we have waited patiently, expecting a constitutional remedy by the means of our own representatives: but our legal and free choice having been repeatedly rejected, and the right of election now finally taken from us by the unprecedented seating of a candidate who was never chosen by the county, and who, even to become a candidate, was obliged fraudulently to vacate his seat in parliament; under the pretence of an insignificant place, invited thereto by the prior declaration of a minister, that whoever opposed our choice, though but with four votes, should be declared member for the county. We see ourselves, by this last act, deprived even of the franchises of Englishmen, reduced to the most abject state of slavery, and left without hopes or means of redress, but from your majesty or God.

"Deign then, most gracious sovereign, to listen to the prayer of the most faithful of your majesty's subjects; and to banish from your royal favour, trust, and confidence, for ever, those evil and pernicious counsellors, who have endeavoured to alienate the affection of your majesty's most sincere and dutiful subjects, and whose suggestions tend to deprive your people of their dearest and most essential rights, and who have traitorously dared to depart from the spirit and letter of those

* By these resolutions it was declared, that all the acts made in the different colonies, which tended towards throwing off the sovereignty of the British parliament, were illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory to the crown and dignity of his majesty.

† No public measure, since the accession of the present No. LXXII.

royal family, had excited so general an alarm, or caused so universal a discontent as the present, nor was ever opposed with more firmness, or debated with greater ability. At the same time a great number of masterly writings were published, so that the affair was thoroughly discussed both within doors and without.

laws which have secured the crown of these realms to the house of Brunswick, in which we make our earnest prayers to God, that it may continue untarnished to the latest posterity."

The city of London, and most of the counties in England followed the example of Middlesex, and presented petitions and remonstrances to the throne; but the only answer they all received was, that his majesty would not do any thing without the consent of his parliament.

The parliament met again on the 9th of January, 1770, and the session was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne; in which not the least notice was taken of the petitions and remonstrances from the different counties relative to the Middlesex election. The chief things principally pointed out were, the distracted state of America, and the distemper which had broke out among the horned cattle. The former was, in the strongest terms, recommended to their serious attention, as a thing of the utmost importance to the dignity of government. The other was mentioned as a most dreadful calamity, and every one was desired to exert themselves in endeavouring to put a stop to the infection, before it should spread any farther*.

Previous to any business of importance being undertaken, some very remarkable changes took place in the ministry. The seals were taken from lord Camden, and the honourable Charles York was created chancellor in his room, but he died within three days afterwards; and then the chancery was put into commission, the seals being delivered to baron Smythe, and the justices Bathurst and Aston. The marquis of Granby resigned all his places, except the royal regiment of blues, and was succeeded as master of the ordnance by general Conway. The duke of Beaufort resigned the place of master of the horse to the queen; the earl of Huntingdon his place of groom of the stole; and the duke of Manchester, with the earl of Coventry, their places of lords of the bed-chamber. Sir John Cust, speaker of the house of commons, resigned at the same time, owing to his infirm state of health; and Sir Fletcher Norton, a gentleman who had made a very distinguished figure at the bar, was chose in his stead. The duke of Grafton also resigned the place of first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by lord North, who had been some time chancellor of the exchequer.

An enquiry into the validity of the Middlesex election now came before the commons; but, after warm debates, it was held, by a considerable majority, that no court of law was to meddle with any of their rules and orders. This measure astonished the whole nation, and many persons began to look upon the house of commons as a standing council for the crown. Nor was this important subject agitated with less heat in the house of lords. The earl of Chatham, with lord Camden, and many other peers, opposed it with great strength of argument, and produced proofs from many of our law books, and parliamentary journals, that no such step had ever been taken, not even in the most despotic reigns. But notwithstanding the force of these arguments, ministerial interest prevailed, and the proceedings of the house of commons, in the affair of the Middlesex election, were *all just and equitable*.

A motion was made to bring in a bill to disqualify certain officers of the revenues from voting for members

of parliament; but it was rejected by a very great majority. The popular party having lost this motion, desired that all the papers, containing a list of the expences of government, should be laid before them. After exceeding warm debates on the subject, the motion was put and rejected by a very great majority. The state of the colonies in America was next considered. A petition had been presented by the merchants trading to North America, setting forth the great hardships they laboured under in consequence of an act, by which a duty had been laid on some trifling articles exported from Great-Britain; and this had so much enraged the people, that they refused to purchase the goods, after they had been sent there at a considerable expence. This affair being of a very serious nature, the house took it into consideration, and repealed every part of it, except what related to tea, which was still continued. The debates concerning this bill were managed by great force of argument on both sides, for the popular party fought a repeal of the whole, while the ministry insisted, that the Americans, instead of deserving any such indulgence, ought to have had more severe laws binding upon them.

While the greater part of the nation was agitated by reflecting on the consequences that would result from these measures; while individuals were seeking to promote their private interests, and the government to establish its authority, a bill was brought into the house of commons by one of the leading men in the opposition, for regulating the proceedings on controverted elections; a bill equally just and popular, and in which all the subjects of Great-Britain were more or less concerned†. While the house of commons were engaged on this grand subject, the city of London met in their common-hall, and agreed upon another petition, address, and remonstrance, for redress of grievances in the affair of the Middlesex election. In this address it was expressly declared, that the house of commons had acted in the most unconstitutional manner, and therefore they prayed that they might be dissolved; that they might be left at liberty to make a free choice. In answer to this, his majesty told them, that he had never done any thing but by the advice and consent of his parliament, and therefore he could not comply with their request. Violent disputes arose in parliament on this affair, and many opprobrious expressions were made use of on both sides. It was said that the citizens of London were the support of the government on every occasion; that it had been the custom, time immemorial, to consult them on the most important matters; to which the ministry answered, that no affront had been offered to the citizens of London, nor any thing denied them, except such as was in its own nature improper to be granted.

Towards the close of this session several proposals were made in the house of lords relative to the state of affairs in America, which were chiefly supported by the duke of Richmond. These were introduced by some severe strictures on the conduct of administration. He said, that the state of America had been recommended from the throne in a speech at the opening of the session, and yet the session was nearly spent without any thing being done, though the business was of the utmost importance. The ministry were now sensible that they had been too rash in recommending the case of America before any settled plan had been laid down; and therefore;

* This speech was severely handled by the public in general, who thought that nothing should have been so much touched on as the petitions and remonstrances. Ridicule was circulated with great freedom, especially as the existence of the distemper among the horned cattle was not believed to be of so universal a nature as had been insinuated and represented.

† The plan of this bill was consistent with the first principles of the constitution; and the outlines of it were as follow: when a petition was to be presented, a day was to be fixed for hearing both parties, who were to attend with their witnesses and counsel; and if one hundred members were not present,

then they were to wait till such time as so many were present; when the names of the whole, although they should exceed that number, were to be put into six boxes or plates, to be drawn alternately and read by the speaker, till forty-nine are chosen; the sitting member and the petitioner being allowed to choose one each. Tolls were then to be given to the sitting members, the petitioner, counsels, witnesses, &c. who, with the clerk, were to withdraw, and strike off one alternately till the number should be reduced to thirteen; who, with the two named by the parties, were to make a committee to determine the affair in dispute.

perplexed to the utmost, they saw no other method left, but that of adjourning the debate till a future day, well knowing that the parliament would be prorogued.

On the 19th of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and closed the session with a speech from the throne, in which he applauded both houses for the zeal they had shewn in supporting the interest and honour of the nation. He assured them, that he should, on all occasions, seek the happiness of his people; and that it should be the sole object of his care, to watch over their interests. He concluded, by recommending to them the preservation of public peace, and the discountenancing of tumultuous meetings of the people, which, if encouraged, must end in general confusion.

Not long after the rising of parliament, advices were received from America of a violent tumult at Boston, occasioned by a quarrel between the soldiers and the journeymen and apprentices belonging to the ropemakers, in which the former unfortunately fired among the latter, whereby some were killed, and others wounded. Different accounts of this transaction were sent to England, but one from captain Preston, who happened that day to be captain of the guard, seems to be the most authentic. He observed, that it was matter of too great notoriety to need proofs, that the arrival of his majesty's troops in Boston was extremely noxious to its inhabitants. That the people ever used all means in their power to weaken the regiments by promoting desertions, and by propagating untruths concerning them. That on the arrival of the 64th and 65th regiments, their ardour seemingly began to abate; but that the same spirit revived immediately on its being known that those regiments were ordered for Halifax. That after their embarkation, one of their justices, from the seat of justice, declared, "That the soldiers must now take care of themselves, nor trust too much to their arms, for they were but an handful." That this alarming declaration was succeeded by several disputes between the towns-people and soldiers of both regiments. At length captain Preston received information of a determined attack on the troops, and as he was repairing to the main guard, he saw a number of people going towards the custom-house. To prevent plundering, he sent a non-commissioned officer with twelve men, and followed himself. The mob dared the soldiers to fire? He replied in the negative, but at that instant a soldier exasperated by a blow, fired. Repeated provocations caused others to follow the example; the mob then dispersed after three had been killed on the spot, and seven or eight wounded. The captain was some time after tried at Bolton and honourably acquitted.

In July a dreadful fire was discovered in the great dock-yard at Portsmouth. It burnt with the utmost rapidity, and communicating itself with the hemp-house and other offices, consumed every thing before it. Whether this was an accident, or the work of some vile incendiary, has not yet been discovered. Some impostors, indeed, pretended to have been concerned in it, particularly one Dudley, who has since been transported for perjury, and another, whose name was Britain, has been since executed for forgery*.

The wretched inhabitants of Corsica felt this year all the severity of a French despotic government. Many of them still refused to submit; and such of those unhappy people as were taken, were instantly put to death. Some of them were transported to France; but even here their sufferings did not end; for such as were brought to that country, after a journey of six hundred miles on foot from Marseilles to Brest, were put on board several vessels, and sent as slaves to the West-Indies.

* The most remarkable circumstance attending this fatal catastrophe was, the fire was discovered in five different places at once, which gave strong suspicions that more than one person must have been concerned; for accidental fires generally break out in one place only. Had this accident, or whatever

A war was likely to have broke out this year between Great-Britain and Spain, the source of which was as follows: In the year 1592 captain Davies, who commanded an English man of war, sailed to the South Seas, where he discovered some islands, since called Falklands; but little notice was taken of them for more than a century, till commodore Anson, in his voyage round the world, discovered the importance they would be of to us, if properly cultivated. Accordingly, soon after the late peace, when lord Anson was at the head of the admiralty, he mentioned the affair in council, and it was proposed to send out some frigates to visit them. This scheme, however, was not so well conducted, but the Spaniards got notice of it before it could be carried into execution; and such remonstrances were made by their ambassador at our court, that it was laid aside. It was, however, again revived; and in 1764 commodore Byron was sent out with a small squadron to make discoveries, and, if possible, establish a settlement on the coast of Patagonia. During that voyage, he took possession of Falklands islands in the name of his Britannic majesty, with all the forms used on similar occasions.

About this time the French also undertook an expedition of a like nature, namely, to make discoveries in the South Seas; and the care of it was committed to M. de Bougainville, colonel of a regiment of foot. This gentleman having fitted out a frigate of twenty guns, with a sloop to carry provisions, took on board one hundred seamen, and about one hundred and fifty people, who chose to try their fortune in that part of the world. The French ships set sail from St. Malo, and arrived at the Canaries, where they were kindly received by the Spaniards, who gave them every sort of assistance. From whence they proceeded to the river Plata, and took in fresh provisions, the Spaniards still continuing to treat them with every mark of respect. At length they came to Falklands islands, where they formed an establishment, and built a small fort. The French adventurers had formed the most sanguine hopes from the discovery of these islands, but they did not answer their expectations; for it cost them more money to support their settlement, than the profits arising from it could afford; so that they gave it up to the Spaniards in a formal manner.

The settlement, which had been given up by the French to the Spaniards, was one of the islands that lay to the west, and was called Port Solidad; and Port Egmont, belonging to the English, was one of the islands to the eastward. In 1769, we had a frigate and a sloop upon that station, and captain Hunt, in the Tamar frigate, being on a cruise, fell in with a Spanish schooner belonging to Port Solidad, and, according to his orders, commanded the Spanish captain to depart, because these islands were the property of Great-Britain. In two days afterwards, the captain came on board the Tamar frigate with a letter to captain Hunt, written by the governor of Port Solidad, telling him, that if he had been driven in there by stress of weather, he was ready to give him every assistance; but if he came there in a violation of the faith of the most solemn treaties, he had far better depart immediately. Captain Hunt, not in the least intimidated with these threatenings, asserted the right his Britannic majesty had to these islands, and warned him to depart from them, giving him six months for that purpose. The Spanish officer entered a formal protest against captain Hunt, and declared, that if he offered any insult to the settlement at Port Solidad, he should consider it as a breach of the peace, and transmit an account thereof to Spain. Soon after this affair, two Spanish frigates of considerable force arrived at

it was, happened during the heat of the war, it might have proved fatal to the nation in general; for the whole loss, amounting to one hundred and forty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight pounds, could not have been made good without great difficulty, till the parliament met.

Port Egmont, under pretence that they wanted fresh water; and the commander in chief sent notice to captain Hunt, that he was astonished to see the English flag hoisted in an island that belonged to his master the king of Spain. He charged captain Hunt with violating the peace; declaring at the same time, that he would send an account thereof to Spain, that his master might assert his right to those islands which had been made over to him by treaty. Captain Hunt still continued to found his possession on the claim of right, justified his conduct by the orders of his sovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart from these islands. The frigates continued eight days at Port Egmont, and were supplied by our people with water: the captain and officers behaved with civility, but they declined going on shore, though they were several times invited. As these transactions seemed to indicate an approaching rupture, captain Hunt set sail for England, and, arriving at Plymouth on the 3d of June, sent an express to the lords of the admiralty. The *Swift* and *Favourite* sloops of war, each bearing sixteen guns, were left to take care of the settlement; but the *Swift* having failed as far as the straits of Magellan, was overset, and such of the crew as could get into the boat, undertook a voyage of three weeks, which brought them to Port Egmont, after experiencing an innumerable variety of hardships. Five Spanish frigates arrived at Port Egmont, and captain Farmer, not doubting but they came with hostile intentions, resolved to be upon his guard. He accordingly hoisted his flag, which the Spanish commodore seeing, fired two shots, and being asked what were his reasons for so doing, he said they were only by way of signals. In the mean time captain Farmer wrote to the Spanish commodore, that as he had received the refreshments he wanted, he was obliged in the name, and by the authority of his master, to command him to depart, and totally evacuate all those islands known by the name of Falklands. In answer to this letter, the commodore put captain Farmer in mind of his great power, and how easy it was for him to destroy their defenceless settlement. He begged that he and the other English officers would not force him to any extremities, but depart quietly from the place, as the islands belonged to his master the king of Spain. Next day he wrote again, both to captain Farmer and captain Maltby, telling them, that if they would depart peaceably, they should have leave to take all they had along with them from the settlement, and what they could not take, he would give them a receipt for, that the whole affair might be settled by their respective courts. But on the other hand, if they refused to comply, he should, contrary to his inclinations, be obliged to obey his orders, by attacking their settlements both by sea and land, and that he would spread desolation every where before him; for he had under his command, a large body of marines, besides a train of heavy artillery. He concluded by assuring them, that if they did not, in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter, give him a plain and favourable answer, he would immediately commence hostilities, and at the same time desired them to think of the dreadful consequences which their obstinacy would be productive of to the subjects of his Britannic majesty. To these and all his other menaces, the English captains returned for answer, that words are not always considered as acts of hostilities; and that they could not believe that he would, in a time of profound peace, when the greatest harmony subsisted between the two nations, put his threats in execution: that they did not doubt, but he was thoroughly convinced, that the king of Great-Britain, their master, was capable of demanding satisfaction throughout every part of the globe where any insult was offered to his flag; and therefore they were, in consequence of their orders, obliged to defend the place to the last extre-

mity. Accordingly, the Spanish commodore ordered the frigates to row close to the shore, directly opposite the Block-house, where there was only a small battery; and at night captain Maltby brought fifty seamen, belonging to the *Favourite*, on shore, with two six pounders, ten swivels, and a quantity of small arms and ammunition. Next morning part of the Spanish troops and artillery landed about a mile to the northward of the Block-house; and when they had advanced about half a mile, the rest of the boats, with the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spanish frigates, and rowed right in for the cove, being covered by the fire from the frigates, whose shot went over the Block-house. The English seamen, who were then on shore, fired some small shot, but seeing the utter impossibility of defending the settlement, and the Spaniards having broke through all the limits of peace, even to the actual commencement of hostilities, so that their conduct could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers, as they had judiciously led them to this open avowal of their conduct, and had, at the same time, supported the honour of their country, as far as the means in their power would admit of, with the same propriety, preferred saving the valuable lives of their people; and leaving the injury to be redressed by those in power, they thought it most prudent to hang out a flag of truce, in order to know what terms of capitulation the Spanish commodore would grant. All the conditions which he would grant were, that the English should immediately, or as short as possible, so that it did not exceed forty days, remove from the settlement, and what stores they left behind them should be produced as soon as orders for that purpose arrived from Spain*.

The ministry seemed to have taken the alarm at this intelligence, and, as if conscious of their remissness in keeping the navy on a respectable footing, as the only bulwark of the nation, affected at least a degree of diligence in that important pursuit. *Præf-warrants* had been issued out for raising seamen, but the legality of them was, in several places, called in question. In the city of London, Mr. Crosby, the lord-mayor, refused to back the *præf-warrants*; Mr. alderman Wilkes discharged a man who had been impressed; and although the opinion of council was taken on this important subject, yet, among the more sensible and judicious, the practice itself was looked upon as inconsistent with the nature of the British constitution, and a direct violation of the charter of the city of London.

The parliament met again in November, and the session was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne, in which he told them, that the Spanish governor of Buenos Ayres had acted in such a manner as was inconsistent with the honour of Great-Britain, and demanded the utmost satisfaction: that, under these circumstances, an immediate demand had been made for proper satisfaction: that, under these circumstances, an immediate demand had been made, without loss of time, in order to be enabled to obtain justice, in case the requisition to the court of Spain should fail in procuring it. An assurance was given that these preparations should not be discontinued, until proper reparation had been made; and that sufficient proofs should be given, that all other powers on the continent disapproved of such proceedings. He said he had called them together so early, that they might be ready to assist him with the best of their advice, and provide for the honour and security of the nation. With respect to the colonies in America, it was observed, that many of the factious people had desisted from those combinations into which they had inadvertently entered, and which had been attended with many fatal consequences to their peaceable fellow subjects: that the people of Boston, and, in general, the inhabitants of the province of Massachusetts Bay, could not yet be brought into a proper state of

* This was one of the greatest insults, perhaps, that had ever been offered to the British flag; but the English, who

had not strength sufficient to defend themselves, were obliged to comply, and in September arrived at Portsmouth.

obedience,

obedience, but continued in carrying on the same violent and unwarrantable practices as before. He concluded by telling them, that the crown had no interest separate from that of the people; that they were all members of the same body, and consistent with the order of nature and the laws of society, they must stand or fall together*.

Great debates ensued on the subject of the king's speech and the addresses; and the duke of Richmond in the house of lords, and Mr. Dowdeswell in that of the commons, made motions, that all the papers which had been sent to the ministry should be produced, but this the ministry would by no means comply with. In defence of their conduct, they said, that we were now engaged in a negociation of the utmost importance with the kingdom of Spain, by which it was expected that matters would be brought to an accommodation; that the honour and happiness of two great nations were at stake, and that if the papers were produced, it would, in a great measure, contribute towards making all Europe acquainted with secrets which ought to be concealed till the event they related to had taken place. It was also asserted, that the same day the intelligence arrived, a messenger was dispatched to our ambassador at Madrid to demand satisfaction; that disputes had now arisen between the two kingdoms, on account of the ignorance or insolence of officers, while there was no intention of a quarrel between their respective governments; for in some instances our officers had not been always guarded in their conduct. That therefore in the present instance, as well with regard to the honour as the interest of the nation, it was necessary to demand satisfaction, first, in a peaceable manner, for nothing was more reasonable than to enquire, whether we had a warrantable right to resent before we commenced hostilities; otherwise it would be said that we courted war. Secondly, if the Spaniards were not to be urged into justice by reason, then they must be compelled; and administration, though willing, if possible, to avoid the calamities of war, had prepared, at all events, for the worst; so that the preparations for the war went hand in hand with the negociation for peace. After the debates had been carried on with great warmth, the question was put, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. Many people blamed the ministry for their conduct in this affair; for they thought, that as parliament alone could grant the necessary supplies, so they ought to have had the perusal of all the papers relating to the controversy; and it is an established principle, that the man who acts from motives of integrity, need never be afraid or ashamed to have his conduct enquired into.

During the recess of parliament, Sir Edward Hawke resigned the place of the first lord of the admiralty, and was succeeded in that important office by the earl of Sandwich. About the same time, some of those gentlemen who had been particularly attached to the late Mr. Grenville, and had, both as to acts and declarations, been among the most violent of those in opposition, now came over to the side of administration. The earl of Suffolk was appointed keeper of the privy seal, in the room of the earl of Halifax, who succeeded the earl of Sandwich as secretary of state for the northern department. Several other changes took place; Mr. Justice Bathurst received the great seal as high-chancellor of Great-Britain, and was created a peer of England under the title of lord Apsley: Mr. de Grey, at that time attorney-general, was made chief justice of the common

pleas, in the room of Sir John Wilmot, who resigned: Mr. Thurlow was advanced to be attorney-general, and Mr. Wedderburne succeeded him as solicitor, being at the same time, appointed cofferer to the queen.

On the 22d of January, 1771, the parliament met after a month's recess; and the same day prince Maseraner, the Spanish ambassador, signed the declaration, with the earl of Rochford, secretary of state for the southern department. By this declaration, the Spanish ambassador, in the name of the king his master, disavowed the violences offered at Port Egmont; and stipulated, that every thing should be restored there, in the same manner in which they were before the reduction took place. But, at the same time, he declared, that this restoration was not in any wise to affect the question, of the prior right of his catholic majesty to the sovereignty of these islands; and by the acceptance, the performance of these stipulations was to be considered as a satisfaction for the injury done to the court of Great-Britain.

This transaction was immediately announced to both houses of parliament, and copies thereof were laid before them. It was then moved, that all the papers relating to the convention should be laid before the house, which was complied with, except in one instance, namely, that of keeping back such papers as contained the Spanish claims to Falkland's islands. This occasioned a warm debate; but the ministry screened themselves under pretence that all the offices had been searched, but no papers could be found. It was, at the same time, charged upon the ministry, that the interference of France was a dishonour to Great-Britain; but the ministry denied the charge, by asserting, that France had never been employed to act as a mediator. It was then proposed to present an address of thanks to his majesty for ordering the papers to be laid before them, but this was objected to by the minority, who denied that all the papers had been laid before them. Warm debates ensued in both houses; but the ministerial party prevailed, and the address was presented without any amendment.

A most remarkable scene of corruption was, about this time, brought to light, by the committee appointed to determine contested elections; and, in particular, that of New Shoreham in Sussex. The matter of contest was, that the returning officer for that borough had returned a candidate with only thirty-seven votes, in preference to one who had eighty-seven, of which he doubted seventy-six, and so made his return without examining, as he ought to have done, whether they were legal voters or not. In the course of the examination of witnesses it appeared, that a great number of the freemen had formed themselves into a society, which they called the Christian Club; the apparent ends of which institution were to promote acts of charity and benevolence, and to answer all such purposes as were any ways consistent with the doctrines of our holy religion. But notwithstanding all these pretensions, they profaned the sacred name they had assumed, by carrying on the worst of purposes, and making a traffic of their oaths and consciences, and setting their borough to sale to the highest bidder; while the rest of the freemen were deprived of the privilege of giving their legal votes. The returning officer had belonged to this society, but having taken some disgust at his companions in iniquity, he had, in consequence thereof, left their party. Being called before the committee, he declared that his reason for making such an unequal return was, that he knew, from

* On account of his majesty's speech several very spirited addresses were presented; and the most unreserved assurances were given, that every degree of requisite support should be cheerfully granted. The most unreserved confidence was placed in his majesty, that he would never be induced by a mistaken tenderness for the present ease of the people, to sacrifice their more essential and lasting interests. The commons concluded by a declaration, that if any hopes had been conceived, or it should have been any where surmised that there

were any such differences subsisting among the people, as could in the least degree, abate the ardour of their affectionate attachment to his majesty, or prevent their joining, as one man, in maintaining unsullied the lustre of the crown, and preserving undiminished the rights of the people, they would, by their proceedings, convince the world how false and scandalous all such surmises were; and make it manifest that, whenever they were called upon in the cause of their king and country, there would be but one heart and one voice among them.

his own experience, that the majority of voters had taken bribes: nay, that they had even agreed to sell their borough to any one who would bid most for it. As this combination at Shoreham was of too flagrant a nature to be overlooked, and the select committee not having powers to proceed any further, they reported the whole matter to the house, and moved, that they would make a further enquiry into it. Those who wished well to the constitution, were glad of this opportunity of displaying their eloquence, and an act passed, by which eighty-one freemen of the borough of Shoreham were rendered incapable of voting at any election, and the attorney-general was ordered to prosecute all the members of the club.

About this time an affair happened, which it was greatly feared would have been attended with the most alarming consequences. The speeches said to have been made in the house of commons, had for a considerable time been published by some booksellers, who being cited before the house, refused to appear; upon which a proclamation was published with a reward for apprehending them. This produced the intended effect. J. Wheble, one of these persons, was apprehended and taken before John Wilkes, Esq. the sitting alderman at Guildhall: but he finding that the person who had apprehended Mr. Wheble had no accusation against him, and only apprehended him on the authority of the proclamation; and at the same time Mr. Wheble declaring that the apprehender had forcibly detained him, and brought him there, the alderman immediately discharged him, and bound him over to prosecute his accuser. Mr. Miller, printer of a public paper, was likewise taken into custody by a messenger from the house of commons, who, on his refusing to go with him, took him by the arm, upon which a constable was sent for, and Mr. Miller gave him charge of the messenger for assaulting him in his own house; whereupon he was carried to the Mansion-house, and a hearing came on before the lord-mayor, and aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. In the mean time the serjeant at arms being informed of this transaction, came to demand the bodies of the messenger and of Mr. Miller; upon which the lord-mayor asked the messenger if he had applied to a magistrate to back the warrant, or to any peace-officer of the city to assist him; and on his replying in the negative, his lordship declared, that no power had a right to seize a citizen of London, without an order from him or some other magistrate; and that he was of opinion, the seizing of Miller and the warrant were both illegal; he therefore declared Miller to be at liberty, and proceeded to examine witnesses to prove the assault by the messenger; which being done, his lordship asked the latter if he would give bail. This he at first refused to do; and his commitment being actually made out, he thought proper to reply, when himself was bound in forty pounds, and two sureties in twenty pounds, for his appearance at the next sessions at Guildhall.

After many and tedious debates, the house of commons having resolved, "That the proceeding of the lord-mayor and Mr. Oliver was a breach of the privilege of that house," committed them both to the Tower, where they continued till the prorogation of parliament, which happened on the 8th of May, when his majesty put an end to the session with a speech from the throne.

During the continuance of the lord-mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver in the Tower, they were addressed and thanked for their spirited conduct in maintaining the authority of the laws of their country, by every ward in London, and by several towns and boroughs in England. Great preparations were made for conducting the two patriots from the Tower; but the parliament being prorogued one day sooner than was expected, a few only of the aldermen, &c. could attend. The procession was, however, magnificent, and they were conducted to the Mansion-house amidst tens of thousands of applauding spectators.

This year a very remarkable revolution in the internal government of France took place. That faithful,

uncorrupted body of men, the parliament of Paris, had long defended the liberties of their fellow-subjects; but integrity; and every other virtue, were little regarded by the king; who having sent for the members to the palace, ordered them to register some iniquitous edicts. This they absolutely refused, and, returning to the parliament-house, entered into a bond to stand by each other in doing justice; although the consequence should be death. A body of dragoons surrounded the parliament-house, and forced the clerks to register the edicts; upon which the parliament protested against it; and deputed their first president to wait upon the king. But all the answer they received from the haughty monarch was, that next day they should be all sent into banishment. This accordingly took place, and these venerable fathers and guardians of the law were sent to different villages at a great distance from their friends and families. Such was the fate of this noble and disinterested assembly, whose actions would have done honour to a Roman senate. This fall was not more glorious from the cause in which it was engaged, than from the circumstances which attended it; for several of the other parliaments in the provinces resigned their offices, in honour of that of Paris.

During the recess of parliament, an event took place, which interested the whole nation, and made way for an act, the session, of a most extraordinary nature. The event alluded to was no other than the marriage of his highness the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, and daughter to lord Ingham, of the kingdom of Ireland. This step gave great offence at court, especially as it had been openly acknowledged by the parties, and not concealed in the same manner as the marriage of the duke of Gloucester with the countess dowager of Waldegrave.

The parliament met on the 21st of January, 1772, and the session was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne; in which he expressed much satisfaction, that neither the foreign nor domestic state of affairs required their more early attendance; that now they were assembled, they would, no doubt, attend to the interests of the nation, and regulate its internal policy, as well as its foreign commerce. They were likewise informed that the king of Spain had given up Fort Egmont, and that we were on the best terms with that court. He concluded, with recommending to them, to keep the navy on the most respectable footing, to be ready in case of any necessity for the future.

Addresses were presented to the king as usual on the subject of his speech; after which the public business was opened, by making proper enquiries into the state of the navy; and the ministry proposed, that twenty-five thousand men should be voted for the service of the current year. In support of this motion, it was urged, by the ministry, that the French had sent a considerable fleet to the East-Indies; and that we were, on that account, obliged to support a more considerable naval force there than before: that a large squadron was employed in the protection of our West-India islands; for should any misunderstanding arise between us and the Spaniards, those valuable acquisitions, if not properly taken care of, would fall into the hands of our enemies: that the war between the Russians and Turks made it also necessary to employ a greater number of ships for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, than had been customary in times of general peace; that by keeping up a reputable body of seamen, we should not be under the cruel necessity of granting press-warrants in case of the breaking out of a new war; and although the expence might be more than is common in times of peace, the advantage would amply repay it. To these arguments it was answered, by the opposition, that the nation was already groaning under a load of taxes; and, instead of doing or proposing any thing for paying off the national debt, here was a proposal made to increase it in a time of profound peace: that, allowing the exigencies of the times required it, yet it did not appear, but that, on every future

future occasion, the same pretence might be made without any real necessity for any such measure. Notwithstanding the debates, the question was at length put, and the motion was carried.

A petition was then presented to the commons for leave to bring in a bill to excuse some of the clergy from subscribing to the thirty-nine articles of religion. It was urged in favour of the motion, that they could not subscribe to doctrines of human invention; but only to the Sacred Scriptures; and that it was their right to explain them according to what they esteemed their genuine sense and meaning. On the other hand, it was urged against the motion, that to grant such an indulgence would be to open a door for all sorts of licentiousness: for, under a pretence that such and such tenets were the pure dictates of conscience, the fundamental doctrines of our religion would be subverted; and blasphemy taught in our churches: that most of those who had associated at the Feathers Tavern upon this sinister business had been formerly dissenters, but had left their original profession, in order to enjoy some of the spoils of the church, and that they had brought their Arian and Socinian notions along with them: that if their consciences were so very tender, they might throw up their livings, and return to their conventicles, where they would be at liberty to disseminate what notions they pleased: that, by so doing, they would give a convincing proof of their disinterestedness; but nothing could be more reasonable, than for a church established by law to bestow her honours upon those who subscribed to her doctrines, and conformed to her discipline. The motion, therefore, was rejected by a great majority, and not without some severe strictures on the conduct of those who had promoted it.

This session the king sent a message to the house of lords which occasioned very great debates, and made a great noise throughout the upper circles. In this message it was observed, that his majesty being desirous, from paternal affection to his own family, an anxious concern for the future welfare of the people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, as a matter of public concern, had always belonged to the princes of this realm: he therefore recommended to both houses to take it into their serious consideration, whether it may not be wise and expedient to supply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by some new provision, more effectually guard the descendants of his late majesty, except such as were already married to foreign princes, from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs and successors, first had and obtained. In consequence of this message, a bill was brought into the house of lords, which fully answered all the purposes intended. This bill was opposed, with great strength of argument, by some of the most respectable peers in the nation. All the judges were sent for, to give their opinion, which was, that the marriages of the intermediate branches of the royal family must be approved of by the king, but how far that power extended over collateral branches, they could not say. At last the motion was carried, though not till fourteen lords entered a protest against it, as being inconsistent with the law of nature. In the house of commons, the bill met with a much stronger repulse; and those in opposition boldly declared, that it had been brought in at a time when most of the gentlemen of the law, whose opinions would have been of great service, were gone on the circuits. But, notwithstanding all the strength of argument, it passed, and soon after received the royal assent.

The attention of the parliament was now directed to the affairs of the East-India company, which were at this time in a very perplexed situation. On the 30th of March, the deputy-chairman of the company moved the house for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the servants belonging to the company in India. The grand object in view was, to restrain the governor's council; and, indeed, all the servants belonging to the company, from carrying on any sort of

trade, and to give the directors of the company a sovereign power over their own servants. The motion being carried, an enquiry into the state of affairs in India was immediately set on foot. All the papers belonging to the company were ordered to be laid before a select committee of the house, and from the perusal of them, many important discoveries were made. Indeed, it was found, that the mode of government in India was, in every respect, arbitrary, unconstitutional; and no way fit for preserving the rights of the people, or administering justice to individuals. The committee, finding the business encreasing fast, and the season far advanced, desired leave to continue sitting during the recess of parliament, or at least, till such time as they could go through with the intended enquiry.

In the mean time, the ill temper which had unaccountably taken place between the two houses the preceding session, still continued during the present; and, except in transmitting of bills from the one to the other, there was no other communication between them, than if they had been the jealous councils of two rival states. In this state of affairs, the lords having sent a bill to the commons by a master in chancery, and a clerk assistant, the whole house considered it as an indignity; and would not accept the message till they had examined the journals, to know if there were any precedents of sending bills in that manner. In the course of a hasty and passionate debate, which ensued upon that occasion, several gentlemen mentioned, that, on the first day of the present session, they had been rudely turned out of the house of lords, even before the speaker could get out of the door. A motion was then made to appoint a committee to search for precedents, of the manner of bills being sent from the lords, and also of the improper behaviour of the lords to the commons. Exceptions, however, were taken to the word *improper*, as if it had carried an appearance of prejudging the case; and, after a warm debate, the word was left out. The report of the committee was, that the lords had behaved in a very improper manner, and that the bill, which still lay on the table, should be sent back. This motion being opposed by administration, was over-ruled. A motion was then made for a conference with the lords, but this was over-ruled in the same manner; and, after long debates, and several proposed amendments, the matter ended in a message to the lords, wherein the impropriety of the messengers was the only complaint stated, which, it was hoped, would not be drawn into a precedent. This produced an answer, that the bill had been ordered in the usual manner, and that the matter of complaint was occasioned by the illness of one of the persons who should have presented it; that a good correspondence was wished for, and that it was not their intention to introduce any precedent contrary to established usage.

On the 9th of June his majesty went to the house of peers, and closed the session with a speech from the throne; in which he took notice of the laudable conduct of his parliament, that had conducted the affairs of the public with such spirit and prudence. He thanked them for the care they had taken of his family in making the act relating to the royal family; and informed them of the pacific disposition of those persons with whom we had any concern. That there was great reason to believe, that the public tranquillity would not be disturbed. The commons were thanked in the most cordial manner for the supplies they had granted; and great joy was expressed that there were still some hopes that the national debt would be reduced.

While the parliament was employed in the business of the state, her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, mother to his present majesty, died at Carlton-house on the 8th of February. In the evening preceding her death, the physician felt her pulse, and told her it was more regular than it had been for some time: her highness answered, "Yes; and I think I shall have a good night's rest." She then embraced the king, and he observed nothing particular, except that she seemed to testify greater warmth and affection than usual. His
majesty

majesty afterwards retired to an anti-chamber with the physician, who told him, that her highness would not out-live the morning, which induced his majesty to stay there all night. He did not see his royal mother any more till she was dead, for she remained very quiet all the night, nor did she give any tokens of death till a few minutes before she expired, when she laid her hand upon her heart, and expired without a groan*. Her royal highness had, by an act of parliament of the 10th of George II. a revenue of fifty thousand pounds *per annum* for life, in case she survived the prince, which was to be paid quarterly, and the first payment took place five days after his decease; forty thousand pounds of that annuity was to be paid out of the revenues of the post-office, and the other ten thousand out of the hereditary duties of excise, exempt from all fees, taxes, or charges whatever. On the 15th the corpse of her royal highness was interred with the usual solemnities in Henry the VIIth's chapel in Westminster-Abbey.

We must now take notice of a very singular event, which took place in Denmark. The king of that country had, for some time, made choice of one favourite after another; but scarcely had any of them gained a share of his friendship and confidence, than they were discarded with peculiar marks of disgrace. Among others, who, like needy adventurers, came to settle in Copenhagen, was one Struensee, the son of a Lutheran minister in Holstein†. The rapid progress which this adventurer, and one Brandt, his companion, made by their insinuating address, was very extraordinary. They were both raised to the dignity of noblemen; and Struensee was made prime minister, a circumstance which could not fail of raising an indignation in the minds of the Danish nobility. By his advice, accompanied with that of his friend Brandt, all the old counsellors were disgraced and banished; till at last the two favourites, intoxicated with power, could set no bounds to their madness, but even treated the king with contempt. Such glaring insolence and presumption in two foreigners, who could claim no pre-eminence in rank, could not fail to inflame the minds of the subjects of every degree; nor can it be wondered that their downfall was mediated and effected. To this end a conspiracy was formed, and, to give it the greater sanction, the queen-dowager, second wife of the late king, was at the head of it. Every thing being ripe for execution, a masked ball was given at court on the 16th of January, and, as soon as it was over, the king, who seemed to labour under great weakness of mind, retired to rest. He had not, however, been long in bed, when the principal conspirators came into his chamber, and told him, that the reigning queen, with Struensee and Brandt, were that instant employed in drawing up a paper, which they would force him to sign; the contents of which were, that he was to renounce the crown. The queen-dowager told him, that there was no way of saving himself, but by signing an order to take into custody the reigning queen, with the two odious favourites; and the king, much alarmed, readily complied. The warrant was immediately executed, and the queen, with the two favourites, were committed to different prisons. The queen was afterwards sent to the castle of Cronenburg,

where she remained some time closely confined, but, by the interposition of her royal brother, the king of Great-Britain, she was set at liberty, and suffered to reside at Zell, in the electorate of Hanover, with a pension equal to her dignity, where she languished for some time, and then died with grief. But the fate of the two favourites was otherwise determined. They were confined in close dungeons, and not allowed any thing to subsist on but bread and water, nor were examined from time to time during the space of two months, and threatened with being put to the torture, unless they made an open confession. At last sentence of death was passed upon them, that they should have their right hands cut off, and then their heads; and that, after their quarters had been exposed on the wheel, they should be placed on the most conspicuous parts in the city. Accordingly this sentence was executed, in all its rigour, on the 28th of April, on a scaffold near the city, in the midst of a vast concourse of people. They both behaved with great decency and resignation‡.

On the 26th of November the parliament met, and the session was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne; in which he informed the members, that his reason for calling them so soon was to take into their consideration some things of the utmost importance. He told them, that he had been informed that the East-India company was in a most distressed condition; and that, as many of his good subjects had their fortunes depending on the credit of that company, therefore its security was now become a national concern. He desired them to take it into their immediate consideration, and, if possible, lay down some rational plan, by which the interest and honour of the company might be restored, and every thing settled on the most permanent footing. He concluded, by recommending to them the most prudent methods that could be made use of, in order to reduce the price of provisions, as the distresses of the poor were not imaginary, but real; and that nothing would give him greater pleasure, than to hear that those distresses were alleviated. The commons being returned to their own house, Mr. Fitzpatrick, brother to the earl of Offory, moved that a loyal address should be presented to his majesty.

The present state of the navy was the first business of importance which came under the consideration of the house of commons, and this occasioned very warm debates. The objections made by those in opposition were to the following import: They said, that the number of seamen was too great to be kept up in time of profound peace; and that we were at peace with all our neighbours was declared in the speech from the throne. It was further urged, that the ministry had not given in an account in what manner the supplies granted last year had been used, so that the house was left quite in the dark. The ministry, on the other hand, urged the necessity of keeping our navy on the most respectable footing; and set forth, that our fleet in the East Indies was now much greater than formerly. After a variety of arguments brought forward by both parties, the question was put, and being carried by a great majority, the supplies were granted. A motion was now made to enquire into the nature of those causes which occa-

* Her royal highness was the youngest daughter of Frederic II. duke of Saxe-Gotha; born on the 30th of November, 1719. She was married at St. James's on the 27th of April, 1736, to Frederic, late prince of Wales; by whom she had issue as follow: Augusta, born July 31, 1737, O. S. married to the hereditary prince of Brunswick. George, born May 24, 1738, O. S. now king of Great-Britain. Edward, duke of York, born March 14, 1739; died at Monaco in Italy. Elizabeth, born December 30, 1740; died September 4, 1759. William Henry, duke of Gloucester, born November 14, 1743. Henry Frederic, duke of Cumberland, born October 27, 1745, dead. Louisa, born March 8, 1748, dead. Frederic, born May 13, 1750; died December 29, 1765. Caroline Matilda, born July 11, (after the death of her father,) 1751; married October 2, 1766, to Christian VII. king of Denmark, dead.

† He was a young man of the most insinuating address, and very good abilities, but profligate in his manners, and abandoned to every vice, not paying the least regard to any obligations, civil or sacred.

‡ The crimes which queen Matilda and counts Struensee and Brandt were charged with were these: Struensee was accused of having embezzled from the king's coffers a large sum amounting to one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling; of having issued many orders from the cabinet without the king's knowledge; of having been guilty of criminal conversation with the queen; of having secreted from the king several letters sent to his majesty, &c. Count Brandt was accused of having been privy to Struensee's criminal conversation, and all his other crimes, without divulging them, and having laid violent hands on the king's majesty, &c.

floned the dearth of all sorts of provisions, but nothing was done that could be of any real service to the public. Several regulations indeed were made with respect to bread, and some restrictions laid upon the bakers; but, unless the rents of landed estates and farms can be lowered, by the retrenchment of different species of luxury, the legislature itself will never be able to remedy the evils complained of*.

A secret committee had been appointed to enquire into the state of the East-India company's affairs; and by their report it was found, that the affairs of the company were both perplexed and distressed. It was therefore proposed, that supervisors should be sent out to the East-Indies, to make a proper enquiry how far the officers and servants belonging to the company had abused the trust reposed in them, and to have power to grant redress to all those who thought themselves in the least injured. Some of the members whose fortunes lay in the East-India stock, made strong objections to this bill, while those who supported it retorted upon them, by declaring, that nothing but oppression had been carried on in that part of the world; and as the company had, either directly or indirectly, encouraged such practices, it was now high time to call them to an account for their conduct, and prevent them, for the future, from acting in such a manner as could serve no other end, besides that of disgracing themselves and bringing a real dishonour upon the nation. At last the motion was carried in the usual manner; and supervisors were appointed, with plenary powers to enquire into the abuses complained of, and to endeavour to rectify them.

An enquiry into the state of the army was next set on foot; particularly, whether it was necessary that we should, in times of peace, keep up a strong military force, which seemed of no other use but to impoverish the nation, and to be ready at all times to support the arbitrary dictates of a minister. It was said by those who promoted the motion, that the national militia was at all times able to preserve us from our enemies at home, and a very small force was sufficient for our settlements abroad, especially as we were not engaged in a war with any power on the continent. The ministry, however, carried their point, the motion being objected to by a great majority.

In the beginning of 1773 the parliament took into consideration the acts relating to penalties inflicted on those who infringed the laws respecting the preservation of the game†. The ministry promoted the bill, in order to acquire some share of popularity; and the patriots opposed it, merely for the sake of opposition; so that the bill did not pass.

A motion was now made, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to enquire into the propriety of foreigners being connected in our trade to any parts of the world, exclusive of Europe. This motion took its rise from the following cause, namely, the power granted to the lords of the admiralty to stop all ships which are not wholly the property of British subjects. It was proved, by the evidence of several witnesses, that some ships had been detained at Gravesend a whole month, for no other reason, than because part of the cargoes belonged to foreign merchants. The result was, that leave was given to bring in a bill to remedy

the evil, which having passed both houses, received the royal assent.

The attention of the parliament was now drawn to an object that will ever do honour to their memory. It is a maxim in the law of nature, that justice should be freely administered at the expence of the whole community, because it is supposed to be done for the preservation of the whole; and it will often happen, especially in large communities, that an innocent person may be accused of crimes, thrown into a prison, and brought to a public trial. It is true, he may, from a variety of circumstances, be able to prove his own innocence; yet, when the jury has acquitted him, he cannot be discharged, in many parts of England, till such times as he has paid certain fees to the jailor. Long, indeed, had this practice been a disgrace to the nation, till, about fifty years ago, the city of London, at the instance of baron Thompson, their recorder, set the example of discharging every prisoner without fees as soon as he was acquitted by the jury. The noble generosity of the citizens of London was not, however, adopted by those who lived in more distant counties. No provision was made to defray the expences of discharging felons from prison; so that instances were produced of some poor men lying a whole year in jail, because they could not pay the fees. To remedy an evil of so glaring a nature, a bill was brought in to oblige every county to make good all the deficiencies incurred to the jailors by keeping the prisoners. To the honour of the present age, let it be here remembered, that a bill, formed by the heart of charity, and supported by benevolence, passed with the almost unanimous consent of the house. In consequence of this humane resolution, the prisoner who is now acquitted must be discharged without paying his fees. The verdict of the jury shall make him as free as if he had never been in prison; he may go from the bar to his own family, without being called in question, or detained for any fees whatever; his imprisonment being considered as a great punishment, after his innocence has been clearly proved to the court.

The parliamentary business being finished, his majesty went to the house of peers in July, and after signing such bills as were ready prorogued the parliament.

A short time before the close of the session, his majesty made an excursion to Portsmouth, in order to inspect the state of the dock-yards, forts, &c. at that place; as also to review the fleet assembled at Spithead for that purpose. On his majesty's entering the Land Port Gate, he was saluted by a triple discharge of two hundred and thirty-two pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts of Portsmouth, at Block-house Fort, and at the South-sea Castle. His majesty then proceeded through the town to the dock-yard, where the artificers and workmen belonging to the yard, being all assembled at the commissioner's house, gave three cheers as his majesty entered, and then immediately dispersed, each returning to his proper employment. The shores both on the Portsmouth and Gosport sides, were lined by the populace, who expressed their loyalty by saluting his majesty with guns, acclamations, and other demonstrations of joy. The king expressed the highest approbation of the good order and discipline of his fleet, and the regularity with which every different marine depart-

* To redress any grievances, nothing can be more proper, nothing more salutary, than to begin with the effects, and trace them up to the original causes from whence they spring. In vain does the legislative power lay the inferior order of tradesmen under some sort of restrictions, when, at the same time, it is well known, that unless the causes are removed, the effects must remain in the same state as before. Most of those who compose our houses of parliament are landholders; and if they know that the rents of their farms are double to what they were twenty years ago, consequently, the price of all sorts of provisions must rise in proportion.

† As this subject is of great importance to the inhabitants of a free country, it was discussed both upon natural and municipal principles. It is certain that every thing which seems

to have an existence upon natural principles, will at all times attract the notice of the public; and such as may, probably, have no concern in the dispute, will, notwithstanding, interest themselves in it. Thus a wild beast in the field has been, time immemorial, considered as the property of the public; and if either its flesh or skin were of any value, then the person who took or killed it was to consider it as his own. In proof of this, it may be added, that some of the Anglo-Saxon kings remitted the tax which the Welsh used to pay, upon condition that they produced a certain number of wolves heads, by which means that destructive species of animals was eradicated out of the country. Many arguments were produced on the contrary, which, we think, were by no means satisfactory.

ment was conducted, and discovered the utmost satisfaction at the demonstrations of loyalty he received from his people. He was pleased to make many liberal distributions *, and to release the prisoners confined in Portsmouth jail.

The parliament met on the 25th of January, 1774, and the session was opened by his majesty, who, in his speech from the throne, recommended to them to take into their serious consideration the state of the colonies, who seemed to be attempting to throw off all subjection to the British government. He told them, that the most salutary laws had been treated with contempt, and public acts of parliament had been despised, as if they had been the mandates of single persons: that the colonies were little better than in a state of rebellion; and that, unless some vigorous measures were used to force them to obedience, all laws would be trampled under foot, and the regularity which took place among the different ranks of beings, would once more return to its original state of confusion. He concluded by recommending to them the state of the gold coin, which had suffered much by the illicit practices of wicked persons, and hoped they would put it on a solid foundation.

The commons being returned to their own house, vehement debates ensued upon the words of the address which should be presented to his majesty. The partisans of the court insisted, that an implicit acknowledgment should be made, thanking his majesty for his paternal care of the nation, and to promise that every reasonable measure should be complied with. On the other hand, it was urged, that the colonies, so far from being in a state of rebellion, were only contending for the enjoyment of those rights and privileges which belong to all men in common as members of society: that the mother country had no right to tax those emigrants, unless a consent to that measure was first had and obtained from their own representatives; that the colonies were not regularly, nor in any sense whatever represented in the British parliament; and therefore, till such time as that legal representation took place, no taxes could, in justice, be imposed upon them. As to the affair of the gold coin, it was, said they, a great hardship to the honest, industrious trading part of the nation: and that the ministry ought, before any thing of that nature had been proposed, to have laid down some rational plan by which the public would have been indemnified. Such were the outlines of the arguments made use of by both parties; but the question being put, it was carried by a great majority in favour of the court party.

The ministry's grand object seemed now to be the total reduction of the colonies to a state of obedience, and to convince them of the necessity they were under of being subject to the mother-country; and therefore a bill was brought in of a very coercive nature. Three ships laden with tea, which had been sent from England, were plundered by the people of Boston, and their cargoes, consisting of three hundred and forty chests, were thrown into the sea. As this was an act which infringed on private property, it called aloud for the exertion of the regal power. Accordingly, an act passed to remove the customs from the town of Boston, to quarter a military force upon the people, and to block up their harbour by several ships of war.

During this session of parliament many important affairs were discussed: and several useful acts were passed. Among these was one for the better regulation of the

gold coin; and another relative to the naturalization of foreigners. The freedom of this country is so great and uncircumscribed, that many bad uses had been made of it by designing persons. To remedy an evil attended with so many destructive consequences, a new law was established, by which no naturalized foreigner should enjoy the privileges of a British subject, unless he resides in Britain. The parliamentary business being finished, his majesty went to the house of peers on the 22d of June, and after signing such bills † as were ready, closed the session.

The British ministry were now particularly engaged in providing for the safety of our fellow subjects in the East-Indies. It had long been complained of, that the servants of the company, at their principal settlements, had acted in a very oppressive and illegal manner, nor indeed had any code of laws been made for their security. The great distance from England rendered it difficult, and almost impossible, for any person to obtain redress. It was therefore resolved in council, that four gentlemen learned in the laws, and of the most approved integrity, should be sent over to Asia, where we have settlements, and act there as judges. They were to hold pleas of the crown, determine in real, mixed, and personal actions, to give judgement in all cases of equity, in every thing relating to the revenue, so that their power included all that is lodged in the courts of Westminster-Hall; but as the settlements are distant from each other, so the courts were not to be fixed, but to move from one place to another, that justice might be equally distributed to all ranks of people.

The disturbances in America this year still continued to increase. In consequence of the Boston Port bill, which had passed the last session, the people of New England began to form themselves into companies, practise the military arts, enter into solemn leagues and covenants, &c. Several other colonies followed the example, provincial assemblies were held, and a general contest established, to which deputies from the several provinces were invited. Exclusive of bickerings and animosities between the Royalists and Provincials, and the martial parade of the latter, the only material transaction that took place was, the seizure of Fort William and Mary, near Portsmouth in New Hampshire, by the provincial militia, in which they found one hundred and six barrels of gunpowder, several pieces of cannon, a quantity of shot, small arms, &c.

During these occurrences abroad, the English parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and the writs for calling a new one were made returnable on the 29th of November. Accordingly, on that day, his majesty went to the house of peers, and being in his royal robes seated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons in the house of peers; who being come, the king, by his chancellor, signified his pleasure that they should return and choose a speaker, to be presented next day for his majesty's approbation. They returned accordingly, and unanimously chose Sir Fletcher Norton. The next day his majesty went again in the usual state to the house of peers, and having approved of the speaker chosen by the commons, opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which he observed, "That a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law still unhappily prevails in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, and has, in divers parts of it, broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature. These proceedings have been countenanced and encour-

* To the artificers, workmen, and labourers of the dock-yard, victualling-office, and gun-wharf, his majesty ordered one thousand five hundred pounds to be distributed. To the companies of the Barfleur and Augusta yacht, and the crew of his majesty's barge, three hundred and fifty pounds. To the poor of Portsmouth, Portsea, and Gosport, two hundred and fifty pounds.

† Among the bills passed this session was one which produced an universal discontent among the people. It was entitled, "An Act for the future government of Quebec." The

principal clauses that gave offence were two; by the first of which the Romish clergy were to have the exercise of their religion as established by the first of queen Elizabeth; and might enjoy and receive the accustomed dues and rights from persons professing the Romish religion. By the second clause, all controversies relative to property and civil rights were to be determined by the Canada laws then in being, or such as might be afterwards enacted by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and legislative council.

aged in other of my colonies, and unwarrantable attempts have been made to obstruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations. I have taken such measures, and given such orders, as I judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were passed in the last session of the late parliament for the protection and security of the commerce of my subjects, and for the restoring and preserving peace, order, and good government, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay; and you may depend upon my firm and stedfast resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of my crown; the maintenance of which I consider as essential to the dignity, the safety, and welfare of the British empire." To his majesty's speech both houses presented very loyal and affectionate addresses; to each of which a gracious answer was returned*.

On the 22d of December his majesty went, in the usual state, to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills: an act for laying a duty on malt, mum, cyder and perry, for the year 1775; an act to allow the importation of Indian corn, under certain restrictions; and a naturalization bill. After which his majesty adjourned the parliament to the 19th of January, 1775.

The parliament met, pursuant to their adjournment, in January, 1775, when lord North presented to the house, by his majesty's command, several bundles of American papers, the titles of which, being read by the clerk, appeared to be extracts of letters from the several governors of Boston, New-York, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Virginia, Pennsylvania, South-Carolina: the proceedings of the continental and provincial congress, the first held at Philadelphia, and the latter at Cambridge near Boston: instructions given at provincial meetings of the several delegates appointed to assemble at the congress; copies of hand-bills; anonymous letters; resolutions of different assemblies; protests of several districts in the province of Georgia; messages between general Gage and the house of representatives, with extracts of the several letters that passed between general Gage, lord Dartmouth, the secretary, and board of admiralty, and the commander of the ships on the Boston-station. As soon as the clerk had finished reading the titles of these papers, a motion was made that they should lie on the table for inspection, and that a future day should be appointed for the whole house to go into a committee to consider the same; which, after some debates, was agreed to.

Mean while petitions were presented to the house from the merchants of London, Glasgow, Bristol, Liverpool, and other places, complaining of the great decay of trade, occasioned by the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and her colonies. Some of these petitions were referred to the committee appointed to take into consideration the American papers; and others were referred to private committees appointed for the

purpose. The corporation of London also presented an address, remonstrance, and petition to the king; in which they complained of the measures that had been pursued, and were still pursuing, against their fellow-subjects in America; and earnestly beseeched his majesty to discharge those ministers from his councils who had been the means of promoting them, as the first step towards a full redress of the grievances so universally complained of by the people†.

While petitions were presenting to the commons from the principal corporations in England, some papers, similar to those which the lower house had received, were laid before the lords, on which lord Chatham rose, and after complaining much of the delay of administration in detaining the papers so long after their arrival, and also the error of their proceedings respecting America, his lordship made the following motion: "That an address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to send orders to general Gage to withdraw his troops from Boston, as the best means of establishing a lasting concord with America." Great debates arose on this motion; but the question being at length put, it was rejected by a considerable majority. However, a few days after, the same patriotic nobleman brought in a bill for reconciling the present differences between Great Britain and America. This also met with great opposition; and the question being put, it shared the same fate with the preceding motion.

The various papers relative to America were now taken into consideration in the lower house. Among them were two official letters from lord Dartmouth to general Gage, and the general's letter to his lordship. The former contained strains of firmness and coercion, which it was plain, the general was not by any means able to realize with the force he had under his command. The language of the latter varied according to the different circumstances and occasions that presented themselves. Two matters were, however, very evident, that the rage and discontents were greatly augmented on account of the last American acts passed by the parliament; and that they were working up into a kind of phrenzy by the gradual augmentation of the troops, and by the works and defences raised at Boston Neck. He drew, in some places, the most lamentable picture of the state of that province, destitute at once of all legislative authority; of a council, of courts of justice, of magistracy; and represented the whole as one scene of anarchy and confusion.

On the last day that the house went into a committee to examine the American papers, lord North began the business with a very accurate and detailed view of the whole mass of information laid before the committee, discriminated in a very masterly manner the disposition of the respective colonies, marked the leading characters of each, pointed out those whose moderation prevailed, whose violence and unconstitutional views were concealed under the appearance of duty and submission,

* As this was the first session of a new parliament, the swearing in of the members, and other trifling matters incident on such occasions engaged their attention for some days. This being over, they proceeded to business, which was begun by the house resolving itself into a committee of supply to his majesty; when the following resolutions were agreed to, viz. that sixteen thousand seamen, including four thousand two hundred and eighty-four marines, should be granted for the ensuing year. That seventeen thousand five hundred and forty-seven effective men, including one thousand five hundred and twenty-two invalids, be employed for the land service in 1775. And that one million six hundred twenty seven thousand six hundred and eighty-nine pounds be granted to his majesty for maintaining the said men. That three hundred and eighty-six thousand one hundred and eighty-six pounds be granted for maintaining the forces in the plantations, North-America, Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, &c. And eleven thousand four hundred and seventy-three pounds for the pay of generals and general staff-officers. That one hundred and twenty-two thousand two hundred and twenty-one pounds be granted for the out-pen-

sioners of Chelsea Hospital. That twenty-eight thousand and fifty-nine pounds be granted for the office of ordnance for land-service. And thirty-two thousand seven hundred and forty-eight pounds for the said office, for services performed, and not provided for. The committee of ways and means levied the land tax at three shillings in the pound. This occasioned great debates in the house, but at length the question being put, the house agreed with the committee, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly.

† To the address and petition of the Londoners his majesty returned the following answer: "It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great-Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdom."

and particularly directed at such as he thought were in a state of actual rebellion. He next adverted to the acts employed to raise this seditious spirit on both sides of the water, entered minutely into a comparison of the burthens borne by the people of both countries, stated the trade and commerce carried on between them, the advantages arising from that commerce, the most probable way of securing them, and the very great disparity there was between the ability and real support which America afforded to this country; every person in Britain contributing at the rate of twenty-five shillings per head, whereas the American did not contribute sixpence. He then proceeded to lay down, in the fullest and most unreserved manner, the legislative supremacy of parliament; stated, in very forcible and distinct terms, the measures adopted by America to resist it, and the almost universal confederacy of the colonies to deny it at least. Here he laid his foot on the great barrier, which separated, and for the present disunited, both countries; and on this ground of resistance and denial, he raised every argument leading to the motion he intended to make. This question, he said, lay within a narrow compass: it was simply whether we should abandon this claim, and at once give up every advantage arising both from the sovereignty and the commerce, or to insure both; or whether we should resort to the measures indispensably necessary on such an occasion? His lordship then pointed out the measures intended to be pursued. He said he should propose a temporary act, to put a stop to all the foreign trade of New-England, and particularly to their fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty; at the same time declaring, that whenever they should acknowledge the supreme authority of the British legislature, and pay obedience to the laws, their grievances should be redressed. His lordship concluded by proposing a conference with the house of lords, that a joint address might be carried up to the throne, "To return thanks to his majesty for communicating to the house the American papers, and that he would be pleased to take such measures as might be suitable to his wisdom for enforcing the laws against America; and promising to support him, in full and vigorous exertion of the same, with their lives and fortunes." The measures intended to be taken were mentioned generally, and said to be these: "That a fleet of fourteen frigates be sent to join the ships at Boston, by which all the ports of New-England were to be blocked up; that ten thousand troops, including Preston's regiment of light horse, be sent to Boston, to keep the New-Englanders in order; and that an addition of two thousand seamen more be asked to man the fleet at Boston, and to supply the naval establishment at home." The motion for the address met with great opposition; but the question being at length put, it was carried by a considerable majority.

When the resolution of the committee for presenting the address was reported to the house, the speaker was proceeding to put the question to agree with the report; but was interrupted by lord John Cavendish, who moved that the consideration of the American papers should be re-committed. In his harangue on the subject he stated very clearly and justly our domestic situation, our state with the colonies and with foreign powers. He called the attention of the house to the unequal balance of our loss and our gain in the event; in which we might find our revenue destroyed, our trade annihilated, and our empire itself overturned. And if we succeeded in subduing America, we should not gain any thing. He was seconded by lord Irnham, who, after having in a long speech agitated the question on the ground proposed by administration, in a constitutional as well as in a political light, concluded with asserting that it appeared, in both those views, formidable and destructive; and that it became absolutely necessary to retract the unconstitutional and impolitic steps which administration had hitherto taken.

The right honourable John Wilkes, Esq. then lord mayor of London, opposed the motion of the premier

with great ability and force of argument. He adverted to the original ground and cause of the unhappy disputes then subsisting between Great-Britain and her colonies, and inferred, from a variety of positions, that they arose from an assumed right of taxation, in opposition to the fundamental laws of human nature, and the principles of the English constitution. He recommended the adoption of the plan of reconciliation proposed by a noble lord in the other house. He pointed out the futility of the very means then pursued for the subjugation of America, and presaged that very state of independence to which it has since arrived; and spiritedly concluded with expressing a hope that the just vengeance of the people might overtake the authors of those pernicious counsels; and that the loss of the first province to the empire might be followed by the loss of the heads of those ministers who advised such weak and fatal measures.

Several other speakers expatiated largely on the justice and propriety of the noble lord's motion; when at length the question being put the numbers were, for lord Cavendish's motion 105, against it 288. An address was then drawn up, and agreed to without a division.

The day following the commons sent a message to the lords, desiring a conference on the subject of the address to his majesty. In consequence of this several of the lords attended, and after some debates, it was agreed that the address should be jointly presented by both houses to the king; which was accordingly done on the 9th of February. The answer his majesty returned was as follow:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal address, and for the affectionate, solemn assurances you give me of your support in maintaining the just rights of my crown, and of the two houses of parliament; and you may depend on my taking the most speedy and effectual measures for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature. Whenever any of my colonies shall make a proper and dutiful application, I shall be ready to concur with you in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence; and it is my ardent wish that this disposition may have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of my subjects in America."

The day after the address was presented, lord North acquainted the house that he had a message from his majesty which pressed such an augmentation to his forces, as on the present occasion should be thought proper. The king's message was referred to the consideration of the Committee of Supply; after which the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole house on the American papers, when a motion was made by lord North, "That the chairman be directed to move the house, that leave be given to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Providence, and Rhode-Island colonies in North-America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any trade on the banks of Newfoundland, or other parts therein mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a term to be limited." This motion was productive of great debates, which continued for several hours; a question being put, it was carried by a very considerable majority, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly.

On the 22d of February the lord mayor moved in the house of commons, that the proceedings of that house of the 17th of February, 1769, might be read; which being done, some other extracts which his lordship called for were likewise read. He then made a speech upon what he called proceedings unjustifiable, illegal, and unwarrantable; and moved, that the resolution of the 17th of February, 1769, which declares, "That John Wilkes, Esq. having been this present session of parliament expelled the house, was, and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament," be expunged from the journals of this

this house, as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom. Mr. Serjeant Glyn seconded the motion, and a general debate ensued. The arguments were very warm. The question was repeatedly attempted to be put, but was as often prevented by the rising of new speakers. At length after about eight hours debate, "the question, the question," was so far the prevailing call, that it was put, and the house divided, when the numbers were, one hundred and seventy-one for the motion, and two hundred and thirty-nine against it.

Two days afterwards a petition was presented to the house of commons from the corporation of London, against the bill then depending in the house for restraining the trade of New-England, and the fisheries of that colony on the banks of Newfoundland. This petition represented the bill as being unjust, cruel, partial, and oppressive; injurious to the trade of Great-Britain, and tending to encrease the wealth and strength of her enemies. The same corporation likewise presented a petition of a similar nature to the house of lords; as did also the American merchants; and another to the king: but all these solicitations proved vain; for the bill passed both houses, and on the 30th of March received the royal assent.

On the 13th of April his majesty went again to the house of peers, and, among other bills, gave the royal assent to "A bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to any part of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the West-India islands." After the passing of these acts the generals Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe, were sent to take on them the command of the troops destined for endeavouring to bring the Americans to obedience; for which expedition they embarked on board the *Cerberus* man of war on the 21st of April. The business of the nation being now finished, his majesty went to the house of peers, on the 26th of May, and after signing such bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

Hostilities were now actually commenced in America, and several skirmishes took place between the Americans and the king's troops. General Gage, the commander of the English forces, being informed that a great quantity of military stores were in the possession of the Provincial troops, at the town of Concord, sent a detachment of forces, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, supported by another body, commanded by lord Percy, in order to seize or destroy them. This service was effectually performed, after some skirmishes, but on the 19th of April the troops were attacked at Lexington, on their return towards Boston, when several were killed and wounded on both sides; the Provincials firing from behind stone walls, hedges, bushes, &c.

The Provincials now invested the town of Boston, and the people of New-York, hearing of the action at Lexington, and the affair of Concord, rose in a tumultuous manner, entered the town-house, seized many stands of arms, appropriated to their own use the cargoes of two ships laden with military stores for general Gage, and then marched to the assistance of the Bostonians. They not only continued to block up the town of Boston, but began to raise batteries on the heights of the peninsula of Charles Town, in order to cannonade his majesty's troops. This brought on an action at Bunker's Hill; for on the 17th of June, a considerable body of troops, under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier general Pigot, were sent to dislodge the Provincials. This body of forces, with a

proportionable quantity of artillery, made good their landing near Bunker's Hill, under the protection of the ships of war, armed vessels, floating batteries, &c. and being soon after reinforced by another detachment, a desperate action commenced, in which the British troops were victorious, the provincial lines being forced, and themselves compelled to retreat, leaving behind several pieces of cannon and other military stores*.

On the night of the 23d of August the cannon were seized upon, by order of the congress, though the *Asia* man of war, which lay in the harbour, endeavoured to prevent it by cannonading the town.

Mean while general Carleton was indefatigable, in putting the province of Canada into a proper state of defence; and the earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, having thought proper to take refuge on board a ship of war, harassed the coast, and made frequent descents upon the last mentioned province; laying waste the country, carrying off or spiking up a vast number of cannon, destroying great quantities of military stores belonging to the Provincials, &c. &c. But on the other side, Fort St. John surrendered to the Provincial forces on the 3d of November, and the garrison became prisoners.

On the 18th of the same month the king's troops and provincials had a fierce engagement near Savannah, in Georgia, in which the latter were defeated; and on the 31st of December, the provincial general Montgomery, who had for some time laid siege to the city of Quebec, attempted to take it by storm. In this attempt, however, he was defeated and slain, with several of his officers, and about sixty privates; about three hundred were taken prisoners.

The parliament of England met again on the 26th of October, and the session was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne, as usual†. The attention of the parliament, previous to the holidays, was engaged in adjusting the necessary supplies for the ensuing year, and concerting the proper measures for raising them. Several useful acts were also framed, which, having passed both houses, received the royal assent; after which the parliament was prorogued to the 25th of January, 1776.

The parliament met pursuant to their adjournment; and the same day the following hand-bill was delivered to the members of both houses. "To the parliament: A suffering and afflicted people most humbly and solemnly beseech and implore every member of parliament to put a speedy stop to the further effusion of the blood of our American brethren; that peace and tranquillity may be restored to the royal breast, and glory, commerce, and felicity, to the whole empire."

In the course of the session the attention of the lords was engaged on the trial of the duchess of Kingston, who was accused of bigamy, in having married the duke of Kingston, while her first husband, the honourable Mr. Hervey, (afterwards earl of Bristol,) was living. The trial lasted five days, at the close of which, the prisoner being called to the bar, was informed by the lord high-steward, that the lords had pronounced her guilty. In consequence of this she claimed her privilege of peerage, which occasioned the lords to adjourn to the chamber of parliament to debate on the matter. On their return the prisoner was again called to the bar, and the lord high-steward pronounced it to be the sense of the house, "That the duchess should be allowed the privilege she claimed." By consequence, as a peeress, she could endure no kind of corporal punishment, and was therefore discharged on paying her fees.

The parliamentary business being finished, on the 23d

* The loss of the Provincials in killed and wounded was very great; of the British troops, according to the return of general Gage, two hundred and twenty-six were killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight were wounded, some of the latter dying soon after; and more than a proportionable number of officers were included in both lists.

† A short time before the opening of the session, a petition from the general congress in America, signed by the heads of the respective colonies, was presented to his majesty, humbly soliciting that such measures might be taken as were likely to eradicate the present disturbances, and bring about a lasting and happy reconciliation.

of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and after signing such bills as were ready closed the session.

In the mean time hostilities were carrying on with great vehemence in America. General Gage having been recalled, the command in chief of the army at Boston devolved on general Howe, who soon after issued a proclamation, by which such of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence, were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken; and if they escaped, to be proceeded against as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. By another, such as obtained permission to quit the town were restrained, by severe penalties, for carrying more than a small specified sum of money with them. He also enjoined the signing and entering into an association, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their persons for the defence of the town, and such of them, as he approved of, were to be armed, formed into companies, and instructed in military exercises and discipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence. But general Howe now thought it expedient to evacuate the town of Boston, which he effected on the 17th of March; and a short time after made good his landing, and capture of New York. In June, a battle was fought in Canada, between the regulars, under general Carleton, and the provincials, at a place called Trois Rivières, (Three Rivers,) when the latter were defeated, many of them being killed and wounded, and about two hundred taken prisoners. In the same month an attempt was made on Charles Town, South Carolina, by Sir Peter Parker, at the head of a fleet of ships of war, and general Clinton, with a body of land forces, but it failed of success; and on the 4th of July following, the congress declared the colonies independent.

On the 19th of September the following declaration was published by lord Howe and general Howe, addressed to the Provincials:

"By Richard viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland; and William Howe, Esq. general of his majesty's forces in America, the king's commissioners for restoring peace to his majesty's colonies and plantations in North-America.

DECLARATION.

"Although the congress, whom the misguided Americans suffer to direct their opposition to a re-establishment of the constitutional government of their provinces, having disavowed every purpose of reconciliation not consonant with their extravagant, inadmissible claim of independency, the king's commissioners think fit to declare, that they are equally desirous to confer with his majesty's well-affected subjects upon the means of restoring the public tranquillity, and establishing a permanent union with every colony as a part of the British empire; the king being most graciously disposed to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions as may be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of the legislation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the revival of all acts by which his subjects

there may think themselves aggrieved; it is recommended to the inhabitants at large to reflect seriously on their present condition, and to judge for themselves, whether it be more consistent with their honour and happiness to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they are engaged, or return to their allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and to be secured in the free enjoyment of their liberty and properties, upon the true principle of the constitution.

Given at New-York,
September 19, 1776.

HOWE.
W. HOWE."

But the causes of dissention were aggravated to such a degree, by some transactions both in England and America, that the provincials seemed not only to reject every conciliatory proposal, but determined to assert that independence which they had avowed.

On the 30th of September general Howe issued another proclamation, which was as follows:

"Whereas there are many deserters from his majesty's service, now in arms in America, against their rightful sovereign, and engaged with the declared enemies of Great-Britain, in a most cruel and unnatural rebellion, to shake off all obedience to the constitutional authority of the state; and whereas the heinousness of their crime not admitting any palliative considerations, will necessarily exclude them from the smallest claim to mercy, if they should fall into the hands of his majesty's troops: the commander in chief being anxiously desirous to warn them of their danger to withdraw them from their present desperate and criminal situation, whereby they may escape the ignominious death of traitors to their king and country, hereby offers a full pardon to all deserters, who shall surrender themselves at the head quarters, or to any division of the king's army, on or before the 31st of October, 1776.

Given at the head quarters, on
York Island, the 30th day of
September, 1776.

W. HOWE."

After the publication of the above proclamations many skirmishes happened between the king's troops and the provincials; but nothing decisive till the end of October, when the latter were defeated, in an action, which from the place where it was fought, was termed the Battle of the White Plains.

In the dispatches from general Howe, dated November 30, besides an account of a variety of skirmishes, information was given of the taking of Fort Washington, and Fort Lee, by the British forces, together with a great variety of military stores, and many prisoners. In December Rhode Island was taken by general Clinton; about the same time lord Cornwallis took possession of East Jersey, and general Lee was taken prisoner, by a patrol of British dragoons, commanded by lieutenant-colonel (afterwards lord) Harcourt*.

The parliament met again on the last day of October, when his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne†. But the nature of the speech gave rise to very great debates in both houses, concerning the ad-

dresses

* The following are the particulars of the manner in which general Lee was taken prisoner. Colonel Harcourt having penetrated the country upon a reconnoitring party with about twelve light dragoons, and chancing to meet a countryman on the road, entered into an examination of him, and found he was charged with a letter to general Washington, and that the wafer with which the letter was sealed was still wet; the signature being that of Mr. Lee, the colonel desired the countryman to conduct him to that gentleman, which he complied with. The countryman was accordingly mounted behind one of the dragoons, and a party galloped to the house where Mr. Lee was: the guard fired upon the dragoons, by which one private was killed, and a cornet wounded; a bullet passed through colonel Harcourt's helmet, but did not do him the least injury. Lee was now summoned to surrender, which he complied with, delivered up his sword, and in the most earnest manner interceded for his life, desiring to come in under the proclamation. This, of course, could not be complied with;

and he was carried to the head-quarters, and lodged on board one of his majesty's ships. He was afterwards exchanged for some of the king's officers, who had been taken prisoners by the provincials.

† The following is a copy of his majesty's speech on this occasion:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Nothing could have afforded me so much satisfaction as to have been able to inform you, at the opening of this session, that the troubles which have so long distracted my colonies in North America were at an end; and that my unhappy people, recovered from their delusion, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their leaders, and returned to their duty: but so daring and desperate is the spirit of those leaders, whose object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country. They have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation

addresses to be presented to his majesty in answer thereto. The most important were in the house of lords; but they were at length adjusted, as were those in the lower house; and the addresses were accordingly presented; to each of which his majesty returned a most gracious answer.

The first national business entered on was, the consideration of the supplies, when a motion was made that forty-five thousand seamen, including ten thousand one hundred and twenty-nine marines, be employed for the service of the ensuing year. The motion produced some debates, but was at length carried by a great majority. At the same time a resolution passed for allowing four pounds per man per month, for the maintenance and wages of every seaman. The committee of ways and means, after a motion made for the purpose, resolved, that the land-tax for 1777 should be four shillings in the pound.

On the 2d of November a proclamation was issued by his majesty for a general fast to be kept throughout England on the 13th of December following. It was also appointed to be held on the same day in Ireland; and on the 12th in Scotland.

A few days after another proclamation was issued for recalling and prohibiting seamen from serving foreign princes and states, and for granting rewards for discovering such seamen as should conceal themselves, in a gratuity of two pounds for every able, and thirty shillings for every ordinary seaman, to be paid to any person who should make such discoveries, that such men might be taken into his majesty's service, by any of his majesty's sea officers for raising men, on or before the 31st day of December next.

The money granted by the parliament, previous to the holidays, for defraying the expences of the navy, including the ordinary at four hundred thousand and five pounds, and the building and repairing of ships, which was voted at four hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred pounds, amounting to no less than three millions two hundred and five thousand five hundred and five pounds; exclusive of four thousand pounds which was afterwards voted to Greenwich Hospital, and a million granted towards the close of the session, to be applied towards the discharge of the debt of the navy. But if the naval expences were thus large, the supplies for the land service were not less so, falling little short of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the land-service for the preceding year, which exceeded the amount of one million two hundred thousand pounds with some new contracts for additional German forces, and the navy expences of half-pay and Chelsea, were not yet provided for. The supplies being so far granted, and no public business of any moment in the way, an early and long recess took place, the house adjourning

on the 2d of December, to the 21st of January following.

This year was closed with an event which for some time occasioned great confusion, apprehension, and suspicion. On the 9th of December advice was received at the admiralty-office by express, that a fire broke out in the rope-house of his majesty's yard at Portsmouth, about half an hour after four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which burnt with great violence, and consumed the same, except the outer walls; but by the timely assistance and vigorous efforts of the workmen of the yard, the seamen of his majesty's ships, the marines quartered at Portsmouth, and the men belonging to the ordnance with their respective officers, it was happily prevented from extending to any other of the buildings in the yard; and was at length totally extinguished. The chief loss sustained by this accident consisted chiefly of the rigging of two ships, the implements belonging to the rope-makers and rigging-house, a small quantity of cordage, and some toppings of hemp. The alarm occasioned by this incident was greatly increased by another of a like nature that happened shortly after at Bristol, which destroyed a large range of warehouses, besides many private dwellings, and, had it not been for the quick discovery, and alacrity of the people in suppressing it, would have been productive of the most fatal consequences. How these accidents happened was for some time a mystery; but at length it was discovered that they took place by the machinations of a wretched enthusiast and incendiary, since well known by the appellation of John the Painter, but whose real name was James Aitken. When he was secured and examined, he refused answering any questions, and otherwise behaved in a very daring and resolute manner. However, there appearing sufficient reason to suppose him the guilty person, he was committed to Winchester jail. At the next assizes he was brought to trial, and being found guilty, was soon after executed at Portsmouth.

On the 21st of January, 1777, the parliament met pursuant to adjournment, and immediately proceeded on the business of the nation. The first thing that engaged the particular attention of the commons was, a bill brought for granting commissions, or letters of marque and reprisal, as they are usually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant ships, authorizing them to take and make prize of all vessels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the thirteen specified revolted American colonies. This bill passed the commons without the least opposition; nor did it produce much debate among the lords, with whom it underwent the trifling alteration, of inserting the words, "letters of permission," in the place of "letters of marque," the latter being thought only applicable to reprisals on a foreign enemy.

ciliation held out to them under the authority of our commission; and have presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. If their treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it, to the safety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdom, and indeed to the present system of all Europe. One great advantage, however, will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, and clearly understood; we shall have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures.

"I am happy to inform you, that by the blessing of Divine Providence on the good conduct and valour of my officers and forces by sea and land, and on the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in my service, Canada is recovered; and although, from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of August, the success in that province has been so important, as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequence; but notwithstanding this fair prospect, we must, at all events, prepare for another campaign.

"I continue to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe; and am using my utmost endeavours to conciliate unhappy differences between two neighbouring powers; and I still hope that all misunderstandings may be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace:

I think, nevertheless, that in the present situation of affairs, it is expedient that we should be in a respectable state of affairs at home.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I will order the estimates of the ensuing year to be laid before you. It is matter of real concern to me, that the important considerations which I have stated to you must necessarily be followed by great expence; I doubt not, however, but that my faithful commons will readily and cheerfully grant me such supplies, as the maintenance of the honour of my crown, the vindication of the just rights of parliament, and the public welfare, shall be found to require.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"In this arduous contest, I can have no other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government than those now revolted provinces; the improvements in every art, of which they boast, declare it: their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the Mother Country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My desire is to restore to them the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

On

On the day that the above bill passed the lords, a motion was made in the house of commons, for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high-treason committed in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy. The bill being admitted, was, after great debates, read the first time; and a motion being made for the second reading, it was carried by a great majority*. At the very next meeting of the members, the bill, notwithstanding it had been petitioned against by the city of London, was read the third time, and, after some few debates, passed the house.

It met with more opposition in the upper than the lower house, till the question was put for reading it the third time, when (among others who objected to it) lord Abingdon rose, and declared himself totally against the bill, as repugnant to the law of nations, and to the dictates of humanity. His lordship particularly dwelt upon the word "suspected," as a term of such latitude, that it was liable to be construed to the most unconstitutional meanings, and the consequences of the bill might prove fatal to the liberties of this country: he therefore could not give his consent to the passing of the bill. Notwithstanding the arguments made use of by this nobleman, which were of the most nervous and forcible nature, on putting the question again for passing it, it was carried without further debate; and on the 3d of March received the royal assent. Among others which received the royal signet at the same time was, the "Bill for enabling the lords of the admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ships of war, or merchant ships belonging to the American colonies, that were then in actual rebellion against Great-Britain."

The next thing that engaged the attention of the commons was, the following message from his majesty, which was read by lord North.

"G. REX.

"It gives his majesty much concern to find himself obliged to acquaint the house of commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reason of debts incurred by the expences of his household, and of the civil government, which being computed on the 5th of January last, do amount to more than six hundred thousand pounds. His majesty relies on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, of which he has received so many signal proofs, for enabling him to discharge this debt;

and that they will at the same time make some further provision for the better support of his majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of his crown.

G. R."

As soon as this message was read, a motion was made for referring it to the committee of supply on that day se'nnight. One member in particular strongly opposed this motion as unusual, if not unprecedented, it having at all times been customary to take royal messages into immediate consideration. This produced a very warm debate, at the close of which, however, the motion was carried. On the day appointed for taking this matter into consideration, the house went into a committee of supply; and, after some debates, came to the following resolutions: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of six hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and forty pounds nine shillings be granted to his majesty to discharge the arrears and debts due, and owing, on account of the civil list on the 5th of January, 1775." "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds *per annum* be granted to his majesty over and above the yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds granted by an act made in the first year of his reign." When these resolutions were reported from the committee of supply to the whole house, the first was agreed to without any opposition; but the second produced debates that continued for several hours, at the close of which, however, it was agreed to by a great majority.

In consequence of these resolutions a bill was immediately framed, which soon passed both houses; and on the 7th of May received the royal assent. This gratuity on the part of the commons to the sovereign was accompanied by an address from the speaker, which seemed very ingeniously adapted to reconcile so extraordinary a measure, at such a crisis, to the minds of the people, under the idea of loyalty; while it recommended a practice of which the political manœuvres of the time could not boast in any eminent degree. Indeed, it appeared to the discerning and impartial, an admirable specimen of state finesse †.

While this bill was in agitation, a motion was made by Sir James Lowther, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, for an augmentation of the annual incomes of their royal highnesses the dukes of

* This bill occasioned great discontents among the people, and during the short time it was in agitation, the following petition against it was presented to the commons from the city of London:

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled,

"Sheweth,

"That your petitioners have seen a bill depending in this honourable house, to empower his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high-treason committed in North-America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy.

"That if the said bill should pass into a law, your petitioners are apprehensive, it will create the greatest uneasiness in the minds of many of his majesty's good subjects, and tend to excite the most alarming disturbances: all persons being indiscriminately liable, upon the ground of suspicion alone, without any oath made, and without convening the parties, or hearing what they can alledge in their own justification, to be committed to a remote prison in any corner of the realm, there to remain without bail or mainprize.

"That your petitioners are deeply affected with what they conceive will be the dangerous consequences of such a law, as from little motives of resentment, and various other inducements, there may be persons competent to commit, who may be tempted to exercise that power in its utmost latitude and extent.

"That measures so violent and unconstitutional, so subversive of the sacred and fundamental rights of the people, and subjecting them to the most cruel oppression and bondage, will, in the judgement of your petitioners, be introductive of every

species of mischief and confusion; and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

"Your petitioners therefore earnestly beseech this honourable house, That the said bill may not pass into a law, or at least to take such care, as in their wisdom may seem meet, to prevent it from its being extended in its operations to any of his majesty's subjects resident in these kingdoms."

This petition, after being read, was ordered to lie on the table.

† The following is a copy of the speaker's address:

"Most gracious sovereign,

"The bill, which it is now my duty to present to your majesty, is entitled, "An act for the better support of his majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown of Great-Britain:" to which your commons humbly beg your royal assent.

"By this bill, Sir, and the respectful circumstances which preceded and accompanied it, your commons have given the fullest and clearest proof of their zeal and affection for your majesty; for in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burthens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons postponed all other business, and, with as much dispatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue; great beyond example; great beyond your majesty's highest expence.

But all this, Sir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally, and feeling what every good subject must feel with the greatest satisfaction, that under the direction of your majesty's wisdom, the affluence and grandeur of the sovereign will reflect dignity and honour upon his people."

Gloucelter

Gloucester and Cumberland." This motion was productive of many warm and learned debates; but at length, on the question being put, it was rejected by a great majority.

No other business of consequence occurred during the remainder of this session. The national affairs being, therefore, finished, on the 6th of June, his majesty went to the house of peers, and after signing such bills as were ready prorogued the parliament.

We must now take a view of our affairs in America, where the war was still prosecuted with the utmost vigour. In the beginning of this year several skirmishes happened in the Jerseys with various success. On the 23d and 24th of March a great quantity of provisions, stores, &c. with barracks and storehouses belonging to the provincials, were destroyed by the king's troops, at Peck's Hill, upon the North River. The cruizers belonging to lord Howe and commodore Hotham's fleet continued to take many prizes. In Connecticut, on the 27th of April, the king's troops destroyed a great quantity of stores at Danbury. General Burgoyne, with the northern army, proceeded to Ticonderago and Fort Independence, which he took possession of on the 6th of July, and found in them great quantities of stores and provisions, besides what he destroyed at Skenesborough. Soon after this he took possession of Fort Edward, which the provincials abandoned, and then proceeded to Saratoga, where they were strongly posted. On the 11th of September the troops under general Howe had an engagement with the provincials on the heights of Brandywine, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, and four hundred provincials were taken prisoners. But though the latter were defeated, and the action at first seemed of an indecisive nature, yet it occasioned Philadelphia to fall into the hands of the British forces. An attack was likewise made by the provincials on Staten Island in the interim; but they were repulsed with great slaughter. And much about the same time general Clinton stormed and took Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery.

The provincials on the 16th of October, under the command of general Gates, having surrounded general Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, the latter thought proper to enter into articles of capitulation; by which himself and his troops, after laying down their arms, were to have a free passage to Great-Britain. Towards the close of the year several forts were taken by the troops and shipping; and many skirmishes happened on the banks of the Delaware, in order to preserve the communication with the army at Philadelphia. The provincials likewise evacuated their entrenchments at Red Bank.

In the course of this year great disturbances happened in the East-Indies, where lord Pigot, governor of Madras, was deposed, put in confinement, and soon after died. His death was imputed to various causes, but as it happened in a region where the most palpable crimes have not only been repeatedly connived at, but rewarded by a venal junto, it is supposed to have escaped that minute investigation which it justly demanded.

The parliament assembled again on the 20th of November, when his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the session with a speech as usual. The house then resolved itself into a committee of supply, when a short state of the navy, both as to the number of ships and men employed, and where stationed, being given, a motion was made, "That it is the resolution of this committee, that sixty thousand seamen be employed for the service of the year 1778." This motion produced very warm debates, at the close of which it was carried without a division. The supplies being granted, and several bills ready, (among which was that for suspending the habeas corpus,) on the 10th of December his majesty went to the house of peers, and

after signing the respective bills, adjourned the parliament.

On the 23d of January, 1778, the parliament re-assembled, which, after the papers on the state of the nation were delivered in, the earl of Abingdon gave notice in the house of lords of an intention to make an interesting motion on some future day. Accordingly on the 4th of February, after the ordinary business of the day was over, his lordship rose to propose his motion, which was, "That this house, taking into consideration the legality of the present mode of benevolences, or of raising forces by subscription, do look upon this practice as contrary to law, and the principles of the constitution." This motion produced considerable debates, which were carried on with great spirit of argument on both sides, but the motion was at length rejected by a considerable majority.

On the 6th of February the house of lords resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the state of the nation, lord Scarfsdale being in the chair. As soon as the committee was formed, the duke of Richmond rose, and observed, that it would be impossible to decide upon the good or bad policy of the war carrying on in America, without an enquiry into the consequences it had been productive of in respect of our trade, commerce, and finances. For this purpose, he had moved for the attendance of several eminent and intelligent merchants, acquainted with the general principles of trade and commerce, and well informed of the points on which they were to be examined. His grace then moved that Mr. Wooldridge, an American merchant, might be called in; which being agreed to, Mr. Wooldridge pointed out, in a number of instances, the great injuries arising from the Americans being prohibited from trading to any part of Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-India islands, and his observations were corroborated by many other gentlemen in the mercantile line.

On the 2d of February a motion was made in the house of commons, that an address should be presented to his majesty, requesting that he would be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before the house the accounts received from the admiral on the Jamaica station, relative to the shipping under his command. The question was carried without a division. Mr. Pulteney then took the chair; having gone into a committee of the whole house to take into consideration the state of the nation, Mr. Charles Fox, on whose motion the committee was formed, opened the debate. He took a retrospective view of the American war; he followed it in all its stages; pointed out the events, as well fortunate as unfortunate, of each year; demonstrated from them the incapacity of administration to conduct the war, their ignorance of men, measures, and the country of America; and all the errors and blunders into which this unpardonable ignorance had hurried them. He pointed out the defenceless state of the British empire in Europe, from the absence of the troops and navy; and concluded his speech with moving, that as it would be impossible to complete the proposed levies time enough to replace the regiments that might in the interim be sent away, the house, considering the state to which such a measure would reduce the nation, would not suffer any troops from Great-Britain, Ireland, Minorca, or Gibraltar, to be sent to America*.

February 4th came on the business of the new levies, which was opposed by some of the minority, but the house having entered into the debate, continued sitting till near twelve o'clock, when the question being put for voting a sum of money to be granted to his majesty for the pay and maintenance of the new corps, it was carried by a great majority.

On the 6th there was a full house to hear Mr. Burke's motion; and the honourable member began with an awful solemnity to prepare their minds, and incline them

* This important resolution was not opposed by arguments, but by votes. The question was called for, and upon a division it was rejected. The numbers for the resolution were one hundred and sixty-five; against it two hundred and fifty-nine.

to adopt his sentiments, and join him in his endeavours to make the house as sensible as he was, of the many barbarities which he said had been committed during the war in America. He described the savage ungovernable rage of the Indians let loose upon the unarmed, the aged, the infant, and the helpless female; he painted them rioting in murder, lust, and rapine; he drew, in the most moving terms, the sufferings of the unhappy victims whom they devoted to death; a death which his pathetic eloquence made wear an aspect horrid almost beyond conception. Raised by his own pictures to a high degree of indignation, he inveighed most bitterly on those who, by ordering a treaty with the barbarians, might be justly deemed the authors of all the calamities which attended the inhuman measure. Administration, and several principal commanders, were placed upon the carpet; and the share they had in the barbarities complained of were held up to view. The whole speech, though it lasted three hours, was no more than a preface to his motion. When he thought he had said sufficient for the purpose, he moved, that copies of the treaties entered into with the Indians should be laid before the house. The motion was warmly opposed by administration, and as vigorously defended by the minority. The arguments of the latter differed but little from those of Mr. Burke; they all shaped theirs after his model; the differences lay only in the colouring and fancy. The opposite side vindicated the Indians from the reflections thrown on them; instances of their humanity, and the strict discipline they were forced to submit to, were adduced, and which being contrary to their way of carrying on the war by surprize and in flying parties, was alledged as the identical cause which made them quit our camps and abandon us. The facts urged as proofs of the untameable and ungovernable rage of the Indians, it was said, were by much exaggerated; they owed a great deal of their horror to the fancy of the orator; and, such as they were, ought to be deemed the acts of a few lawless banditti of their body, who equally disclaimed obedience to our commanders and their own; and therefore not to be attributed to the nation, who, to the knowledge of many members of the house, had often acted with a degree of humanity which might make even Christians blush. The freeing the negroes, by lord Dunmore, was justified on the ground of necessity: it was impossible to raise men otherwise to recover our just rights; every private consideration should give way to promote the public good. The debate was warm, interesting, and lasted near seven hours: the question being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-six.

On the 19th of the same month lord North presented to the house, "A bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners to treat, consent, and agree on the means of quieting the disorders then subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America." As also, "A bill for declaring the intention of the parliament of Great-Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes on the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America," which after several days debate, and some amendments, were carried.

On the 22d of March the French laid an embargo on all shipping belonging to the subjects of his Britannic majesty at that time in their ports, and having previously fitted out a large fleet, it was thought necessary to call out the militia of England, and encamp them, in order to oppose any designed invasion; and on the 27th of March an order was issued for detaining in the ports of England all French ships.

His majesty having taken a resolution to view some of the principal dock-yards, he accordingly repaired to Chatham and Sheerness, and having surveyed every thing worthy of observation at those places, he, together with the queen, &c. visited Portsmouth on the 2d of May, and after reviewing the fleet, returned on the 9th to London. And on the 12th of May the nation sustained a most important loss in the death of the great earl of Chatham, a statesman unrivalled in the annals of history*.

On the 28th of May the royal assent was given to a bill for the relief of the Roman catholics; and about the same time an embargo was laid on all foreign vessels in the ports of England.

His majesty went in state to the house of peers on the 2d of June, when, having given the royal assent to several bills, particularly one for settling an annuity on the descendants of the late earl of Chatham, he prorogued the parliament.

Having succinctly gone through the material facts of the parliament and other domestic occurrences, we must now advert to our warlike affairs. Admiral Keppel having sailed with a fleet, not sufficient in point of force, for the purpose of attacking the French, returned to England for reinforcement, which having obtained, he again put to sea. On the 27th of July, the two grand fleets met, and came to an engagement off Ushant; the issue of which, in consequence of an accusation laid by Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral, against the chief commander, produced great dissensions. The engagement was represented in such a light by Sir Hugh Palliser, as to stigmatize the reputation of the admiral. Mr. Keppel, however, vindicated his character in parliament on the 2d of December, notwithstanding which, Sir Hugh Palliser exhibited his charge against him on the 17th of the same month at the admiralty. The bill for his trial on land received the royal assent on the 24th ensuing; his trial accordingly began on the 1st of February, when he was unanimously acquitted with the greatest honour, and the prosecution pronounced to be malicious†.

During these commotions at home, hostilities were prosecuted with vigour in America. On the 18th of June, general Clinton evacuated Philadelphia. He was attacked on his march by the provincials, whose object appeared to be the gaining possession of the British baggage; but in this they were disappointed, and every where repulsed by means of the judicious manner in which general Clinton had disposed his forces.

In consequence of the bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners to treat of a pacification with America, the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone, went officially to America for the purpose of treating of a pacification with the Americans. But so far from accomplishing the much desired object, the measures pursued tended to widen the unhappy breach. Indeed the bill for declaring the intention of the British parliament of imposing the taxes on the colonies could not possibly fail of producing such effect, as it struck at the original and primary cause of the rupture.

The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken from the French about this time, by admiral Montagu's fleet; to counterbalance which, the island of Dominica was captured by an armament of French and Americans from Martinico.

On the 11th of December, admiral Barrington, who succeeded lord Howe in the command of the British fleet, and a body of forces under general Grant, landed on the island of St. Lucia, one of the Antilles belonging

* To aggrandize his country appears throughout the whole of his political conduct to have been his sole and ultimate view. He was not only eminent for the display of eloquence in the senate, but the formation and execution of plans which at once surprized and terrified the common enemy, and rendered the British arms the dread and admiration of an astonished world.

† On the acquittal of admiral Keppel the most general demonstrations of joy took place, and the greatest illuminations

perhaps ever known ensued in most of the cities, towns, &c. throughout the kingdom. He likewise received the united thanks of the house of lords, house of commons, the lord-mayor and common-council of the city of London, (who presented him with the freedom of the city in a box made of heart of oak, and richly ornamented with gold,) and of many other cities, towns, corporations, &c.

to the French. Count d'Estaing attempted to retake it, but was repulsed with considerable loss both by sea and land.

On the 4th of January, 1779, the provinces of Georgia surrendered to a detachment of British troops, and many inhabitants of that colony and of the Carolinas came in and joined the royalists. On the 3d of March general Prevost surprized and gained a complete victory over the Americans under general Ashe. In the beginning of May Sir Henry Clinton concerted with Sir George Collier, who then commanded the marine at New York, an expedition to the Chesapeake, and a descent upon Virginia, as measures which would contribute to the embarrassment and distress of the enemy, much more than any other that could be undertaken. A sufficient quantity of naval and land forces for the intended purposes were accordingly dispatched from New York, under the conduct of Sir George Collier and major general Mathew. The fleet, having successfully passed between the capes of Virginia, the *Raisonable* man of war, with some armed tenders, were left in Hampton Road to block up that port, and to intercept the navigation of the river James, whilst Sir George Collier, having shifted his pendant to a frigate, proceeded with the smaller ships of war and transports up Elizabeth river. The town of Portsmouth being their immediate object, and the fleet delayed by some circumstances of wind or tide in its passage, the general and troops, impatient of delay, and apprehensive that the enemy might have time either to strengthen their works, or receive succours, were landed at some distance, and marched directly towards the place. The town was open and defenceless, but the passage to it by water was covered by Fort Nelson, which had been constructed at about half a mile distant for that purpose. But the garrison of the fort, knowing that no succour was at hand, and that the fort was incapable of any effectual defence, to avoid being surrounded and made prisoners, abandoned it on the approach of the army, which instantly took possession of that and the town. The town, or remains of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, fell likewise into their hands. Upon the approach of the fleet and army, the enemy burned several of their vessels in these ports, among which were two large French ships laden with a thousand hogheads of tobacco; the celerity of the invaders having, however, checked the destruction pretty early, several others were saved, and accordingly fell into the hands of the victors. In the mean time the British guards, marched eighteen miles by night to the town of Suffolk on the Nansemonde river, and arrived there at day-break. They found the place had been hastily abandoned at their approach; and they immediately proceeded to the destruction of a very large magazine of provisions, together with the vessels and naval stores which they found there. Within a fortnight that the fleet and army continued upon the coast, the loss sustained by the Americans in provisions and stores was prodigious. Above one hundred and thirty ships and vessels of all sorts were destroyed or taken. All those upon the stocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships, that was not portable, was destroyed. When the above circumstances were made known to Sir Henry Clinton by Sir George Collier's letter, the general sent an immediate order for their return; and the fleet and army, with their prizes, arrived safe at New-York before the expiration of the month.

The provincials had, for some time, been engaged, and at great labour and expence, in constructing very strong works at the two important posts of Verplanks Neck and Stoney Fort in the Highlands. All these works were nearly compleated, but not yet defensible, when the general imagined this to be a proper season to avail himself of the industry of the enemy, and to reap

the fruits of their toil. The troops destined for this service, under the command of major-general Vaughan, were only newly embarked, when they were joined by the force returned from Chesapeake, and proceeded all together up the North river, the naval department being under the conduct of Sir George Collier. On the following morning general Vaughan, with the greater part of the army, landed on the east side of the river, about eight miles below Verplanks, whilst the remainder, under the conduct of general Patison, and accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, advancing farther up, landed within three miles of Stoney Point. On the appearance of the ships the enemy abandoned their works, but set fire to a large block-house. Upon the approach of the troops to take possession of Stoney Point, they, however, made some shew of resistance by drawing up on the hills, but did not think proper to dispute the matter. The Americans had finished a small, but strong and complete work on the opposite side of the river, which they called Fort la Fayette. This was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a small garrison of between seventy and eighty men. But this little redoubt, though strong in itself, was effectually commanded by Stoney Point, which lay at the distance of about a thousand yards on the opposite shore, and it being exceedingly difficult of approach from its own side, the attack was accordingly intended from the other. For this purpose general Patison with great fatigue and labour, and the most indefatigable perseverance during the night, overcome the difficulties of dragging the heavy artillery from a very bad landing-place to the top of the hill; and his exertions and arrangements were so effectual and judicious, that by five on the following morning he had opened a battery of cannon, and another of mortars, on the summit of the difficult rocks of Stoney Point, which poured a storm of fire over Fort la Fayette. The attack was supported by Sir George Collier, who advanced with the galleys and gun-boats within reach of the fort. The cannonade was continued on all sides during the day, at the close of which Sir George ordered two of the galleys to pass the fort and anchor above it, in order to prevent the escape of the garrison by water. In the mean time general Vaughan with his division, having made a long circuit through the hills, was at length arrived and had closely invested the fort on the land side. The garrison seeing that all possibility of escape was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered, surrendered their little fortress on the following morning, and themselves prisoners of war, without any other stipulation than that of humane treatment. The general gave immediate directions for finishing and compleating the works of both posts, and for putting Stoney Point in particular in the strongest state of defence*.

The state of the armies in America, on both sides, with respect to actual force, together with the want of money and scarcity of military provisions on one side, necessarily limited the views of the opposite commanders, and prevented their undertaking any decisive or expensive operations. The campaign upon the whole was accordingly languid, and rather confined to the surprising of posts, and to desultory excursions. While the greater part of the British army, however, were engaged in the operations of moving from one island to another, and of establishing different posts, general Lincoln, the American commander, thought proper to attack lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who was strongly posted at the pass of Stoney Ferry. The colonel's force, it is said, amounted only to about eight hundred, while the American force is represented as amounting to five thousand men and eight pieces of cannon. The attack was made and supported with spirit for above an hour, but the assailants were received with such coolness and firmness, and so much galled by the fire of an armed

* By the loss of these posts the enemy in the Jerseys were under a necessity of making a detour of above ninety miles

through the mountains to communicate with the country east of Hudson's river.

flat, which covered the left flank of the port, that they were then obliged to retire with considerable loss. The royalists lost some officers as well as men, and about an hundred of both were wounded. The Americans lost some officers of note, and a considerable number of privates.

The utmost dispatch and success had been used in completing or repairing the works at Stoney Point, and that port was now in a very strong state of defence, with a powerful garrison under the command of lieutenant-colonel Johnson. General Wayne, on the part of the Americans, was appointed to the arduous task of surprizing and reducing Stoney Point, for which he was provided with a strong detachment of the most active infantry in their army. The troops, having set out from Sandy Reach on the 15th of July about noon, after a march of fourteen miles through a rout almost impassable, the van, about eight in the evening, arrived within a mile and a half of their object, where they halted, and the troops were formed into two columns as fast as they came up. While they were in this position, Wayne, with most of his principal officers, went to reconnoitre the works, and to observe the situation of the garrison. It was near midnight before the two columns approached the place; that on the right was led by general Wayne, the van, consisting of one hundred and fifty picked men, led by the most adventurous officers, and commanded by lieutenant-colonel Fleury, advanced to the attack with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets. The column on the left was led also by a chosen van with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, under the command of major Steward. The general issued the most pointed orders to both columns not to fire a shot on any account, but to place their whole reliance on their bayonets. Such was the astonishing resolution of the Americans, that neither the deep morass, nor the strong works, in front and flank could damp the ardour of their troops, who, in the face of a most incessant and tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape shot, forced their way at the point of the bayonets until the van of each column met in the center of the works, where they arrived at nearly the same instant*.

The total number of prisoners amounted to five hundred and forty-three, and the slain of the garrison to sixty-three. The trophies, artillery, and stores were as considerable as could be expected from the nature and extent of the post. But however great the importance and value of Stoney Point might be, general Washington was by no means disposed to hazard a general engagement on its account; he informed congress in his letter, that it had been previously determined in council not to attempt keeping that post, and that nothing more was originally intended than the destruction of the works, and the bringing off the artillery and stores. Sir Henry Clinton regained the post, after it had been three days in the possession of the enemy, and placed in it a strong garrison.

The spirit of the Americans were highly raised on account of their success at Stoney Point; and, thus elated, they undertook another enterprize sufficiently daring in the design, though it failed in the execution. This was an attack on Paulus Hook, which lies almost opposite to the city of New York, on the Jersey side. It seems that the strength of the post had caused such a remissness on the side of the garrison, that the enemy surprized the place at three in the morning, and carried a block-house and two redoubts almost without resistance. In that critical moment, major Sutherland, the commander, threw himself, with forty Hessians, into another redoubt, from which they kept so warm and

incessant a fire, that the Americans deserted their new posts with as much expedition and as little difficulty as they had been attained.

Sir George Collier having sailed from Sandyhook on the 3d of August, arrived in Penobscot Bay on the 14th when he surprized, routed, and destroyed the American fleet. One frigate of twenty guns and another of eighteen were taken. The Warren, a new frigate of thirty-two guns, seven others of smaller force, six armed vessels, and twenty-four transports were sunk or destroyed.

By the sudden and unexpected appearance of the French fleet, on the 14th of September, off Carolina and Georgia, the Experiment man of war of fifty guns, and three royal frigates, being totally unapprehensive of danger, and upon separate services, had the misfortune of falling in with them and thereby adding to their triumph and number. The first under the command of captain Wallace, was on her passage from New York to the Savannah, and although she had been already dismasted in a violent storm, made a gallant and desperate defence against an irresistible superiority of force, in sight of the enemy's fleet.

At this time general Prevost was at the town of Savannah, but the greater part of his force was still on the island of Port Royal in South Carolina, where it had lately taken post. The intercepting of an express to colonel Maitland from the general delayed the previous measures so long, that the enemy had time to seize the principal communications before they could take effect. This rendered the junction of colonel Maitland's corps with the garrison, upon which only any hopes of defending the Savannah could be founded, a matter of doubt, difficulty, and danger. However, the colonel's address, the zeal of his troops, with the distinguished services of lieutenant Goldesborough, of the navy, overcame every obstacle, and surmounted every difficulty.

The whole French force, amounting to above forty sail, anchored off the bar of Tybee, at the mouth of the river Savannah, on the 9th of September. On the 15th, the French, with Polaski's American light horse, appeared so near the British lines, as to skirmish with the piquets. The day following M. d'Estaing, in the haughtiest stile, summoned the general in the name of the French king. Colonel Maitland's division had not yet joined the garrison: it was therefore thought prudent and necessary to gain all the time that was possible, and general Prevost had the address to carry this point. Messages passed backwards and forwards, till at length a truce of twenty-four hours was agreed upon, to afford time for deliberation. During this interval the fortunate arrival of colonel Maitland with the troops presented a new face of affairs, and an answer was returned, that they were unanimously determined to defend themselves to the last man. The French force amounted to three thousand five hundred men, that of the Americans under general Lincoln, to four thousand eight hundred. The spirit, vigour, and exertion of every individual of the garrison merited the highest encomium. Nor were the enemy inactive, for at midnight, between the 3d and 4th of October, they began a heavy bombardment, and at day-light opened a vehement cannonade, which was continued for five days. On the 9th the allies attacked the British lines with their utmost force, and with great fury, at day-break. The grand attack was directed to the right, where d'Estaing in person led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. The attack was made with great spirit, and supported with an extraordinary degree of perseverance and obstinacy; till at length the enemy were broken, routed, and driven, in the greatest dis-

* General Wayne was wounded in the head by a musket-ball, but was gallantly supported by two of his aid-du-camps, Fishbourn and Archer, to whom he acknowledged the utmost gratitude in his public letters. Colonel Fleury, a French officer, was the person who struck the British standard with

his own hand. Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox shewed great courage, one of whom led the avant-guard on the right, as did the other on the left, and both escaped unhurt, although the first lost seventeen men out of twenty in the attack.

order and confusion into a swamp. At ten they requested a truce, with leave to bury their dead, and carry off their wounded; the first was granted, but a restriction laid in point of distance as to the rest. Count Polaski was mortally wounded in this action. Mons. d'Estaing was wounded in two different places. The loss on the side of the British was very small. The French and Americans abandoned their camp on the night of the 17th, and about the 1st of November M. d'Estaing totally abandoned the coast of America.

In the beginning of October captain Farmer, of his majesty's ship *Quebec*, being on a cruise off Ushant, in company with the *Rambler* cutter, came up with, and closely engaged, a large French frigate called the *Survillante*, mounting forty guns; while the *Rambler* was engaged with a French cutter as superior in force as the French frigate was to the *Quebec*. The action on both sides was warm and bloody, from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon, when the French cutter set all the sail she could crowd and bore away, but the *Rambler* being so disabled in her masts and rigging, could not follow her with any hopes of coming up with her. The commander, therefore, seeing both the frigates dismasted, and the *Quebec* take fire, endeavoured to get as near the *Quebec* as possible, in hopes of saving some of her men; but there being very little wind, and a large swell, no other assistance could be afforded than by hoisting out the boat, which picked up one master's mate, two young midshipmen, and fourteen more of the *Quebec*'s people, the enemy's frigate at the same time firing at the boat. The *Quebec* continued burning very fiercely, with her colours flying till six o'clock, when she blew up*.

From various circumstances there is every reason to believe, that the Spanish commanders and governors in the West-Indies, had been acquainted with the intended rupture between Spain and England long before the declaration presented by their minister. Plans were laid, and preparations made, which afforded several advantages on the commencement of hostilities.

In October this year the baymen on the Mosquito, and bay of Honduras shores (as the logwood cutters are called) being in great danger from the Spaniards, the governor of Jamaica had dispatched captain Dalrymple, commandant of a new corps raised in Ireland for the service of that island, with a small force and some arms to their relief. Admiral Sir Peter Parker had also detached a small squadron of three frigates and a schooner, under the conduct of captain Luttrell, as commodore to the bay of Honduras, in order to intercept some Spanish register ships, which, however, escaped into the excellent harbour, and under the protection of the strong fortress of S. Fernando de Omoa, where they were found too well secured for any attack by sea, which their then small squadron was capable of making. In the course of a few days the commodore fell in at sea with

the Porcupine sloop of war, and the detachment of the loyal Irish under convoy. The commanders immediately determined to unite their forces in an attack by sea and land upon Omoa, a bold attempt with their force, but in which success held out a prospect of throwing the galleons, which were still under its shelter, into their hands. The fortress of Omoa, indeed, could not be considered as a fort or castle for the defence of the harbour, the town itself being entirely open. Its batteries shewed above forty pieces of artillery, but it seems to have been deficient in that respect as well as in point of garrison. The land force of the assailants by the junction of the baymen, with the marines, which were allotted by the commodore to that service, somewhat exceeded five hundred men; the defensive force, without including the run-away inhabitants, was not much inferior in number. In advancing to the fort, the English were so much annoyed by the fire from the tower, that they found themselves under a necessity of setting it on fire. The commander of the expedition, considering that a regular siege would by no means answer his design, determined to place his trust in a *coup de main*, and to attempt the place by escalade. Measures being accordingly concerted with the commodore, the *Pomona* frigate was towed in pretty close to the fort during the night, and the heavier ships took their proper stations, so as to be able to commence the attack on their side about three in the morning, giving a signal twenty minutes before, which was to direct that from the land. In the mean time one hundred and fifty men in four columns, in line, and carrying the scaling ladders, were moved down the hill, where they lay waiting for the signal. That being given, they suddenly advanced with trailed arms, under the fire of their own batteries, which with the heavy cannonade from the ships served to deafen as well as to distract the enemy; so that they passed undiscovered by the Spanish sentries to the very entrance of the ditch. On their being discovered the columns seemed for a moment to hesitate, but instantly recovered, and advanced to fix their ladders to the walls. Two seamen having mounted the wall, levelled their muskets, without firing, at a body of above sixty Spaniards, and such was the panic and consternation that prevailed, that they kept them for some moments, in awe, and even motionless, while their friends were ascending the ladders. The garrison notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, fled on all sides. In these circumstances, the governor and principal officers, making no request but for their lives, presented their swords and keys to the commandant, with a surrender of the fort, garrison, and ships. The treasure had been removed from the castle on the approach of the British forces, but that on board the galleons with the cargoes of their vessels in the harbour, and the value of the ships themselves, were estimated at about three millions of piastres, or pieces of eight †.

* Words cannot describe the gallantry and magnanimity displayed by captain Farmer on this occasion, not only in the engagement, but the fatal catastrophe with which it was attended. Having his arm broken towards the close of the engagement, he tied his handkerchief round the shattered part of the bone, and then addressed his men as follows: "My lads, this is warm work, and therefore keep up your fire with double spirit; we will die or conquer." When the ship took fire he used every method to extinguish the flames; and in order that an explosion might be prevented, ordered the pumps to play on the magazine. This order, by the event, appears not to have been properly effected: the captain, however, the lieutenant, and many of the crew imagined it was, and therefore remained to the last moment on board: but the greater part of the men, thinking the water afforded a better chance of safety, jumped into the sea, where numbers perished in sight of those on board the ship. The fire, now raging with more violence, the captain was requested to attempt saving himself; but he refused every solicitation, and, with a magnanimity that will perpetuate his memory, declared he would not quit the ship whilst there remained another man on board. By degrees his brave companions grew less and less, and as he saw inevitable destruction fast approaching, he entreated the remainder to attempt to save their lives by the only effort remaining, namely,

that of jumping into the sea. His lieutenant stood mournfully by him, and exhibited a scene to which neither the pen nor the pencil can do justice. The fate of the gallant captain Farmer will be lamented by every Englishman. In the awful hour of peril, when his fate was inevitable, it is said he sat on the fluke of the sheet anchor, waiting with heroic fortitude, the dreadful explosion, which at last numbered him with departed heroes.

† We must not forget to mention a very singular instance of true courage and magnanimity in a British sailor. He scrambled singly over the wall, and, for the better annoyance of the enemy on all sides, he armed himself with a cutlass in each hand. Thus equipped he fell in with a Spanish officer, just roused from sleep, and who, in the hurry and confusion, had forgotten his sword. This circumstance restrained the fury of the tar, who disdained to attack an unarmed foe, but unwilling to decline any opportunity of displaying his courage in single combat, presented one of the cutlasses to him, saying at the same time, "I scorn any advantage, you are now upon a footing with me." The astonishment of the officer at such an act of generosity, when he expected nothing less than that of being cut instantly, and without pity or mercy, into pieces, could only be equalled by the admiration, which his relating the story excited in his countrymen.

The Spaniards made a successful effort in investing the fortress of S. Fernando de Omoa, on the 25th of November, and the British troops were compelled to evacuate it on the 28th.

On the 16th of February, 1780, admiral Rodney obtained a signal victory over the Spanish fleet commanded by Don Juan Langara, off Cape St. Vincent; by means of which the fortress of Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards, and the people in great distress for want of provisions were happily relieved. The admiral then proceeded on his destined voyage, and soon after his arrival a very smart engagement took place on the 17th of May, between the English fleet commanded by admiral Rodney, and that of the French under M. de Guichen near Martinico. This engagement lasted a considerable time, and in the end proved unfavourable to the French, though no ships were taken on either side.

Charles-Town surrendered on the 11th of May to Sir Henry Clinton; in which several officers, a commodore, several continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, with a great number of American and French seamen were taken; in all upwards of six thousand men in arms, besides several armed ships, and four hundred pieces of cannon.

From the time that admiral Rodney obtained the victory over the Spanish fleet commanded by Don Juan Langara, the Spaniards were very vigilant in their endeavours to cut off all methods of relieving the important fortress of Gibraltar. But the presence of the Panther and Experiment ships of war, together with a royal sloop, which lay in the bay, was a disagreeable sight to the enemy, as they served in some measure to facilitate the introduction of supplies to the town and garrison. A scheme was now entered into by the Spaniards for the destruction of this little squadron, with some ordnance transports that lay under their protection. A dark night, between the 6th and 7th of June, was chosen for the execution of the project. Seven fire-ships were prepared for the purpose; and these were supported by a vast number of row-boats and galleys, filled with men, and with every kind of offensive weapon. At some distance a squadron of ships of war, under Don Barcello, was descried, hovering about the entrance of the bay, with a view to intercept any vessels which might attempt to make their escape. The wind and weather being favourable, together with the extreme darkness of the night, seemed to insure success. The British officers had no idea of their danger, until, about one o'clock in the morning, they were alarmed by the approaching flames of the burning fire-ships. With great presence of mind they ordered all their boats to be instantly manned; and the officers and seamen met, and grappled the fire-ships; which, amidst the bursting of shells, and the horrors of the destructive scene, towed them off, and run them on different parts of the shore. Hardly had they overcome this first set of fire-ships, when two large vessels were observed to be bearing down directly on the Panther: these were received with so fierce a cannonade, that they were soon perceived to be on fire, and were disposed of in a similar manner with the former*. The British lost not a single man in the overthrow of the above project.

About the same time between five and six thousand men under generals Clinton, Knyphausen, Robertson, and Tryon, passed over by night, from Staten Island to Elizabeth Town, in New Jersey, with a view to attack some of Washington's advanced posts; and on the following morning they advanced a few miles to Connecticut Farms, a settlement which had been formed but a few years before by some inhabitants of that province. In their march they were continually fired at by scat-

tering parties of the neighbouring militia. This thriving settlement, together with the town and the presbyterian church, were now destroyed. One circumstance, however, served to make this expedition appear more odious in the eyes of the Americans, than it otherwise could have done. The wife of the clergyman belonging to the presbyterian church was sitting in her house with her children and family, when, either by accident or design, she was shot dead through one of the windows. This served as a new ground of clamour to the Americans, and served not a little to increase that aversion to the British government and name which had already taken too deep a root.

The army now marched towards Springfield, but were annoyed on their march by the militia as before, but with greater effect, because they were continually augmented. On their arrival they found general Maxwell at the head of the Jersey brigade, and reinforced by all the militia which in a few hours could be collected; which occasioned the British army to halt: but the Americans, though inferior in strength, did not permit them by any means to hold the post they had taken without molestation. They kept up a continual fire during the day without coming to close action. The British officers now gave over the design of attacking Springfield, and the army returned to Elizabeth Town in the night. As soon as the day-light appeared the Americans pursued them to that place; but being too confident of success, they boldly made an attack on the 22d regiment, which had been posted at a small distance in the front of the line. That regiment being ordered to fall back on their approach, was pursued with great rapidity by the enemy, who considered it as the rear-guard of a retreating army, whose van, they supposed, was then passing over to Staten Island. The reception they met, and the appearances they discovered, soon convinced them of their mistake, and they retired with the utmost precipitation. On the 23d of the same month the British forces left Elizabeth Town, and marched again towards Springfield, which place, after some opposition, they obtained possession of; but from some cause, with which we are not acquainted, it experienced the same fate with the Connecticut Farms: the whole village excepting four houses was reduced to ashes.

On the 16th of August a signal victory was obtained over the American army under general Gates, by the British forces under lord Cornwallis. The loss of the Americans was about nine hundred slain, among whom was brigadier-general Gregory, and about one thousand were taken prisoners. Soon after this action lieutenant-colonel Tarleton defeated general Sumpter's army, which was greatly superior to his own, taking two pieces of cannon, and about three hundred prisoners.

In November general Arnold, one of the chief commanders of the American forces, quitted that service, and joined the British standard; and major André, a young English officer, concerted a plan for surprizing the American army. This scheme, however, failed, and André being apprehended as a spy, his case was referred to a board of general officers, held by an order of general Washington. When asked by the board whether he confessed several particulars that were alleged against him, he replied in the most open and ingenuous manner, acknowledging, that the motive which actuated him was, the service of his king, and declaring, that with respect to the disguise he assumed in name and habit, he was involuntarily an impostor. After his examination he was remanded into custody. Divers letters passed on the occasion between the commanders in chief of the respective armies and those of inferior rank, but without effect as to the unfortunate prisoner, who

* By the remains of one of those vessels, she appeared to have been about the size of a fifty gun ship; and from the unconfused materials and combustibles found in that and others,

it was evident that much labour and expence were bestowed upon their equipment.

was executed in pursuance of the sentence of the board, and fell a victim to his zealous attachment to the cause he espoused *.

In October this year, Mr. Henry Laurens, president of the American council, was taken by one of the king's frigates in his passage for Holland, where he was commissioned to conclude a treaty of peace with the Dutch. Being brought to London, and an accusation laid against him for treasonable practices, he was, with John Trumbull, Esq. another of the American partizans, committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he remained for a considerable time, and was then discharged †.

On the 10th of the same month a most dreadful hurricane happened in the West-Indies, which did considerable damage to most of the islands in that part of the world, particularly Barbadoes, Jamaica, St. Christopher's, Martinico, St. Vincent's, and Granada. The hurricane began at Barbadoes in the morning of the above day, and continued, with very little intermission, about eight and forty hours. In the afternoon of the first day, the ships were driven from their anchors, and obliged to encounter all the horrors of the most outrageous sea that the oldest seaman had ever beheld. In the course of the night, Bridge Town, the capital of the island, was nearly levelled with the ground. The history of the government house, will give some idea of the fate of the other buildings in that town, and of the state of their inhabitants. That building, which, from its unusual strength, seemed calculated to brave all the outrages of seasons, was nearly of a circular form, and its wall above three feet in thickness. No means were neglected, betimes in the evening, to barricade the doors and windows in such a manner, as should render them proof to all outward violence. But before ten o'clock, the irresistible force of the tempest burst its way through different parts of the house; and having in some time carried off the roof, and the ruins tumbling on all sides, the governor's family were obliged to fly for refuge to the souterrains; but they were soon driven from that asylum by the bursting in of the water, which, through the continued torrents of rain that fell, threatened nothing less than a deluge. Nothing now remained, but an endeavour to gain the fields, an attempt, than which nothing could appear more dreadful or dangerous. They gained, however, some temporary shelter, amongst the ruins of the platform, on which the flag-staff had been erected. But these, however massy, became so obedient to the increased vio-

lence and astonishing force of the wind, as to threaten instant destruction to the distressed fugitives, who were again compelled to encounter all the open horrors of the tempest. The governor, and such others as had strength and recollection enough to keep together, after being frequently blown down, and rolled about in the mire and wet, at length gained a battery, and took shelter under the gun carriages; where they sat in continual apprehension of being crushed to pieces, so terribly were the cannon moved by the storm.

The other houses of the town being much earlier destroyed, the surviving inhabitants were exposed to the miseries of a longer night of continued danger and horror. Numbers were buried in their houses; and the dreadful uproar of the tempest, was intermixed with the groans of the dying, the cries of those who were incapable of dragging their mangled and wounded bodies from the ruins, and the screams of women and children, whose fate seemed only to be deferred for greater horrors, whilst they were lamenting, or calling for help to their lost friends. When day-light appeared such a scene of desolation was presented to view as has seldom been equalled. That beautiful island, so lately glowing in the richest bloom and verdure of continual spring, now presented the image of those dreary polar regions, whose wastes are buried in eternal winter. The smaller towns experienced a similar ruin with the capital. It was said, that not one house or building in the island, however strong or sheltered, was exempt from damage; but that, in general, they were levelled to the ground, the plantations destroyed, and the produce of the earth so totally torn up and dispersed, as not to leave a trace behind. To increase the calamity, most of the living stock of the island, particularly of the horned kind, perished. And reputable and opulent families were, in common with the most indigent, exposed to the still unexhausted fury of the tempest, without food, raiment, or cover. The loss of human lives was great, even among the Whites; but including the Blacks, amounted to some thousands. But the numbers could not be accurately estimated. The islands of St. Lucia, Granada, and St. Vincent, were likewise laid nearly desolate. In the first, all the huts and barracks for the troops, as well as the other buildings of the island, were blown down. At Granada, the devastation was proportioned to the superior cultivation and improvement of that island; and of St. Vincent's, it was said, that not a house was left standing. Dominique, likewise suffered greatly ‡.

The

* His name is perpetuated by a monument erected to his memory, by order of his majesty, in Westminster-Abbey.

† During Mr. Laurens's confinement in the Tower, he made the following petition to the house of commons:

"To the Right Hon. CHARLES WOLFRAN CORNWALL, Speaker, and the Hon. the House of Commons.

"The representation and prayer of Henry Laurens, a native of South Carolina, sometime recognized by the British commissioners in America by the style of His Excellency Henry Laurens, president of congress, now a close prisoner in the Tower of London;

"Most respectfully sheweth, that your representor for many years, at the peril of his life and fortune, evidently laboured to preserve and strengthen the ancient friendship between Great-Britain and the colonies; and that in no instance he ever excited on either side the dissensions which separated them.

"That the commencement of the present war was a subject of great grief to him, inasmuch as he foresaw and foretold, in letters now extant, the distresses which both countries experience at this day.

"That in the rise and progress of the war, he extended every act of kindness, in his power, to persons called Loyalists and Quietists, as well as to British prisoners of war; very ample proofs of which he can produce.

"That he was captured on the American coast, full landed upon American ground, where he saw exchanges of British and American prisoners in a course of negotiation; and that such exchanges and enlargements upon parole are mutually and daily practised in America.

"That he was committed to the Tower on the 6th of October, 1780, being then dangerously ill; that in the mean time he has, in many respects, particularly by being deprived (with very little exception) of the visits and consultations of his children and other relations and friends, suffered under a degree of rigour almost, if not altogether, unexampled in modern British history.

"That from long confinement, and the want of proper exercise, and other obvious causes, his bodily health is greatly impaired, and that he is now in a languishing state: and,

"Therefore your representor humbly prays your honours will condescend to take his case into consideration; and, under proper conditions and restrictions, grant him enlargement, or such other relief, as to the wisdom and benignity of your honours shall seem fitting.

HENRY LAURENS."

Tower of London,

Dec. 1. 1781.

The above petition was presented to the house in the form in which it came out of Mr. Laurens's own hand, it being written by him with a leaden pencil.

‡ During this calamitous hurricane, the ships of war were driven from their moorings, and were either destroyed or greatly damaged. Among them the Montague returned into port without mast or bowsprit standing, and eight feet water in her hold; the Ajax, greatly damaged; the Beaver's prize, of eighteen guns, was wrecked on the back of the island of St. Lucia, and all the officers and crew, except seventeen men, perished. The preservation of the Amazon, after being over-set in the utmost violence of the hurricane, seems so little short of being miraculous, that, at a greater distance of time, it would

The hurricane in the British island of Jamaica was, different in many respects from that which raged on the others. It was earlier in point of time by a week, than that at Barbadoes; and was more complex, being accompanied by an earthquake, and a most extraordinary swell of the sea, which rendered it still more terrible, as well as fatal. But its effects were happily more confined; and it seems to have been only the tip of its eastern wing, which swept the western point of that island. The two large districts of Westmoreland and Hanover, which includes the whole breadth of Jamaica in its western extreme, were the principal victims of its rage; although their nearest eastern neighbours, in the parishes of St. James and Elizabeth, felt no small share of its fury. Whilst the unhappy inhabitants of Savanna la Mar, then a considerable trading town on the south side of the island, in Westmoreland parish, were gazing on the 3d of the month with astonishment, at such a swell of the sea, and agitation of its waves, as had never been before beheld; on a sudden, at once, bursting through all bounds, and surmounting all obstacles, it overwhelmed the town; and swept every thing away so completely upon its retreat, as not to leave the smallest vestige of man, beast, or habitation behind. About three hundred persons of all colours, perished in this dreadful irruption. The sea flowed up half a mile beyond its usual fixed limits; and so sudden and unavoidable was the destruction, although it took place at noon-day, that of the inhabitants of one gentleman's house, consisted of ten Whites, and about forty negroes, not a soul of either sort escaped. This was only the prelude to more extensive calamity. Where the sea could not reach, the destruction was nearly as effectually carried on by the succeeding earthquake and hurricane. Between both, scarcely a house or building of any sort was left standing in the two first parishes above-mentioned, any more than in a considerable part of the two others; particularly that of St. James, which stood in the next degree of suffering. A great number of the white inhabitants, and of necessity, a much greater of the negroes, perished during the course of the hurricane. The provisions were entirely destroyed; and the live stock escaped little better. But the calamity was not confined to the fruits of the earth, nor to its immediate inhabitants. The rich and cultivated soil, was in many places covered with heaps of sterile matter, which could not be removed by any profitable labour, and which it was not in the power of culture to reclaim. Thus a people, who had generally been in a state of high affluence, were in an instant reduced to the extreme of want and misery*.

Civil and intestine tumults prevailed about the middle of this year in London in a most remarkable manner. A bill which passed in the last session of parliament for a relaxation of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, had excited the jealousy and indignation of the more zealous, but less moderate, of the protestants. These

were headed by lord George Gordon, who pledged himself to bring in a bill for the repeal of that noxious act. As his lordship did not succeed, the multitude proceeded to acts of riot, rapine, and depredation, pulling down and setting fire to all the Romish chapels, a great number of houses, and several prisons, among which were Newgate, the King's-Bench, and the Fleet. All business for a time, subsided, and nothing but inebriation and anarchy prevailed among the outrageous multitude. At last, through the exertion of the military power, many of these deluded people were unfortunately marked as victims and killed on the spot, others were taken, brought to trial, and, being found guilty in consequence of the evidence produced, received sentence of death. Nineteen were executed in London and Middlesex; and six in Southwark.

On Friday in the week wherein these disturbances happened, lord George Gordon, who was considered as the instigator of them, was taken into custody, and, after a long examination before the privy-council, committed to the Tower. On the 5th of February following he was tried at the court of King's-Bench, Westminster, for high-treason and levying war, insurrection, and rebellion, against the king, by assembling a great number of armed persons on the 2d of June in the preceding year, and disturbing the peace, &c. The trial lasted from half past eight on Monday morning, till five o'clock the next morning, when the jury declared his lordship not guilty.

The close of this year may be remarked as memorable for the declaration of hostilities by Great-Britain against Holland. Circumstances of irritation, and jealousy, were continually accumulating on both sides, until the capture of Henry Laurens, before noticed, brought things to their ultimate point of decision. Sir Joseph Yorke immediately pressed the business in strong memorials to the states-general, and after stating the clandestine correspondence which, it now appeared from Mr. Laurens's papers, the states of Amsterdam had long carried on with the Americans, and the instructions and powers which they had given, for entering into a treaty with them, although they were the natural subjects of a sovereign to whom the republic was joined by the strictest ties of friendship, he then demanded, in the name of the king his master, not only a formal disavowal of so irregular a conduct, but also insisted on speedy satisfaction, adequate to the offences, and the punishment of the pensionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violaters of the rights of nations. An immediate answer not being given, the British ambassador continued to press the matter closely in several conferences, and, at length, in a second memorial. The states-general then informed Sir Joseph Yorke, by a message, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the respective provinces, according to the received order and constitution of government; and that they would endeavour to

would have been deemed incredible. The *Andromeda* and *Laurel*, of twenty-eight guns each, were not so fortunate; they were both lost on the coast of Martinique, none of the officers, and very few of the crews being saved. The *Deal Castle*, of twenty-four guns, suffered the same fate; and the *Egmont*, of seventy-four, arrived at Jamaica, without a mast, and in all other respects little better than a wreck. The squadron under admiral Rodney, which convoyed the Jamaica trade on its way to Europe, experienced no less calamity, and sustained still greater loss. Of this squadron, the admiral, with five more, returned to Jamaica, mostly disabled, and all disabled. The *Berwick*, being separated, and disabled, found it less dangerous to proceed alone to England, than to return. But the *Stirling Castle*, of sixty-four guns, was totally lost on the coast of Hispaniola, and only about fifty of the crew saved. The solitary fate of the *Thunderer*, of seventy-four guns, under commodore Boyle Walsingham, was still more calamitous; she being completely swallowed up in this conflict of the elements, that no memorial or particulars of her catastrophe has ever come to light. The *Phoenix*, of forty-four guns, Sir Hyde Parker, was wrecked on the island of Cuba; but the officers, and most of her crew, were happily saved. The

Barbadoes and Victor sloops of war, with the *Cameleon*, Scarborough, and *La Blanche* frigates, became likewise, upon different service, and with a partial or total loss of men and officers, victims to the fury of the storm.

* The damage in the parish of Westmoreland only, was estimated at nine hundred and fifty thousand pounds, Jamaica currency, amounting to near seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. In that of Hanover, one fourth of the absolute property was said to be lost for ever. The damage in the other two parishes was very considerable. The merchants of Kingston, the metropolis of the island, generously subscribed ten thousand pounds for the immediate relief of the unfortunate sufferers; the value of which was speedily transmitted to them, in those articles of clothing and provision which were most urgently necessary. But the bounty of the crown and parliament of Great-Britain, will afford a lasting testimonial of the beneficence, liberality, and grandeur of this country. Notwithstanding the expensive war in which it was engaged, the house of commons instantly granted eighty thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers in Barbadoes, and forty thousand pounds for those in Jamaica. The generous benefactions of individuals likewise kept pace with the public munificence.

frame an answer to it, as soon as the nature of their government would admit. This not being at all deemed satisfactory by the court of London, Sir Joseph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; and that step being followed, hostilities against Holland were declared on the 20th of December*.

On the same day that the declaration of hostilities was made against Holland, general letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Dutch, and their ships in the different ports were ordered to be stopped. The appearances of vigour and spirit generally gratify the multitude, who are not much disposed to look forward to consequences, and are seldom displeased at any increase in the clattering of those arms from which they think themselves secure. Others looked forward to the expected spoils of a Dutch war; and a third sort, though of a very different cast from the two former, thought the war a right measure, upon the supposition, that Holland could do us less prejudice in an open contest, than as a secret enemy. Many, however, regretted the war, not only as it added a new enemy to the tremendous combination already formed against us, but from a persuasion of the natural connection and mutual interests of both nations. Hostilities were soon commenced. The Princess Carolina, a Dutch man of war of fifty-four guns and three hundred men, on her way through the Channel from Amsterdam to Lisbon, was taken, after a short resistance, by the Bellona man of war. And in a few days after, captain Elphinston, in the Warwick, of fifty guns, with a crew young in service, (mostly pressed men, or landmen,) and greatly reduced in number by the manning of several Dutch merchantmen, fell in with the Rotterdam, of equal metal and three hundred men, which he most gallantly attacked and took. A large Dutch East-Indiaman, outward-bound, with a number of other merchant ships, were taken within a few days.

On the 6th of January, 1781, about two o'clock in the morning, the French made a descent on the island of Jersey, but in attempting to land four of their transport vessels were wrecked upon the rocks, and upwards of two hundred men perished. Those, however, who did land, made their way into the most interior part of the island, where they met with a warm repulse from the garrison, great numbers of them being killed, many taken prisoners, and the rest obliged to seek their safety in a precipitate retreat.

In the beginning of February, admiral Rodney, commander of the British fleet in the West-Indies, in con-

junction with general Vaughan, commander of the land forces, appeared before the island of St. Eustatius, which belonged to the Dutch. They sent a peremptory summons to the governor, to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a declaration or threat, that if any resistance was made, he must abide by the consequences. Mr. de Graaf, the governor, totally ignorant of the rupture between England and Holland, could scarcely at first believe the officer who delivered the summons to be serious. He, however, returned for answer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it; only recommending the town and its inhabitants to the clemency of British commanders. The wealth found in the place was so prodigious, as to excite the astonishment even of the conquerors, notwithstanding their intimate previous knowledge of its nature and circumstances. The whole island seemed to be only one vast magazine. All the storehouses were not only filled with various commodities, but the beach was covered with hogsheds of sugar and tobacco. The value of the merchandize was estimated, by a loose, but supposed moderate calculation, as being considerably above three millions sterling. But this was only a part. The capture of shipping was immense. Above two hundred and fifty vessels of various denominations, and many of them richly laden, were taken in the bay; exclusive of a Dutch frigate, of thirty-eight guns, and five smaller ones. The neighbouring small islands of St. Martin and Saba, were reduced in the same manner, and admiral Rodney having information, that a fleet of about thirty large ships, richly laden with sugar, and other West-India commodities, had, just before his arrival, sailed from Eustatius for Holland, under convoy of a flag ship of sixty guns, he immediately dispatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy; and the Dutch admiral refusing to strike his colours, (for he had refrained, as he saw he could not support it, from hoisting his flag, upon a principle of naval if not national honour,) and all remonstrances proving ineffectual to subdue his obstinacy, a short engagement took place between him, in the Mars, and captain Reynolds in the Monarch; in which the former died bravely in defence of his ship. The Mars then immediately struck; and the Panther and Sybil having in the mean time restrained the flight and separation of the merchantmen, the whole of the convoy was then captured. The keep-

* In that declaration the states-general are charged with departing, through the prevalence of a faction devoted to France, from those wise principles which used to govern the republic, and following the dictates of that court, with having adopted a policy destructive of the friendship which had so long subsisted between the two nations, and which was so essential to the interests of both. The circumstances of complaint and resentment are then enumerated. The inattention to the friendly negotiations proposed by the British ambassador. Their not fulfilling the mutual and perpetual defensive engagements solemnly established between both nations, and not even giving an answer to the repeated demands on that subject. The total contempt of those treaties shewn, in their ready promise to our enemies of observing a neutrality. Their giving every secret assistance to the enemy, whilst they withheld from us the succours which they were bound to furnish. And their taking off the inland duties, for the sole purpose of facilitating the carriage of naval stores to France. The protection afforded to the American pirate, Paul Jones, and the privateers of our enemies in general; and the endeavours of their subjects, in concert with the French, to raise up enemies to England in the East-Indies. But the principal force and acumen of the manifesto, seemed to be directed against the city and magistracy of Amsterdam, and against their pensionary Van Berkel, on account of the lately discovered treaty with the Americans; the resentment being only secondary to the states-general, for their not immediately punishing that violation of public faith, and national insult to Great-Britain. All the foregoing causes of complaint, so inconsistent with all good faith, and so repugnant, as it was said, to the sense of the wisest part of the

Dutch nation, are accordingly ascribed to the prevalence of the leading magistrates of that city; and it is wished, from a regard to the Dutch nation at large, that it were possible to direct those measures of public resentment and justice which were now to be pursued, wholly against Amsterdam; but this, it is observed, cannot be, unless the states-general will immediately declare, that that city shall, upon this occasion, receive no assistance from them, but be left to abide the consequences of its aggression. In the midst, however, of all the anger attending a rupture with old friends, a door for future accommodation is opened towards the end of the manifesto. After observing, that whilst Amsterdam is suffered to prevail in the general councils, and is backed by the strength of the state, it is impossible to resist the aggression of so considerable a part, without contending with the whole; it is then added, "But we are too sensible of the common interests of both countries not to remember, in the midst of such a contest, that the only point to be aimed at by us, is to raise a disposition in the councils of the republic, to return to their ancient union, by giving us that satisfaction for the past, and security for the future, which we shall be as ready to receive as they can be to offer, and to the attainment of which we shall direct all our operations. We mean only to provide for our own security, by defeating the dangerous designs that have been formed against us. We shall ever be disposed to return to friendship with the states-general, when they sincerely revert to that system which the wisdom of their ancestors formed, and which has now been subverted by a powerful faction, conspiring with France against the true interests of the republic, no less than against those of Great-Britain."

ing up of Dutch colours in the nominal fort at St. Eustatius, rendered it for some time a decoy to French, Dutch, and American vessels; a considerable number of which fell accordingly into the hands of the conquerors.

A squadron of privateers, mostly belonging to Bristol, as soon as they heard of the rupture with Holland, entered the rivers of Demerary and Issequibo, which were deemed highly dangerous, if not utterly unnavigable to strangers, and with no small degree of courage, brought out, from under the guns of the Dutch forts and batteries, almost all the vessels of any value in either river*. The governors and principal inhabitants of the settlements of Demerary and Issequibo, being sensible of their defenceless situation, and being terrified at the apprehension of falling a prey to adventurers, who are as seldom considered as being strict observers, as of being proper judges, of the laws and customs of nations, had already made a tender of their submission to the governor of Barbadoes; requiring no other terms but a participation of those which had been granted to St. Eustatius and its dependencies. As both parties were equally ignorant of these terms, the newly proposed subjects were necessarily referred to the commanders in chief; who alone could tell the nature of conditions which had never been specified. A deputation was accordingly sent by the Dutch colonists to St. Eustatius for that purpose. There they found that they had made a very improvident demand, as in effect, the terms which they required were, that they might be despoiled of all their goods, and be banished from their habitations. For this was the general treatment of the greater part of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. But the odium which this rigorous proceeding began already to excite, the embarrassments which it created, and the impossibility of applying it, though nominally required, to a people who had voluntarily put themselves under the British dominion, obtained another sort of treatment for the inhabitants of these colonies. They were fully secured in their property; were allowed to be governed by their own laws and magistrates; and had every other indulgence granted, which could have been reasonably or fairly expected. At the same time that their unfortunate fellows in St. Eustatius were obliged to undergo the opprobrium, of having the atrocious crimes of perfidiousness and perjury publicly charged and recorded against them in the gazettes; and were accordingly

treated, as men unworthy of any degree of protection or security, much less of indulgence or favour. The British merchants in the West-Indies, as well as at home, having been great sufferers by the indiscriminate confiscation of all private property which took place at St. Eustatius, and the former, who from their vicinity were more fully acquainted with the transactions at that place, being likewise greatly irritated at the supposed injustice and oppression, and the certain ruin, which individuals of their own country, as well as their friends and correspondents of others, had suffered, all these matters at first drew out strong representations to the commanders in chief, and were at length productive of numberless law suits. The merchants of the island of St. Christopher's, who had suffered greatly by the confiscation of property at St. Eustatius, and even the legislature of that island, presented several strong remonstrances to the commander in chief, in which they stated, that their connections with that island, and the property they had lodged in it, were all in pursuance to, and under the sanction of, repeated acts of the British parliament; and that their commerce had been entirely founded upon the fair principles of merchandize, and conducted according to the rules and maxims adopted by all trading nations. These remonstrances produced as little effect, as the laconic answers, which were not always obtained without difficulty by the committees who were deputed upon the business, afforded of satisfaction. At length, a note was given in writing, the strength of which lay in the following words, *viz.* that the island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and, as Dutch it should be treated. It must be painful to treat of a business which drew upon the English the odium of all Europe. Suffice it to say, that all the horrors of so universal a havock of property, which might be expected, were fully realized. The beginning of this storm fell chiefly upon the Jews, who were numerous and weakly in the island. Several of these, with many indignities, were torn from their habitations, and banished, without knowing the place of their destination; and were, in that state of nakedness and wretchedness, transported, as outlaws, and landed on the island of St. Christopher's. The assembly of that island, to their great honour, passed an immediate act for their present relief, and future provision, until they should have time to recover from their calamitous situation†. The Jews were soon followed

* These settlements of Demerary and Issequibo, as well as the neighbouring one of Berbices, appertain to the Dutch colony, which is known by the general name of Surinam, and which forms a moderate part of that vast country on the continent of South America, anciently called Guiana; for ever rendered memorable by the unhappy fate of Sir Walter Raleigh. The principal settlements, properly called Surinam, and which takes its name like the rest, from the great river on which it is situated, was first cultivated, but not in any great degree, by the English; and being taken by the Dutch in the wars with Charles II. was ceded to them by a peace, as some sort of compensation for their valuable colony of New York.

† We must not, on this occasion, pass by the elegant and pathetic petition of the Jews of St. Eustatius to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan. As no abridgement can do this petition justice, we shall present it to our readers in its original form.

"To their Excellencies, the Commanding Officers in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Army and Navy in the West-Indies.

"May it please your Excellencies,

"To permit us in the name and on the behalf of ourselves, and others of the people of the Hebrew nation, residents in the island of St. Eustatius, humbly to approach your excellencies, and with heartfelt anguish, to lay our grievances before you, and say: that it was with the utmost concern and astonishment, we have already, not only received your excellencies' afflicting order and sentence, to give up the keys of our stores with an inventory thereof, and of our household plate and furniture, and to hold ourselves in readiness to depart this island, ignorant of our destination, and leaving our beloved wives and helpless children behind us, and our property and effects liable to seizure and confiscation: but also find, that these orders are for the

major part carried into execution, a number of our brethren having, on Tuesday the thirteenth instant been sent on board a ship, and have not since been heard of. Such unexpected orders as these from British commanders, whose principal characteristic is "mercy and humanity," have not only been productive of the most horrid and melancholy scenes of distress and confusion, that ever British eyes beheld under the fatal consequences of a rigid war, but numbers of families are now helpless, disconsolate, and in an absolute state of indigence and despair.

"Unconscious of deserving so severe a treatment, we flatter ourselves that your excellencies will be pleased to hear this our humble petition, and not involve in one complicated scene of distress and misery, our helpless women and innocent babes; confidently relying upon, and earnestly hoping, that through your excellencies' justice and humanity we shall not supplicate in vain.

"It is the peculiar happiness of those who live under a British constitution, to be indulged with their own sentiments in matters of religion, when these principles of religion are not incompatible with, or subversive of, the constitution in church or state; and it is the peculiar happiness of the Hebrew nation to say, that their religion teaches peace and obedience to the government under which they live: and when civil dissensions have threatened to subvert the constitution, the Hebrew nation have ever preserved a peaceful demeanor, with true loyalty to the king, and a firm and steady attachment to the laws and constitution.

"For what reason, or from what motive we are to be banished this island, we are at a loss to account.—If any among us have committed a crime for which they are punishable, we humbly beg those crimes may be pointed out, and that such persons may be purged from among us. But if nothing

followed by the Americans, some, at least, of whom had been obliged to fly their native country, through the part which they had taken in support of the British cause and government. These unhappy people were sent to St. Christopher's in much the same plight and condition with the former; and were received and entertained with the same humanity and liberality by the people and legislature of that island. The French merchants and traders were next banished; and, at length, the native Dutch, or at least the Amsterdammers, met with the same fate. In the mean time, public sales were advertised, invitation given, and protection afforded, to purchasers of all nations and sorts; and the island of St. Eustatius became one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe. Never was a better market for buyers. The goods were sold for a trifling proportion of their value; and it is said, that the French agents made the greatest and the most lucrative purchases.

Notwithstanding the British forces seemed to obtain a superiority in America, there was no probability of putting a period to that destructive war. The colonists were rather animated than deterred by the slaughter which overspread their country, so that no effort was exerted against them without considerable loss. In March general Greene's army at Guildford was defeated, but not till after a very sharp engagement, in which several English officers of rank, and a great number of privates, were killed and wounded.

The affairs of the English in the East-Indies bore a very unfavourable aspect at this time. Dispatches arrived from Madras with intelligence that Hyder Ally had obtained a complete victory over a detachment of British troops commanded by colonel Baillie, which being unsupported by the main army under general Sir Hector Monro, was obliged to retreat, leaving behind him his heavy cannon, camp equipage, and baggage. The conqueror pushing his successes, afterwards took Arcot, and several other places, and, it was then thought, would have made himself master of Madras; but by the prudent management of general Coote, and the intrepidity of the English forces under his command, he was not only disappointed in this, but likewise defeated in several engagements, and most of the places he had taken were recovered by the British troops.

On the 16th of April commodore Johnstone's fleet, with several India ships under convoy, was attacked by the French fleet under M. de Suffren off the island of St. Jago, which was attended with great loss and damage on both sides. Some of the India ships were taken by the French, but as they were not able to retain the whole, several escaped, and, re-joining the English fleet, arrived at their several ports in Britain.

The British troops having for some time had possession of Camden, lord Rawdon, with colonel Weston's detachment being near it, and closely pursued by the American general Greene, after the battle of Guildford, set fire to that beautiful town, and reduced it to ashes, after which he retired for safety to within a small distance of Charles-Town.

About this time an engagement took place between admiral Arbuthnot, commander of an English fleet in America, and a small squadron of the French. The

battle was very severe for some time, and great damage was done on both sides, but at length a prodigious mist arising, the two fleets lost sight of each other, and consequently separated, nor did the French afterwards appear to renew the engagement.

On the 28th of April a smart engagement took place in the West-Indies, between the British fleet under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, bart. and a squadron of French ships under the command of M. de Grasse. The action was continued for some time with great obstinacy, till at length night separated them, and the French fleet bore away. On the 30th they again met and renewed the engagement, which at length terminated without any material conquest, though the ships on both sides received considerable damage; many were killed, and great numbers wounded.

On the 2d of June the island of Tobago in the West-Indies was taken from the English by a body of land forces, commanded by the French governor of St. Vincent's under cover of a large fleet of ships of war commanded by M. de Grasse.

In July the attention of the public was engaged in the fate of M. de la Motte, a Frenchman who had been arrested as a spy, committed to the Tower for high-treason, and being tried and found guilty, was on the 27th of the same month executed at Tyburn, pursuant to his sentence.

In August advices were received that Pensacola, the capital of West-Florida, had been besieged by the Spaniards, and that the garrison had surrendered at discretion; by which the whole province became a conquest to the arms of Spain.

In the beginning of June, admiral Hyde Parker sailed from Portsmouth with four ships of the line, and one of fifty guns, for the North Sea. In the mean time, Holland strained every nerve for the equipment of such a force, as might be able to convoy their outward-bound trade to the Baltic, and to protect it on its return, if not to intercept ours, and to become entirely masters of the North Seas. It was not, however, until some days after the middle of July, that admiral Zoutman, and commodore Kindtbergen, sailed from the Texel, with a great convoy under their protection. Their force consisted of eight ships of the line, from fifty-four to seventy-four guns, of ten frigates, and five sloops. Several of the frigates were very large, and carried an unusual weight of metal. The *Argo*, carried forty-four guns, and five more carried thirty-six each. They were joined by the *Charles-Town*, an American frigate of an extraordinary construction, she being as long and large as a ship of the line, with several hundred men on board, and thirty-six forty-two pounders upon one deck; a weight of metal, in such a compass and situation, which, it was thought, few single ships could long withstand. She took this opportunity of sailing with the Dutch fleet, in order to go north about, on her way home. Admiral Parker was on his return with a great convoy from Ellineur. He had been joined by several frigates since he left Portsmouth, and by the *Dolphin*, of forty-four guns; and, in this most critical and dangerous conjuncture, was reinforced by the junction of commodore Keith Stuart, in the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, who had been some time on the coast

can be alledged against us but the religion of our forefathers, we hope that will not be considered a crime; or that a religion, which preaches peace, and recommends obedience to government, should point out its sectaries as objects of your excellencies' rigour, and merit exclusion from a British island by the express orders of British commanders. A moment's reflection must discountenance the idea, and leave us in perfect confidence of your excellencies' favourable answer.

"Permit us then to assure your excellencies, that we ever have, and still are willing, to give every conscientious testimony of obedience to government; and those of us in particular, who claim to be natural-born subjects of Great-Britain, most humbly entreat your excellencies to order us before you, or before such person or persons as your excellencies shall

please to appoint, there to prove our loyalty and fidelity, and to repeat and take our oaths of allegiance.

"May the God of all mercies incline your hearts to listen to the prayers and supplications of your petitioners, and in this confidence, we humbly submit ourselves to your excellencies' determination, hoping that you will pardon us for the intrusion of this address; and that through your excellencies' lenity and humanity, your excellencies will be pleased to grant us such favourable terms, as you in your judgement and wisdom shall think most advantageous to his majesty's interest, and the honour and glory of his successful arms.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c."

Saint Eustatius, Feb. 16, 1781.

of Scotland. The squadron now consisted of six ships of the line, of which the Princess Amelia carried eighty guns, the Fortitude (which was the admiral's own ship,) and the Berwick of seventy-four each, the Bienfaisant sixty-four, the old Buffalo sixty, and the Preston fifty guns; but the superiority of the enemy, obliged the admiral to take the Dolphin, of forty-four guns, into his line*. The hostile fleets came in sight of each other on the Dogger-Bank, early in the morning of the 5th of August. Though one of the Dutch line-of-battle ships had, through some accident, returned to port, yet, as the Argo of forty-four guns was substituted in her place, their line still consisted of eight two-decked ships. The Dutch were by no means disposed to shun the conflict; they drew up with great coolness in order of battle, and waited the shock with the utmost composure. This action, though upon a small scale, was conducted and fought in such a manner, that it recalls fresh to the mind those dreadful sea-fights between England and Holland which the last century witnessed; and which seem to indicate, that those nations contend with the greatest animosity, whose interest it is not to contend at all.

The parties were equally determined to fight it out to the last, a gloomy silence, expressive of the most fixed determination, prevailed; and not a single gun was fired, until the hostile fleets were within little more than pistol-shot distance. Admiral Parker in the Fortitude, then ranging a-breast of Mr. Zoutman's ship, the admiral Ruyter, the action was commenced with the utmost fury on both sides. The cannonade continued without intermission for three hours and forty minutes; when the ships were so ruined on both sides, that they were incapable of answering so much command, as would keep them within the distance necessary for mutual annoyance; while the combatants were unwillingly separated by the mere action of the water. The English ships were chiefly wounded in their masts and rigging, but those of the enemy were principally hurt in their hulls, inasmuch that it was with the utmost difficulty they were kept above water, until they reached, separately, and in the utmost distress, such of their own nearest ports as they could first fetch †.

A smart engagement took place near Sandy Hook in North-America on the 31st of August, between the English fleet under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, and the French fleet commanded by M. de Barras. The engagement continued from four o'clock in the afternoon till sun-set, during which time the ships belonging to both nations received great damage, but no complete victory obtained by either. The Terrible was so damaged, that it was thought necessary to destroy her, which was accordingly done, after taking out the water, provisions, and other useful articles. Sir Samuel Hood was desirous of renewing the engagement the following morning, but was prevented by the French sheltering themselves in Chesapeak Bay.

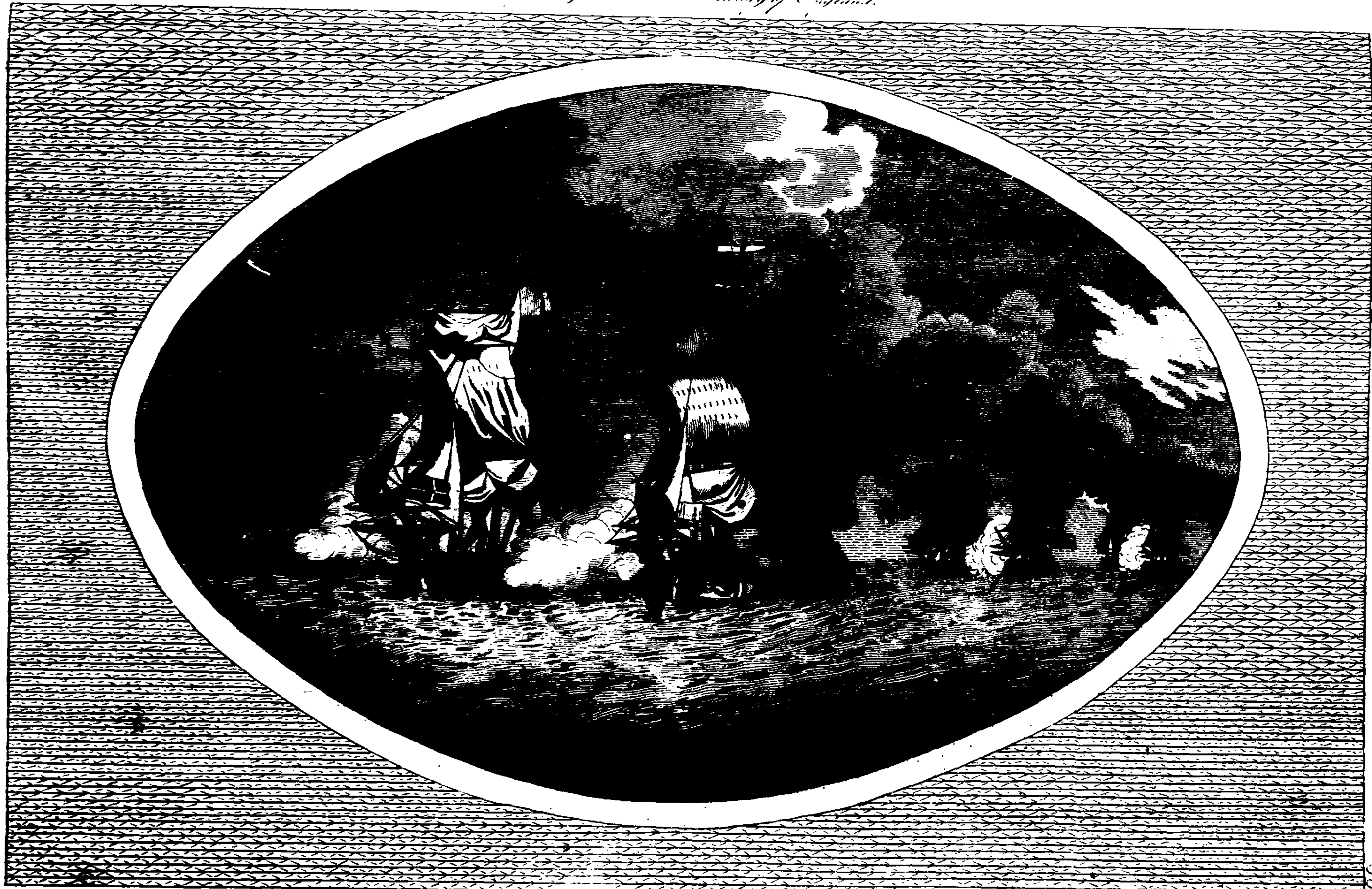
In September brigadier-general Arnold, with a considerable body of transports, and a detachment of troops, proceeded to New London, to which he laid siege, and, after some resistance, made himself master of the place, with very inconsiderable loss. Several of the American ships were destroyed, and a great part of the town of New London reduced to ashes. This victory was succeeded by a very material overthrow of the English. Colonel Tarleton was defeated at Gloucester by the Sieur de Choisy; after which the allied armies of France and America marched against the British forces commanded by lord Cornwallis. The trenches were

opened in two attacks, above and below York River, in the night between the 6th and 7th of October; their attacks were covered with little less than an hundred pieces of ordnance. The new loose works would have been little capable of withstanding such a weight of fire, if they had even been completed; but they were so far from that state, that the British troops were not less employed in their construction under the fire of the enemy, than they were in their defence. In a few days, most of their guns were accordingly silenced, their defences in many places ruined, and the enemy's shells reached even the ships in the harbour, where the Charon, of forty-four guns, with some of the transports, were burnt. The British fleet, on its return to New-York, was joined by the Prudent man of war, with several frigates from the West-Indies; and in a few days after its arrival, was farther reinforced by rear-admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from England; but the junction of the Rhode Island squadron, had given so decided a superiority to M. de Grasse, that nothing less than the most desperate circumstances, or that almost irresistible motive which actually subsisted, could have justified any attempt towards another encounter. The desire of extricating lord Cornwallis and his army, however, prevailed over all considerations of danger and loss, and the British naval commanders used all possible expedition in re-fitting and equipping the fleet at New-York. This, however, though unavoidably necessary, took up more time than could have been afforded at this juncture. The delay seemed indeed to be in some degree compensated, by the arrival of the Prince William and Torbay men of war from Jamaica. In the meantime a council of war, composed of all the flag and general officers, being held, it was determined that every possible exertion should be used both by the fleet and army, to form a junction with the squadron and army in Virginia. It was, however, the 19th of October, before the fleet could get clear over the bar; Sir Henry Clinton, with above seven thousand of his best forces, having embarked on board the ships of war. The fleet now amounted to twenty-five ships of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates; and notwithstanding the great superiority of force which the enemy still retained, the spirit which operated both upon the common men and officers was so high, that whatever doubts might be formed with respect to the final point of success, none could be entertained, but that the expected naval action would stand foremost, among the most obstinate and the most bloody, that had yet been known. During these transactions on the side of New-York, the united armies which were employed in the siege of York-Town, sensible of the efforts that would be made for its relief, and unwilling to stake all their hopes on the issue of a naval engagement, used the utmost exertions in the prosecution of their works, and shewed no less resolution in their attacks, than vivacity in the fire of their batteries. On the night of the 11th of October, they began their second parallel within three hundred yards of the works of the place, being within about half the distance of the first, and carried it on with unremitting industry. Two redoubts, which were advanced about three hundred yards on the British left, had greatly incommoded the enemy, and still continued to impede their progress. It was determined to attack these at the same time, at dark, on the evening of the 14th. To balance the honour, as well as the duty, between both nations, the attack on one was committed to the Americans, and on the other to the French. Colonel Hamikon, Washington's aid-du-camp, com-

* Of this force, the two twenty-fours were by much the best ships. The Princess Amelia, though a three-decker, was so very old and weak, that her metal had been reduced to the rate of a fifty-gun ship, her lower-deck guns being only twenty-four pounders; and the Buffalo, besides being old, was of so bad a construction, that she had for some years before been discharged from the service, and employed as a store-ship in America.

† The Hollandia, of sixty-eight guns, and one of their best ships, sunk in the night of the engagement; and the danger was so sudden and extreme, that the crew were reduced to the melancholy necessity of abandoning their wounded in quitting the ship. Her topmasts, though she was sunk in twenty-two fathoms, being still above water, and her pendant flying, she was discovered in the morning by one of the English frigates, who struck, and brought off her colours as a trophy.

Engraved for Ashurst's History of England.



The Action off the Dogger-Bank, between the English & Dutch Fleets, commanded by Admiral Parker, & Ad. Goutman.

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manded the American detachment; which marched to the assault with unloaded arms; passed the abbatis and palisades without waiting to remove them; and attacking the works on all sides at once, carried the redoubt with the utmost rapidity. The French were equally successful on their side, but their loss was more considerable; amounting, by their own acknowledgement, to about an hundred in killed and wounded. The taking of these two redoubts may be said to decide the fate of the army. Lord Cornwallis, in a letter which he wrote on the following day to Sir Henry Clinton, considers their situation as being so desperate, that he could not recommend to the fleet and army to run any great risque in endeavouring to save them. Indeed nothing could be more hopeless; for as he says himself in the same letter, they dared not to shew a gun to the enemy's old batteries, and they expected that their new ones would be opened on the following morning. The British commander, however, left nothing untried which could prevent that final issue, which was not more dreaded than expected. Being sensible that his works could not stand many hours after the opening of the batteries of the second parallel, he did every thing that was possible to interrupt that work, opening new embrasures for guns, and keeping up a constant fire with all his howitzers and small mortars. At length the works were so ruined, and the batteries so overpowered, that there was no part of the whole front attacked, in which the besieged could shew a single gun; and their shells, which were the last source of defence, were nearly expended. In these unfortunate circumstances, lord Cornwallis had no other choice left but to prepare for a surrender on the following day, or to endeavour to escape with the greatest part of the troops. He, however, determined upon attempting the latter, under the consideration, that though it should prove unsuccessful in its immediate object, it might at least delay the enemy in the prosecution of farther enterprizes. The adverse current of fortune gave a contrary effect to a design well calculated to delay the fate of lord Cornwallis's army. Boats were prepared, under other pretexts, to be in readiness for receiving the troops at ten at night, in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point. The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy; and the intention was, to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind, in order to capitulate for the town's people, and for the sick and wounded; lord Cornwallis having already prepared a letter upon the subject, which was to be delivered to general Washington upon his departure. The first embarkation, consisting of the light infantry, the guards, and a part of the 23d regiment, had arrived at Gloucester Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when, at that critical moment of hope, apprehension, and danger, fortune proved adverse, and the weather, which was then moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats, with the remaining troops, were all driven down the river, and the design of passing was not only entirely frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring back the troops from Gloucester. Thus weakened and divided, the army was involved in the most imminent danger. The enemy's batteries were again opened at day-break; and the passage at Gloucester Point was now much exposed to their fire. But the boats happily returned; and the troops were brought back without much loss in the course of the afternoon. Lord Cornwallis, perceiving the dreadful situation of his army, wrote a letter to general Washington on the 17th, proposing a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed on both sides for settling the terms of capitulation. The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the 19th of October. The troops, with the same honours which had been granted to the garrison of Charles-Town, were of necessity obliged to become prisoners of war. They were composed of British and German

regiments, the light infantry, detachments from the guards, and Tarleton's cavalry. They amounted to between five and six thousand men; but such was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only three thousand eight hundred of all sorts, capable of bearing arms, in both posts, on the day of surrender. Fifteen hundred seamen underwent the fate of the garrison. The officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects; but all property taken in the country, if visible, was liable to be reclaimed. The Guadaloupe frigate, of twenty-four guns, with a number of transports, were surrendered to the conquerors; and about twenty transports burnt during the siege. They obtained a numerous artillery of various sorts, but not of weight sufficient for their late purpose of defence in a siege.

Towards the close of this year the affairs of the English in the East-Indies bore a very favourable aspect. In December Sir Eyre Coote engaged the army of Hyder Ally between Porto Novo and Moteapollam with great success. The battle lasted eight hours, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, till at length the forces under Sir Eyre Coote, though greatly inferior in number, became victors, and the enemy precipitately retreating, left them masters of the field, the loss of the Indian army was four thousand killed, among whom were many of their principal officers.

In November the Spaniards made a very forcible attack on Gibraltar, but from the intrepidity of the troops under the command of general Elliot, the governor, the enemy were repulsed. The battle began at three o'clock in the morning of the 27th. The pioneers and artillery made wonderful exertions, and spread their fire with such amazing rapidity, that in half an hour two mortar batteries of ten inch mortars, and three batteries of six guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, traverses, &c. were in flames, and reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms destroyed. Their magazines blew up one after the other as the fire approached them. Finding all opposition to be ineffectual, the enemy offered no farther annoyance than an ill-directed fire of round and grape shot from the forts of St. Barbara and St. Philip, and the batteries on the lines, and remained in their camp spectators of the conflagration. Great numbers of the enemy were destroyed, but owing to the darkness of the morning, and other circumstances, the exact number could not be ascertained. The loss on the part of the English was very inconsiderable.

About the same time St. Eustatius, together with the island of St. Martin, was captured by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouille. They were taken by surprize on the 26th of November, and by a mere handful of the enemy, the number not exceeding three hundred, who landed from three frigates, and some small craft, at Jenkin's Bay, on the back of the island. They possessed themselves of the place without the least opposition from the garrisons, though that of St. Eustatius consisted of seven hundred and twenty-three, and that of St. Martin's of sixty-three effective men, including officers. Lieutenant-colonel Cockburne, of the 35th regiment, who commanded at St. Eustatius when it was taken by the French, declared that, besides the money deposited in that place by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, there was a sum of two hundred and sixty-four thousand livres, which was his property, and which he therefore demanded. The marquis de Bouille having assembled the superior officers of his corps, to inform them of the demand made by lieutenant-colonel Cockburne, they were all of opinion, that the English governor's money should be restored to him, which was accordingly done. The marquis de Bouille found in the governor's house the sum of a million, which he restored to the Dutch, after receiving authentic proof that it was their property. He likewise found about one million six hundred thousand livres in colony money belonging to admiral Rodney,

general Vaughan, and other officers, arising from the sale of their captures, which he divided between his land and sea forces.

The war in America had been prosecuted with so little success, and at such an immense expence of blood and treasure, as to raise the indignation of great numbers of people in Great-Britain. Many respectable members of both houses pointed out the glaring and atrocious cruelty of maintaining so fruitless as well as injurious a contest, and inferred from thence the expediency of putting a stop to any farther prosecution of an offensive war. Among these the right honourable Henry Seymour Conway greatly distinguished himself. On the 27th of February he made the following motion in the house of commons: "That the farther prosecution of an offensive war on the continent of America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies: that it greatly tends to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great-Britain and America, and by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his majesty, to restore the blessings of public tranquillity." This motion, after some debates, was carried; upon which general Conway moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty thereupon." This was carried without a division, and an address was accordingly presented, to which his majesty was pleased to give a most gracious answer.

In February, 1782, the conjunctive forces of France and Spain laid siege to Minorca. The earnestness of the court of Spain to gain possession of this island was so excessive, that the court seems to have departed, in some degree, from that dignity of character which should ever be inseparably united with royalty, by an insidious endeavour, through the medium of an immense bribe, to corrupt the fidelity of the governor. Nor did the duke de Crillon seem entirely to pay a proper attention to his own rank and reputation, nor to preserve a due recollection of the honour and distinction entailed upon his family, by the peculiar virtue of an illustrious ancestor, when he descended to become the instrument in such a business. General Murray treated the insult with a mixture of that haughty disdain, incident to the consciousness of an illustrious ancestry, and with the generous indignation and stern resentment of a veteran soldier, who feels himself wounded in the tenderest part, by an insidious attempt upon, and consequently suspicion of that honour, which he had set up as the great object and idol of his life. The fortress had been closely invested, and its communications with the country entirely cut off, from the immediate landing of the enemy, which took place about the middle of August, in the preceding year. By this means the garrison were deprived of all supplies of vegetables; and that want alone, has not often produced more unfortunate effects. In all other respects they were admirably provided; for the stores and magazines were amply furnished with every kind of excellent salted provisions; with good bread, peas, rice, wine, and other suitable necessaries, as well for the sick as for those who were in health; but the want of vegetables was sufficient to destroy all the benefits that were reasonably to be hoped from the general plenty in other respects, and to produce a distemper that seemed little to be apprehended in that climate and soil. The scurvy raged among the troops in such a degree, as has not often been exceeded in the most foggy and humid northern climates, and even under the worst circumstances of water and provisions; while this inveterate enemy was aided in its course, as usual by its destructive concomitants, a putrid pestilential fever, and a mortal dysentery. It is however to be observed, that other causes concurred to the ill effects produced by the immediate want of vegetables. By far the greater part of the British troops had been eleven years on the island, and the soldiers had lived constantly upon salted meats, during the whole of that time. So long a course of liv-

ing upon salt provisions, although the baneful effects were greatly qualified by the liberal use of those sanative vegetables, of which the island produces such an exuberance, could not but induce a general scorbutic taint among the troops, and pre-dispose, even the best constitutions, to the reception of that fatal disorder, whenever they were deprived of the corrective to such an unwholesome diet. Its progress was likewise furthered by the close confinement of the troops within the narrow limits of the fortress; and still more by the tainted air of the casemates and souterrains, which the intolerable cannonade and bombardment of the enemy rendered their only habitations, and which necessarily became every day more infectious by occupancy. The combined forces amounted to sixteen thousand regular troops; and they brought a prodigious artillery, consisting of one hundred and nine pieces of the heaviest cannon, and thirty-six great mortars, to act upon the place. The garrison consisted only of two thousand six hundred and ninety-two men of all sorts: of these, two thousand and sixteen were English and Hanoverian regular troops; including, however, in this number, four hundred invalids, who had been sent thither from England so long before as the year 1775. A marine corps, who had been formed on the present occasion, and who preserving their health much better than the regular troops, were of excellent service in the siege, composed the greater part of the remainder. A handful of Greeks and Corlicans likewise behaved with great bravery. The fortress was, in some respects, exceedingly strong; the ditch, and all the subterraneous defences, being cut out of the living rock; the great arches which covered the casemates were bomb-proof; and the defences every where undermined. But the upper-works by no means corresponded in strength with the under. The knowledge of this weakness probably led the duke de Crillon to lie more unguardedly in his head-quarters at Cape Mola than he might perhaps otherwise have done: while the observation of this negligence induced a vigorous and successful sally from the garrison, who surprizing and routing the enemy, chased the duke from his post, and secured themselves, for the present so effectually in it, that though he brought up his whole army to dislodge them, he after much hesitation, at length desisted from the attack. The successful party returned safe to the garrison on the following night, bringing with them about an hundred prisoners, among whom were a lieutenant-colonel, three captains, and four or five subaltern officers. This happened pretty early in November; about which time the enemy having opened their bomb batteries, a shell from the castle fell upon a powder magazine, which by its explosion destroyed one of them entirely; a number of men were blown up, and a large quantity of loaded shells either spent their force in the air, or burst more destructively among the troops. The artillery of the fortress was likewise so well served, as soon after to sink a ship in the harbour, which was newly come in, loaded with ammunition and stores for the supply of the enemy's batteries. But these could in no degree counterbalance the increasing ravages of those diseases which prevailed in the garrison. Nor could the differences that unfortunately took place between the governor and lieutenant-governor, tend in any degree to the removal of difficulty. Though the enemy kept a most serious distance in the construction and progress of their works, yet their artillery were so weighty and incessant in their battery, and such showers of great shells were continually poured into the place, that they soon produced an extraordinary effect in ruining the upper defences of the fortress, and dismounted or rendered useless a greater number of cannon than had been known in any similar circumstances. Nothing ever exceeded the zeal, valour, and constancy displayed by the garrison. The behaviour of the private men, (who were the marked victims to the reigning distemper,) through the course and particularly towards the close of this siege, was indeed beyond example. Numbers of soldiers died on guard, whole

generous

generous eagerness to defend the place, made them conceal their illness to the last, in order to prevent their being sent away to the hospitals from a service which held so firm a possession of their hearts. Such nobleness of mind and conduct deserved a better fortune. The garrison were at length become so much reduced by sickness, that there were only six hundred and sixty men left who were in any degree fit for duty at the beginning of February, 1782; and of these, all but one hundred were so far tainted with the scurvy, that the physicians and surgeons declared, they could hold out only a very few days, before they must of necessity be sent to the hospital; and as a corroboration of this opinion, no less than one hundred and six had been sent thither in the three preceding days. They likewise declared, that a few days longer obstinacy in defence, must prove the inevitable destruction of the remains of that brave garrison; as there was no possible remedy for the sick, nor means even of keeping the greater part of them much longer alive, but by a speedy relief of wholesome air, aided by an abundant supply of vegetables. The necessary guards, on the last night of defence, required four hundred and fifteen men upon duty, so that there were only two hundred and forty-five left, which was one hundred and seventy less than the necessary number, for the next relief, and no picket could at all be formed. Under all these circumstances, the governor found himself reduced to the necessity of a capitulation, on the 5th of the month, by which he obtained all the honours of war, and every thing else he required, excepting that article only, of freeing the garrison from the condition of prisoners of war, which the duke de Crillon assured him, his master, the Spanish king, had particularly tied him down in his instructions from granting; the troops were, however, to be transmitted to England, but subject to the customary conditions, until they were either exchanged, or discharged by a peace. The Corsicans and other foreigners were restrained in their persons, effects, and in the liberty of going where they pleased; and four natives of the island, who were all that had abided the fortune of the garrison, in the possession of their property, and of their rights as citizens*. Such was the fate of the island of Minorca, near fourscore years after its reduction by English arms and valour to the dominion of this country; and after being long considered as one of the splendid jewels of the British crown, as well as an illustrious monument of our national power and renown.

About the same time the islands of St. Christopher and Nevis were captured by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouille. Major-general Shirley, governor of the place, held out, with the most distinguished resolution, for a considerable time; but, at length, finding the enemy too powerful, was obliged to submit to their superiority of strength; and, after a siege of more than five weeks, compelled to surrender to the French arms upon terms of capitulation.

In April the squadron under vice-admiral Barrington fell in with a number of transports belonging to the French, under the protection of three men of war and two frigates. Captain Jervais of the *Poudroyant* came up with, and engaged, the French commodore's ship *Le Pegase*, of seventy-four guns, and, after a close engagement of more than an hour, obliged her to surrender. In the mean time the rest of the fleet were diligent in pursuing the transports, which made all the haste they could to secure themselves in Brest water; but in

this, however, they were disappointed, and thirteen out of eighteen were captured. Some of them were full of troops, and the rest laden with stores, ordnance, &c. the whole being destined for the relief of the French settlements in the East-Indies.

During these transactions abroad, some very material revolutions took place at home. Great disputes arose in the British senate relative to the suppression, or rather prosecution of the war in America. The majority were for the former, but were strongly opposed by ministry, and great debates took place on the occasion. At last, after several resolutions passed, Sir John Rous made a motion, which comprized the whole, adding these words: "Therefore this house can no longer repose confidence in those who have the management of public affairs." In consequence of this lord North, on his next appearance in the house, declared he was no longer minister. The rest of the ministry soon after followed his example, and his majesty was pleased to appoint a new administration in their stead, which was composed of such characters as appeared to give satisfaction to all parties.

The British fleet in the West-Indies was now very formidable, amounting to thirty-six ships of the line; and the French fleet under M. de Grasse was nearly of equal force. The French fleet seems to have been rather over-manned, (though if it be an error, it is a general and national one,) and besides a full complement of seamen, had near six thousand land forces on board. The *Ville de Paris*, of one hundred and ten guns, De Grasse's own ship, had not less than one thousand three hundred men, including soldiers, on board; and the French seventy-fours carried nine hundred men each. The van of the English was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, the center by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by admiral Price. The three divisions of the French fleet were commanded by the count de Grasse, M. de Vauvrevil, and M. de Berrainville. The French fleet began to sail out of the harbour at Port Royal, by the break of day on the 8th of April, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward, and intended to fall down to the French or Spanish ports in Hispaniola. M. de Grasse had every reason to wish to avoid an encounter on the present occasion; but the movements of the French ships, and their departure from that bay, were so speedily communicated by signals from the frigates upon the watch, and the English fleet were in such excellent preparation, that the whole were clear of Gros-Islet-Bay by noon, and pursued them with the utmost expedition, so that the French gained only a few hours, by being masters of the time of departure. This unequalled diligence, and the general ardour, which it might be said added wings to the fleet, brought them within sight of the enemy, under Dominique, on that very night; and they afterwards regulated the pursuit by their signals. So sudden a pressure could not have been expected by M. de Grasse. He, however, like a prepared and accomplished commander, immediately suited himself to the emergency, and though fighting was by no means his object, he formed the line of battle to windward betimes in the morning, thereby affording an opportunity to his convoy to proceed on their course, whilst he stood to abide the consequences. On the other side, Sir George Rodney had thrown out signals soon after five in the morning to prepare for battle, to form the line at two cables length distance asunder, and for the ships to fill and stand on. But the

* So tragical a spectacle has not often been beheld, as the poor remains of the garrison exhibited, in their march through the Spanish and French armies, which were drawn up in opposite lines for their passage. Six hundred old, emaciated, worn down, and decrepid soldiers, were followed by one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery, and by two hundred seamen, about twenty Corsicans, and a somewhat greater number of Greeks, Moors, and Turks, closed the procession. The scene became still more melancholy and interesting, when the battalions arrived at the place appointed for laying down their

arms; the soldiers exclaiming, with tears in their eyes, that "they surrendered them to God alone;" and at the same time seeming to derive great consolation from the opinion, that the victors could not boast of their conquest in taking an hospital. This circumstance, of the indignation and grief expressed by the British troops on laying down their arms, was mentioned in terms of admiration, and of the highest honour to the garrison, in the Spanish accounts which were published on this transaction.

English fleet lay becalmed for a considerable time under the highlands of Dominique, while the enemy, who were farther advanced towards Guadaloupe, had wind enough to enable them to make the movements we have stated. The breeze at length reached the van of the English fleet, and they began to close with the French center, whilst their own center and rear were still becalmed. The action, however, commenced about nine o'clock on the 9th of April. The attack was led by the Royal Oak, captain Burnet, and seconded by the Alfred and the Montague, with the most impetuous bravery. The whole division were in a few minutes closely engaged, and for more than an hour were exceedingly pressed by the great superiority of the enemy. The Barfleur, Sir Samuel Hood's own ship, had at one time seven, and generally three ships firing upon her; and none of the division escaped the encounter of a very disproportionate force. At length, and by degrees, the leading ships of the center were enabled to come up to the assistance of the van. These were soon followed by Sir George Rodney in the Formidable, with his two seconds, the Namur and Duke, all of ninety guns; who made and supported a most tremendous fire. The gallantry of a French captain of a seventy-four gun ship in the rear, who, opposite to Prince Rupert's Bay, having backed his main-top-sail, steadily received and bravely returned the fire of these three great ships in succession, without in the least flinching from his station, excited the highest applause and admiration of his enemies. The coming up of the admiral, with a part of the center division, rendered the fight less unequal; and M. de Grasse, notwithstanding his still great superiority, finding that his purpose had failed while the van was engaged singly, determined, by changing the nature of the action, to prevent its now becoming decisive. The command of the wind, and the connected state of his fleet, enabled him to execute this design, and to keep such a cautious distance during the remainder of the engagement, as was evidently intended to disable our ships as much as could be done, without any considerable hazard on his own side. This sort of firing, which was extremely well supported on both sides, and produced as much effect as the distance would admit, was continued for an hour and three quarters longer; during all which time, the rest of the fleet was held back by the calms and baffling winds under Dominique. About twelve o'clock the remaining ships of the center came up, and the rear was closing the line; upon which M. de Grasse withdrew his fleet from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the English commanders for its renewal. Captain Bayne of the Alfred gallantly fell in this action. The fleet lay to, on the night of the 9th, to repair their damages; and the following day was principally spent in refitting, in keeping the wind, and in transposing the rear and the van, the former of which not having been in the late action, was necessarily fitter for the active service of that division. Both fleets kept turning up to windward, in the channel which separates the islands of Dominique and Guadaloupe. It was constantly in the power of the enemy to come to action whenever they pleased, as they were always to windward; while it was impossible for the English admiral to force them, entangled as his fleet was between those islands, and a little cluster of small ones, called The Saints, with the wind against him. On the 11th the enemy had got so far to windward as to weather Guadaloupe, and had gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be descried from the mast heads of our center. At length two of the French ships, which had received great damage in the late action, were perceived, about noon, to fall off considerably from the rest of the fleet to leeward. This welcome sight, immediately pro-

duced signals for a general chase from the British admiral, and again renewed, throughout the fleet, the hope of coming up with the enemy. The pursuit was so vigorous, that the Agamemnon, and some others of the headmost of the British line, were coming up so fast with these ships, that they would have been assuredly cut off before evening, if their signals for assistance, and evident danger, had not induced M. de Grasse to bear down with his whole fleet to their assistance. This spirited movement brought things precisely to that situation, which our commanders had so ardently fought, and so little expected. It was now impossible for the enemy to avoid fighting; but the evening being too far advanced, that final decision was postponed to the morning. The pursuing ships fell back into their stations, a close line was immediately formed, and a most masterly disposition of the British fleet exhibited; while such manœuvres were practised in the night, as were necessary, at least, to preserve things in their present state, and might possibly produce casual advantage. The scene of action may be considered as a moderate large basin of water, lying between the islands of Dominique, Guadaloupe, The Saints, and Marigalante; and bounded both to windward and leeward by very dangerous shores. The hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks. The battle commenced about seven o'clock in the morning of the 12th, and was continued with unremitting fury until near the same hour in the evening. Admiral Drake, whose division led to action, gained the greatest applause and the highest honour, by the gallantry with which he received, and the effect with which he returned, the fire of the whole French line. His leading ship the Marlborough, captain Penny, was peculiarly distinguished. She received and returned, at the nearest distances, the first fire of twenty-three French ships of war; and had the fortune only to have three men killed, and sixteen wounded. The signal for close fighting had from the first been thrown out, and was, without a single exception, punctually observed. The line was formed at only a cable length's distance. Our ships, as they came up, ranged slowly and closely along the enemy's line, and close under their lee, where they gave and received a most tremendous fire. They were so near, that every shot took place; and the French ships being so full of men, the carnage in them was prodigious*. About noon Sir George Rodney, in the Formidable, with his seconds the Namur and Duke, and immediately supported by the Canada, bore directly, with full sail, athwart the enemy's line, and successfully broke through it, about three ships short of the center, where M. de Grasse commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being followed and supported by the ships a-stern of his division, he wore round upon his heel, and completing the separation of their line, threw them into inextricable confusion. This bold push decided the fortune of the day. The French, however, continued still to fight with the utmost bravery, and the battle lasted till sun-set; which, in those latitudes, is almost immediately succeeded by darkness.

The broken state of the French fleet, necessarily exposed, in some instances, a few ships to the attack of a greater number; and the extent of the action, with the darkness and uncertainty occasioned by the smoke, afforded even opportunities, which might have been less expected, for single combat. The Canada of seventy-four guns, captain Cornwallis, took the French Hector of the same force, single hand. Captain Inglefield, in the Centaur of seventy-four guns, came up from the rear, to the attack of the César, of seventy-four likewise. Both ships were yet fresh and unhurt, and a most gallant action took place; but though the French captain had evidently much the worst of the combat, he still

* We may form some opinion of the havoc that was made, from the Formidable, Sir George Rodney's ship, firing near fourscore broadsides; and we may well believe that she was not singular. The French stood and returned this dreadful

fire with the utmost gallantry; and both sides fought, as if the fate and the honour of their respective countries were staked upon the issue of that single day.

disdained to yield. Three other ships came up successively, and he bore to be torn almost to pieces by their fire. His courage was inflexible; he is said to have nailed his colours to the mast, and his death only could put an end to the contest. When she struck, her mast went overboard, and she had not a foot of canvas without a shot-hole. The *Glorieux* likewise fought nobly; and did not strike, until her masts, bow-sprit, and ensign, were shot away. The English *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, near Plymouth, was now retaken, either by the *Belliqueux*, or the *Bedford*. The *Diadem*, a French seventy-four gun ship, went down by a single broadside, in an exertion to save her admiral. M. de Grasse was nobly supported even after the line was broken, and until the disorder and confusion became irremediable towards evening, by the ships that were near him. His two seconds the *Languedoc* and *Couronne*, were particularly distinguished; and the former narrowly escaped being taken, in her last efforts to extricate the admiral. The *Ville de Paris*, after being already much battered, was closely laid along side by the *Canada*; and in a desperate action of near two hours, was reduced almost to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was so intent in his design upon the French admiral, that without taking possession of the *Hector*, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he pushed on to the *Ville de Paris*. It seemed as if M. de Grasse was determined to sink, rather than strike to any thing under a flag; but he likewise undoubtedly considered the fatal effects which the striking of his flag might produce on the fleet. Other ships came up in the heel of the action with the *Canada*; but he still held out. At length Sir Samuel Hood came up in the *Barfleur*, almost at sunset, and poured in a most tremendous and destructive fire, which is said to have killed sixty men; but M. de Grasse, wishing to signalize, as much as possible, the loss of so fine and so favourite a ship, endured the repetitions of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then struck his flag to the *Barfleur*, and surrendered himself to Sir Samuel Hood. Upon the whole the sea has not exhibited a more noble naval and military contest; and if we were disposed to adopt the sounding language sometimes used on the continent, it might be said, without much extravagance of hyperbole, that miracles and prodigies of valour were performed on both sides*. Sir George Rodney for his gallant behaviour, received the thanks of the British senate, and was farther honoured, by being afterwards created a peer of the realm, as well as gratified with a very considerable pension.

A desperate battle was fought about this time in the East-Indies, between the British forces under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, and those under Hyder Ally, in which the former proved victorious. Hyder lost his

second son, with many of his principal officers, and the whole number killed and wounded amounted to eighteen thousand. After this battle Hyder retreated with great precipitation to Trincomale, in order to recruit his army.

Dispatches were received about the same time from Sir Edward Hughes; and by them it appeared, that, on the 21st of October, in the preceding year, the company's troops, under the command of Sir Hector Monro, marched to Nagore on the sea-coast, in order to co-operate with his majesty's fleet in the reduction of Negapatam. The marines, and the greater part of the seamen, with the heavy cannon, &c. being landed on the 29th, the strong lines which the enemy had thrown up to defend the approach to the town were stormed and carried. On the 7th of November a battery of ten eighteen pounders being ready to open, the admiral and general sent a summons to the governor to surrender, who being indisposed, his second in command answered for him, that the place should be defended. During the siege the enemy made two desperate sallies with the greater part of the garrison, but were repulsed with considerable loss. On the 10th, more batteries being ready, the enemy thought proper to demand a capitulation, which was granted, and being signed on the 12th, the town and citadel were then delivered up. The garrison consisted of eight thousand men, two thousand three hundred of which were troops belonging to Hyder. Among these were one thousand cavalry, who precipitately fled on the first charge at the attack on the enemy's lines. In consequence of the fall of Negapatam, Hyder's troops immediately evacuated all the forts and strong posts they held in the Tanjore country; and the petty princes in various other provinces, who, at the instigation of Hyder, had rebelled against the nabob of the Carnatic, laid down their arms, and returned to their obedience. By the general's return it appeared, that the forces under his command at the reduction of Negapatam amounted to four thousand two hundred and fifteen men, of which one hundred and thirty-three were killed, wounded, or missing.

The marquis of Rockingham, having been appointed first lord of the treasury, lord Shelburne, and the right honourable Charles James Fox, secretaries of state, lord Camden, president of the council, &c. it was hoped that this administration was founded upon a permanent basis, and as a memorable instance of the triumph of freedom over venality and oppression, the resolution declaring the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and his incapacity of serving as a member of parliament, was expunged the house of commons, by a vote of a very considerable majority. But the general joy that arose from an arrangement of ministry so grateful to the people, was soon damped by the universally lamented death of the marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman, whose whole

during the war, by a series of the most brilliant actions; and being most grievously wounded in this battle, though with fair hopes of recovery from the excellency of his constitution, was, to the great loss of his country and the service, carried off by a locked-jaw, a few days after, on his passage to England. Thirty-six chests of money, destined to the pay and subsistence of the troops in the designed invasion of Jamaica, were found in the *Ville de Paris*. The peculiar circumstances of that ship, with respect to her name and origin, as well as her greatness and beauty, rendered her a prize not a little flattering to the victors. She had been a present from the city of Paris to Lewis XV. in that fallen state of the French marine, which prevailed towards the close of the former ruinous war, sustained by that nation against England. No pains or expence were spared, to render the gift worthy of that city, and of the monarch to whom it was presented; so that she was said to have cost one hundred and seventy-six thousand pounds sterling, in her building and fitting out for sea. It seemed to be a singular fortune, that the whole train of artillery with the battering cannon, and travelling carriages, intended for the attack on Jamaica, happened to be on board the ships which were now taken. The *Ville de Paris*, however, suffered so much in the action, that it was impossible to keep her above water, and she never reached England.

* The *César*, which was one of the best ships in the French fleet, was unfortunately set on fire, and blew up in the night of the action. This happened through the inordinate behaviour of the French prisoners, who throwing off all obedience to their officers from the time she struck, and finding the English on board too few in number effectually to restrain their ill conduct, were guilty of the greatest enormities. A lieutenant, and fifty English seamen, perished with about four hundred prisoners. The loss of men in the British fleet was wonderfully small, considering the length and violence of the battle, the prodigiousness of the fire, the nearness of the combatants, and the obstinate bravery of the enemy. The whole number killed, and wounded, in two actions of the 9th and 13th, (for no separate lists have been given,) amounted only to one thousand and fifty, of which two hundred and fifty-three were killed on the spot. It is observable, that the slain in the *Ville de Paris* only, was said to amount, at least to four hundred. The brave captain Blair of the *Anson*, who, in the preceding year, had most gallantly fought the *Dolphin* against the Dutch, in the North-Sea action under admiral Hyde Parker, fell gloriously on this day. The loss of lord Robert Manners, son of the late marquis of Granby, and brother to the duke of Rutland, was universally lamented by the nation as well as the navy. That gallant young nobleman, in the command of the *Resolution* of seventy-four guns, had been highly distinguished

conduct throughout life had evinced the most genuine patriotism and perfect philanthropy. This melancholy event was followed by the resignation of Mr. Fox and other members of the new cabinet, in consequence, as appeared from the sequel, of the earl of Shelburne being appointed to the office of first lord of the treasury. Various conjectures were formed of course from these sudden resignations, but the house of commons having been unexpectedly adjourned to the 9th of July, no authentic information could be obtained till that day, when, under the idea that Mr. Fox would then give his reasons for his resignation, there was the greatest concourse of people at every avenue of the house that had ever been known at this time of the year. A conversation rather than a debate took place from a report of a pension having been granted to colonel Barré, then treasurer of the navy, amounting to three thousand two hundred pounds a year. In the course of this very interesting and important conversation, those of his majesty's late administration gave their reasons for their resignation, whilst such as remained behind pledged themselves for the continuance of those principles for which they were first received into his majesty's councils. The next day this interesting subject was discussed in the upper house. The duke of Richmond spoke with extreme candour and liberality, declaring his wish that the world should know on what principles he came into office. He affirmed that the new government was formed on this triple foundation: the great basis was, in a peace with those against whom we waged war abroad; in retrenching expences at home, and in lessening the undue influence of the crown. He respectfully adverted to the character of the late marquis, lamented the resignation of the secretary of state and chancellor of the exchequer, but declared that the then ministers should have his support so long as they remained firm to those principles they at first professed.

His majesty went to the house of peers on the 11th, and having in a speech to parliament commended their unwearied zeal and industry with the plainest regard to its true interest, whether peace or a continuance of war should be the event, thanked the commons for their liberal supplies, and declared his alliance on the spirits, affection, and unanimity of his people in the support of the honour of his crown, and the interest of his kingdoms; the lord chancellor, by command of his majesty, prorogued the session to the 3d of September.

By accounts dated from the East-India house the 28th of this month, it appeared that there had been a desperate engagement between our fleet under Sir Edward Hughes, and that of France under M. Suffrein. The French, at length, after a warm contest of upwards of two hours, ceased firing and hauled off after the transports they had in convoy; much loss was sustained on both sides; that of the enemy could not be determined,

but on the side of the English fell two captains, several inferior officers, and thirty-two private men, besides near one hundred were wounded. Sir Edward after the action proceeded to Trincomale to repair his damages, and having refitted, sailed for Fort St. George.

The humiliating circumstances which the American war brought on in this country, may be gathered from the following resolution in the house of delegates, transmitted in the South-Carolina gazette: Resolved unanimously, "That this house will exert the power of the state, to enable congress to prosecute the war, until Great-Britain renounce all claim of sovereignty over the United States, or any part thereof, and until their independence be formally or tacitly assured by the treaty with Great-Britain, France, and the United States, which shall terminate the war."

The loss of his majesty's ship the Royal George of one hundred guns, which happened at Spithead on the 29th of August, was deemed one of the greatest misfortunes this country had experienced for many years past. This ship having, on her last cruize, made more water than usual, it was resolved to heave her down at Spithead, pursuant to which, the weather being moderate, that business was commenced at six o'clock in the morning, and the ship by ten was got to a proper situation for discovering the leak, but in order to take off some farther sheets of copper, to caulk the seams properly, she was ordered to be lowered another streak; during this business a great part of the crew was at dinner, when the ship by a sudden gust of wind fell on one side, and the lower deck ports being open, she filled in about eight minutes, and went to the bottom. Upon the whole, it is generally supposed that upwards of nine hundred people suffered upon this melancholy occasion, including about two hundred and fifty women, and several children. The loss of the brave admiral Kempenfeldt was truly lamented; his abilities were known to all the naval powers, and he was justly esteemed as a brave and able sea-officer*.

An express arrived at the admiralty from vice-admiral lord Shulldham, soon after the melancholy accident of the loss of the Royal George, with an account received from the captain of a merchantman from Jamaica, of the loss of his majesty's ship the Ramillies. It appeared that admiral Greaves, who had the charge of the homeward bound Jamaica convoy, kept a very northward course, to avoid the enemies cruizers, whom he apprehended might be detached to intercept the tardy ships of the convoy. His flag was flying on board the Ramillies from his departure from Jamaica, to the moment it was necessary to quit her for the preservation of the lives of the crew. She lost her masts on the 10th of September in a violent gale of wind, and continued ungovernable till the 19th, when she was abandoned and left in a sinking condition.

* In the beginning of 1783 a very elegant monument was erected in the church-yard of Portsea, to the memory of the brave, though unfortunate, admiral Kempenfeldt, and his fellow-sufferers, who perished in the Royal George. The monument is lofty, in a pyramidal form, ornamented with marine trophies, arms, sculptured urns, &c. and in an oval compartment upon the upper part of the pyramid, in black marble and gold letters, is this inscription:

" Reader,
with solemn thought
survey this grave,
and reflect
on the untimely death
of thy fellow mortals;
and whilst,
as a man, a Briton, and a patriot,
thou read'st
the melancholy narrative,
drop a tear
for thy country's
loss."

And underneath the following inscription:

" On the twenty-ninth day of August, 1782,
his majesty's ship the ROYAL GEORGE,

being on the heel at Spithead,
overfet and sunk;
by which fatal accident
about nine hundred persons
were instantly launched into eternity,
among whom was that brave and experienced officer
rear-admiral KEMPENFELDT.

Nine days after
many bodies of the unfortunate floated,
thirty-five of whom were interred
in one grave
near this monument,
which is erected by the parish of
PORTSEA,
as a grateful tribute
to the memory
of that great commander
and his fellow-sufferers."

And upon a pedestal, in gold letters, is this epitaph:

" 'Tis not this stone, regretted chief, thy name,
Thy worth, and merit shall extend thy fame.
Brilliant achievements have thy name impress'd
In lasting characters on ALBION'S breast."

By advices received from Bengal about this time, the most pleasing expectations were formed of an immediate and general peace, though our government in that quarter abounded in every species of resource for carrying on the war, having been able for some months past to send monthly to Madras five lacks of rupees, amounting to sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, besides other requisites. The Mahrattas, weary of an unsuccessful war, had declared for pacific measures, and the late misunderstanding with the Nizam, and some other of the country powers, were now so far removed, that if Hyder Ally alone had proved refractory, they had all engaged to unite with the company's servants in bringing him to reason. This favourable state of affairs, so different from the late distracted and threatening prospect of things, was ascribed entirely to the activity of the supreme council, and that perfect harmony among themselves, which gave them weight and consequence with the native powers. But it likewise appeared that while those gentlemen had been so attentive to measures of peace and conciliation, they had not neglected the commercial concerns of their employers, their investments having been already compleated, not only for this but the next year, a degree of forwardness in that business never before known.

Accounts were received soon after, that the squadron of a desperate adventurer, called Paul Jones, which surprised and took the forts and settlements in Hudson's Bay, consisted of three frigates and three or four privateers. They got a considerable booty at Fort Charles and Fort Rupert factories, destroyed all the forts and vessels on the bay, particularly Forts Nelson and Churchill, and took away with them two very valuable

loaded vessels belonging to the company, which were sent for Boston prior to Paul Jones's bearing away for the North Seas. His booty, exclusive of the damage he had done to the forts and factories, was supposed to amount to no less than one hundred thousand pounds. This extraordinary adventurer some time before fell in with his majesty's ships the *Scrapis*, commanded by captain Pearson, and the *Countess of Salisbury*, commanded by captain Piercy, having under his convoy a large number of transports. A desperate engagement took place, in which Paul Jones's squadron proved victorious, and the *Scrapis* and *Countess of Salisbury* were both captured; but the transports during the engagement, fortunately made their escape*.

The English were at this time most agreeably relieved from their apprehensions relative to the fate of Gibraltar by the following most important and most interesting intelligence, communicated by general Elliot, the gallant defender of that fortress, to Mr. Secretary Townshend. From the general's representation it appeared, that the enemy had collected their whole force by sea and land: the former consisted of forty-four sail of the line, besides three inferior two deckers, ten battering ships, five bomb-ketches, several frigates and zebecques, a great number of gun and mortar boats, a large floating battery, many armed vessels, and near three hundred boats purposely constructed for carrying troops†. Their land batteries were mounted with above one hundred pieces of cannon, and an equal number of mortars and howitzers, and their army consisted of near forty thousand men. On the 13th of September, at eight in the morning, all the battering ships commanded by don Buenventura Moreno, rear-admiral, were put in motion

* Towards the close of this action, one of the crew on board Paul Jones's ship, thinking they must be inevitably conquered, or totally destroyed, attempted to strike the colours, which so irritated his commander, that he instantly shot him through the head, as an example to the rest of the crew, that they had no other prospect while in his service, than what was founded on the most daring and hazardous enterprizes.

† Concerning the preparations for carrying on the siege of Gibraltar, it had been proposed at Madrid to bring a whole fleet to the direct battery and attack of the place, on all sides, by sea, while the army was to carry on a furious assault by land; and the sacrifice of from ten to twenty ships of war, as the occasion might require, was decreed to be the contented price of success. The chevalier de Arcon, a French engineer, ridiculed this scheme as wild and incompetent. He believed that it would be attended with the certain destruction of the ships, without producing the smallest effect upon the fortress. His plan went to the construction of floating batteries, or ships, upon such a principle that they could neither be sunk nor fired. The first of the properties was to be acquired by the extraordinary thickness of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified; and which was to render them proof to all danger in that respect, whether from external or internal violence. The second danger was to be opposed, by securing the sides of the ships, wherever they were exposed to shot, with a strong wall, composed of timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, and including between a large body of wet sand, the whole being of such a thickness and density, that no cannon-ball could penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A constant supply of water was to keep the parts exposed to the action of fire always wet; and the cork was to act as a sponge, in retaining the moisture. For this purpose, ten great ships, from six hundred to one thousand four hundred tons burthen, (some of them said to be of fifty or sixty guns,) were cut down to the state required by the plan; and two hundred thousand cubic feet of timber was, with infinite labour, worked into their construction. To protect them from bombs, and the men at the batteries from grape, or descending shot, a hanging roof was contrived, which was to be worked up and down by springs, with ease, and at pleasure; the roof was composed of a strong rope-work netting, laid over with a thick covering of wet hides; while its sloping position was calculated to prevent the shells from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea before they could take effect. The batteries were covered with new brass cannon, of great weight; and something about half the number of spare guns, of the same kind, were kept ready in each ship, immediately to supply the place of those which might be overheated, or otherwise disabled in action. To render the fire of these batteries more rapid and instantaneous, and consequently the more dreadfully effective,

the ingenious projector had contrived a kind of match, to be placed on the lights of the guns, of such a nature, as to emulate lightening in the quickness of its consumption, and the rapidity of its action; and by which all the guns on the battery were to go off together, as it had been only a single shot. But, as the red-hot shot from the fortress was what the enemy most dreaded, the nicest part of this plan seems to have been the contrivance for communicating water in every direction to restrain its effect. In imitation of the circulation of the blood in a living body, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship in such a manner, that a continual succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessels; a number of pumps being adapted to the purpose of an unlimited supply. By this means, it was expected that the red-hot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief: as the very action of cutting through those pipes would procure its immediate extinction. So that these terrible machines, teeming with every source of outward destruction, seemed to be themselves invulnerable, and entirely secure from all danger. The preparation in other respects was beyond all example. It was said that no less than one thousand two hundred pieces of heavy ordnance of various kinds had been accumulated before the place, for the almost numberless intended purposes of attack by sea and land. The quantities of powder, shot, shells, and of every kind of military store and provision, were so immense as to exceed credibility. The quantity of gunpowder only, was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels. Forty gun boats, with heavy artillery, as many bomb-ketches, with twelve inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb-ketches, on the usual construction, were all destined to second the powerful efforts of the great battering ships. Nearly all the frigates, and smaller armed vessels of the kingdom were assembled, to afford such aid as they might be found capable of; and three hundred large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which with the very great number already in the vicinity, were to minister to the fighting vessels during action, and to land troops in the place as soon as they had dismantled the fortress. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to something about fifty ships of the line, were to cover and support the attack; and could not but greatly heighten the terrors as well as the magnificence of the scene. The preparations by land kept pace with those at sea. Twelve thousand French troops were brought to diffuse their peculiar vivacity and animation through the Spanish army, as well as for the benefit to be derived from the example and exertion of their superior discipline and experience. The duke de Crillon was assisted by a number of the best officers of both countries, and particularly of the best engineers and artilleryists of his own.

and

and came forward to their several stations, as previously appointed, the admiral being placed upon the capital of the king's bastion, the other ships extending three to the southward of the flag as far as the church battery, five to the northward about the height of the Old Mole, and one a very little to the westward of the admiral. By a quarter before ten they were anchored in line, at the distance of a thousand to twelve hundred yards, immediately on which a heavy cannonade began from all the ships, which was strongly supported by the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches. At the same instant our batteries opened with hot and cold shot from the guns, and shells from the howitzers and mortars. This fire continued without intermission on both sides till noon, when that of the enemy from their ships seemed to slacken, although but little. About two o'clock the admiral's ship was observed to smoke as if on fire, and a few men were discovered to be active in searching out the cause. Our batteries never discontinued. The enemy's fire from the ships gradually decreased. About seven in the evening they fired from a few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was plainly discovered beginning to burn, and in an hour after it was completely in flames; eight more of the ships took fire in succession. Signals of distress being now made, the launches, feluccas, and boats, had yet made no considerable progress, and the fire from the enemy's batteries on shore did not in the least diminish. Captain Curtis of his majesty's ship *Brilliant*, who was appointed to the command of the marine brigade, and with his squadron of gun boats lay ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstance, left the New Mole at two o'clock, and about three formed a line upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing with great order and expedition, which so astonished and disconcerted them, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, abandoned the ships, in which some officers and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to perish*. In the course of the day the remaining eight ships severally blew up with violent explosions; one only escaped the effect of our fire, which it was thought proper to burn, there being no possibility of preserving her. The admiral's flag remained flying on board his ship till she was totally consumed. The royal artillery, additional gunners, and marine brigade, only could be employed in this service, which they executed with deliberate coolness and undaunted intrepidity. The fire was incessant, and the batteries abundantly supplied with ammunition; every soldier in the garrison, not on duty, eagerly pressing to share in the honourable labours of the day. The enemy's daring attempt by sea was effectually defeated by the well supported fire from our batteries; but the well-timed, judicious, and spirited attack made by brigadier Curtis rendered this success a complete victory. The loss in the brigade of seamen, considering the nature of the attack, was very trifling,

* This must unavoidably have been their wretched fate, had they not been dragged from amidst the flames through the personal intrepidity of brigadier Curtis and his people, at the most imminent hazard of their own lives. The general expressed the utmost anguish at seeing the brigadier's pinnace close to one of the largest ships at the instant she blew up, and spread her wrecks to a vast extent all around, till the black cloud of smoke being dispersed, he was again revived by the sight of the pinnace, little apprehending that the brigadier was in the utmost danger of sinking, some pieces of timber having fallen into, and pierced the boat, killing the cockswain, and wounding others of the men, so that scarce any hopes remained of reaching the shore: he was providentially saved by stopping the hole with the seamen's jackets until boats could arrive to their relief. One of our gun-boats was sunk at the same moment.

† The duke de Crillon, a general of great reputation, having the chief command of the allied forces, princes of the royal blood of France, dignified characters of Europe, first nobility of Spain, and great military officers, being present with the besieged army, an amazing concourse of spectators that filled the camp and covered the adjacent hills on this occasion, plainly proved that the combined powers had formed the most san-

only one man being killed and five wounded. That of the enemy in killed, burnt, drowned, and wounded, must have been great indeed. The sincere gratitude all the prisoners of war expressed for their deliverance from the various horrors that surrounded them, afford the highest satisfaction to humanity †.

The agreeable news from Gibraltar was followed by dispatches from lord Howe, equally encouraging. These imported, that his lordship having received authentic intelligence that the combined fleets of fifty sail of three and two decked ships had taken a station some time before in Gibraltar Bay; on the morning of the 11th of October our fleet entered the Straits, and the van arriving off Gibraltar Bay, a short time after the close of the day, a very favourable opportunity offered for the store-ships to have reached their destined anchorage without molestation from the enemy; but for want of timely attention to the circumstances of the navigation pointed out in the instructions communicated by captain Curtis, only four of the thirty-one which had kept company with the fleet on the passage effected their purpose. Very tempestuous weather on the night of the 10th had put two of the enemy's two decked ships on shore, a third lost her foremast and bowsprit, and a fourth had been driven under the works and captured, and two more went out of the bay to the eastward. With the rest of their force they put to sea the evening of the 13th to interrupt the introduction of the remaining store ships, and having the wind in their favour they bore down upon the fleet then off Fangerolle, in order of battle. In the morning of the 14th, the fleet being to the southward of the enemy six or seven leagues, and the wind changing soon after, opportunity was taken to pass such of the store-ships as were then with the fleet into the bay. On the night of the 18th the rest of the store-ships which had been ordered to a special rendezvous with the *Buffalo*, (one only accepted,) were likewise anchored in *Rossia* bay. The troops being embarked in the ships of war, a large supply of powder being landed at the same time, and the wants of the garrison amply provided for, lord Howe proposed taking advantage of an easterly wind, which had prevailed the two or three preceding days, for returning through the straits to the westward.

At day-break on the 19th, the combined force of the enemy was seen at a little distance to the N. E. The fleet being at that time so nearly between Europa and Ceuta points that there was not space to form in order of battle on either tack, the admiral repassed the straits followed by the enemy. The wind changed next morning to the northward, the combined fleets, consisting of forty-five or forty-six ships of the line, still retained the same advantage. The British fleet being formed to leeward to receive them, they were left uninterruptedly to take the distance at which they should think fit to engage. They began their cannonade at sun-set on the

guine expectations from their battering ships, deemed perfect in design, completed by dint of prodigious labour and unlimited profusion of expence, and by common report pronounced invincible.

The loss sustained by the combined forces of France and Spain in the fruitless attack upon Gibraltar, cannot by any means be ascertained; their own various accounts, being so evidently calculated to depreciate their loss both by sea and land, that the lists of killed and wounded officers, and of prisoners, which could not be concealed, seemed almost necessary to their acknowledging that any was sustained. A letter from a French officer, dated on the evening of the 8th, giving an account of the attack upon the works on that day by the garrison, which was published in the foreign gazettes, contains the following pathetic passage, which may afford some idea of the effect produced by a similar or greater fire on the 13th; viz. "The eye is fatigued, and the heart rent, with the sight and groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are this moment carrying away; the number makes a man shudder, and I am told, that in other parts of the lines, which are not within view of my post, the numbers are still greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have not, at this instant, leisure to reflect much on the state and condition of mankind."

Engraved for Ashurst's History of England.



Small del.

Representation of the Siege of Gibraltar, after the Manner of Copley's, Painting as exhibited in St. James's Park.

Published by W. & J. Gurney, No. 7 Holborn Hill, June 23. 1792.

London, July.

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van and rear, seeming to point their principal attack on the latter, and continued their fire along the whole line, at a considerable distance, and with little effect till ten at night. It was returned occasionally from the different ships of the fleet, as their nearer approach at times afforded a more favourable opportunity for making an impression on them. The enemy hauling their wind, and the British fleet keeping on all night with their full sail directed before the commencement of their fire, the fleets were much separated, and the enemy sheltered themselves by running into Cadiz. As soon as the masts of the ships damaged by the enemy's fire were properly secured, lord Howe took the first opportunity of standing to the northward, under all the sail he could crowd, with every requisite care for keeping the fleet duly connected to get up again with the enemy. The wind continued in the same quarter to the 25th of October, but being more to the east the three following days, the same pressed sail was carried as before; but as the enemy, who had persisted to avoid a renewal of the action of the 21st, could not, as the wind then was, be forced thereto, except by working in with the Barbary shore for an uncertain time, which the state of the ships did not admit, his lordship brought the fleet to on the 28th to prepare the detachments directed by his instructions.

In November, Mr. Secretary Townshend sent a letter to the directors of the Bank of England, of which the following is a copy:

"Gentlemen, *Whitehall, Nov. 22, 1782.*
"His majesty's ministers, anxious to prevent, as

* The following is a copy of the articles agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, Esq. the commissioner of his Britannic majesty for treating of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said majesty, on the one part, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the commissioners of the said states for treating of peace with the commissioners of his said majesty, on their behalf, on the other part; to be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great-Britain and the said United States; but which treaty is not to be concluded until terms of a peace shall be agreed upon between Great-Britain and France; and his Britannic majesty shall be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly.

"Whereas reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between states, it is agreed to form the articles of the proposed treaty on such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantage, those seeds of discord, being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established, as to promise and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

"Article I. His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, *viz.* New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claim to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof: and that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, *viz.*

"II. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, *viz.* that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of Saint Croix River to the Highlands: along the said islands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Laurence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut River, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois, or Cataraqui; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and

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early as possible, the mischiefs too commonly resulting from speculations in the funds, during the uncertain state of negotiation for peace between the powers at war, (and which it is to the general honour and interest of all great powers to avoid,) have thought it their duty to ask his majesty's permission to communicate to you, for the information of the public, that the negotiations now carrying on at Paris, are brought so far to a point, as to promise a decisive conclusion, either for peace or war before the meeting of parliament, which will on that account be prorogued from Tuesday the 26th instant, to Thursday the 5th of December next.

"I have his majesty's commands to assure you, that you will receive immediate notice of the issue.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"your most obedient

"humble servant,

"T. TOWNSHEND."

Governor and Com-
pany of the Bank
of England.

The lord-mayor of London likewise received a letter to the same purport with that addressed to the governor and company of the Bank of England. After this notification the following letter was received by the lord-mayor:

"My Lord,

"In consequence of my letter to your lordship of the 22d of the last month, I take the earliest opportunity of informing your lordship, that a messenger is just arrived from Paris with an account of provisional articles * being signed on the 13th of November, between his majesty's commissioners and the commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted in, and constitute a treaty of peace; hence peace shall be concluded between
Great-

Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake, thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last-mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Canahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence strait to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River Saint Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the River St. Laurence; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such islands as now are, and heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

"III. It is agreed, that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use, (but not to dry or cure the same on that island,) and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova-Scotia, Magdalen islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled, but so soon as the same, or either of them, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlements, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

"IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either side, shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

Great-Britain and France. Your lordship will please to make this as public as possible.

December 3, 1782.

"I am, &c.

"T. TOWNSHEND."

A copy of the above was also sent to the directors of the Bank.

His majesty went to the house of peers on the 5th, and opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, importing that in consequence of the sense of his parliament, he pointed all his views and measures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the colonies, and expressive of his perfect reliance on their wisdom in the further prosecution of the war, should its continuance appear to be indispensable. In his particular address to the commons, he displayed a very economical disposition, a generous feeling for the sufferers in America, made the greater concessions on his part, and recommended such measures as should be deemed most salutary and patriotic. After some debates as to certain particular parts of the speech, an address was unanimously agreed to in the house of lords; the same form passed in the lower house, and the addresses being respectively presented, met with most gracious answers from the king.

Intelligence was received about this time of the melancholy fate of his majesty's ship the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, commanded by captain Inglefield, which foundered near the Azores in the Atlantic Ocean. At the time of her sinking most of the crew were on board, there not being a single ship in sight to give them any assistance. A short time previous to her going down, a part of the crew took to her remaining boats, which were three in number, her other boats being stove in the hurricane: but of these two were sunk from being too much laden, and all who were in them perished. The other, which was very small, containing only twelve men, besides the captain and a boy, fortunately reached Fyal, one of the Azores, after being exposed to the greatest distress for sixteen days from the time they first took to the boat. When these wretched survivors quitted the ship, they took with them only water sufficient for three days, but which, by prudent management, was lengthened out so as to serve them nine;

"V. It is agreed, that the congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts, in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States. And that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go into any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation, which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail. And that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties of such last-mentioned persons shall be restored to them; they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession of the *bona fide* price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands or properties since the confiscation.

"And it is agreed, that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage-settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

"VI. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons, for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall, on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

after which time they were reduced to the deplorable extremity of drinking their own urine, which served rather to increase than allay their thirst.

Captain James Luttrell, commander of his majesty's ship the Mediator, of forty-four guns, displayed an instance of singular prowess in the attack of five sail of French and American frigates laden with military stores off Ferrol, on the 12th of December, and the capture of the Alexander of twenty-four, and the Managere of thirty guns, *armée en flute*. On the 14th captain Stephen Gregory, of the Alexander, laid a plot to occasion the prisoners to rise, and hoped to have taken the command of the Mediator from captain Luttrell; but through the indefatigable attention of lieutenant Rankin of the marines, in the disposal and regulation of sentries as a guard, and the lucky precaution they had taken of fastening down the gratings of all the hatches in the lower gun deck, leaving room for only one man at a time to come up abaft, the desperate scheme of Gregory was prevented without bloodshed. The alarm he fixed on was to fire an eighteen pounder in the gun-room, where he lay, for he messed with the lieutenant, and had been paid every friendly attention. At ten at night the captain was alarmed by a terrible shock from some explosion, and heard a cry of fire, soon after which he was informed that the lee port was blown away by the gun into the sea, and the water making in. Having wore the ship on the other tack to get the port-hole covered with tarpaulines and secured, the captain went down, found the gun-room on fire, and every thing shattered that was near the explosion. Gregory and his accomplices were dressed, though they had pretended to go to bed; and in their cot was found some of the gunpowder, which they had provided to prime the gun; and, in short, every proof necessary for a conviction of Gregory's having fired it for an alarm to make the prisoners rise. He had also endeavoured to provide himself with a sword, but being disappointed in his project, begged his life. The cry of fire forward was heard among the prisoners when the signal gun was fired; but the plot being discovered and all things settled, Gregory, together with those of his officers and men who were suspected of being concerned in the plot, were ordered to

"VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the said states, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall then immediately cease: all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may lie therein: and shall also order, and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

"VIII. The navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great-Britain and the citizens of the United States.

"IX. In case it should so happen, that any place or territory belonging to Great-Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of these articles in America, it is agreed, that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

"Done at Paris the 13th day of November, in the year 1782."

RICHARD OSWALD, (L.S.)

JOHN ADAMS, (L.S.)

B. FRANKLIN, (L.S.)

JOHN JAY, (L.S.)

HENRY LAURENS, (L.S.)

Witness,

CALPH WHITEFOORD,
Secretary to the British Commission.

W. S. FRANKLIN,
Secretary to the American Commission.

be put in irons, and kept on bread and water. The Managere was conducted into Plymouth Sound, and the Alexander followed a short time after.

His majesty went to the house of peers on the 23d of December, and gave the royal assent to several bills that were ready, after which the lords unanimously voted their thanks to Sir Edward Hughes and Sir Eyre Coote, and then adjourned to the 21st of January, as did also the house of commons to the same day.

At the close of this year the agreeable news arrived of the release of captain Apgill, son of Sir Charles Apgill, alderman of London, by virtue of an order of the United States of America in congress assembled on the 7th of November. This brave and amiable young officer had been doomed by lot, to suffer death, to re-

taliate for the murder of one captain Huddy, an American officer, who had been executed as a traitor by the loyal refugees at New York. Immediately on hearing of the fate of her unfortunate son, lady Apgill, his afflicted mother, applied, in the most pathetic terms, to the count de Vergennes, prime minister of France. The count, with great humanity and politeness, wrote to general Washington on the interesting subject, and that officer, warmly interfering in behalf of the unhappy captain, his life was spared*.

The expectations of the public were now greatly raised from the apparent prospect of the happy restoration of a general peace, and the preliminary articles of peace between England and France were signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January, 1783, by Mr. Alleyne

* The following letters are adduced as the means by which this most desirous event was brought about:

Copy of a Letter from Count Vergennes to General Washington, dated at Versailles, July 29, 1782.

"SIR,

"It is not in quality of a king, the friend and ally of the United States, though with the knowledge and consent of his majesty, that I now have the honour to write to your excellency. It is a man of sensibility, and a tender father, who feels all the force of paternal love, that I take the liberty to address to your Excellency my earnest solicitations in favour of a mother and family in tears. Her situation seems the more worthy of notice, on our part, as it is to the humanity of a nation at war with her own, that she has recourse for what she ought to receive from the impartial justice of her own generals.

"I have the honour to inclose your excellency a copy of a letter which Mrs. Apgill has just wrote to me. I am not known to her, nor was I acquainted that her son was the unhappy victim destined by lot to expiate the odious crime that a formal denial of justice obliges you to revenge. Your excellency will not read this letter without being affected; it had that effect upon the king and queen, to whom I communicated it. The goodness of their majesties' hearts induces them to desire that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother may be calmed; and her tenderness re-assured. I feel, Sir, that these are cases where humanity itself exacts the most extreme rigour; perhaps the one now in question may be of the number; but allowing reprisals to be just, it is not less horrid to those who are the victims; and the character of your excellency is too well known for me not to be persuaded, that you desire nothing more than to avoid the disagreeable necessity.

"This is one consideration, Sir, which, though it is not decisive, may have an influence upon your resolution. Captain Apgill is doubtless your prisoner, but he is among those whom the arms of the king contributed to put into your hands at York Town. Although this circumstance does not operate as a safeguard, it however justifies the interest I permit myself to take in this affair. If it is in your power, Sir, to consider and have regard to it, you will do what is agreeable to their majesties; the danger of young Apgill, the tears, the despair of his mother, affect them sensibly, and they will see with pleasure, the hope of consolation shine out for those unfortunate people.

"In seeking to deliver Mr. Apgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to seek another victim; the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire. I do not imagine it can be productive of any bad consequences. If the English general has not been able to punish the horrible crime you complain of, in so exemplary a manner as he should, there is reason to think he will take the most efficacious measures to prevent the like in future.

"I sincerely wish that my intercession may meet with success; the sentiment which dictates it, and which you have not ceased to manifest on every occasion, assures me, that you will not be indifferent to the prayers and to the tears of a family, which has recourse to your clemency through me. It is rendering homage to your virtue to implore it.

"I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration,

Sir, your's, &c.

(Signed)

"DE VERGENNES."

Copy of a Letter from Lady Apgill to Count Vergennes, dated London, July 18, 1782.

"SIR,

"If the politeness of the French court will permit an application of a stranger, there can be no doubt but one in which all the tender feelings of an individual can be interested, will meet with a favourable reception from a nobleman, whose character does honour not only to his own country, but to human nature. The subject, Sir, on which I presume to implore

your assistance, is too heart-piercing for me to dwell on, and common fame has, most probably, informed you of it; it therefore renders the painful task unnecessary. My son, and only son, as dear as he is brave, amiable as he is deserving of being so, only nineteen, a prisoner under articles of capitulation of York Town, is now confined in America an object of retaliation. Shall an innocent suffer for the guilty! Represent to yourself the situation of a family under such circumstances, surrounded as I am by objects of distress; distracted with fear and grief; no words can express my feeling, or paint the scene. My husband given over by his physicians, a few hours before the news arrived, and not in a state to be informed of the misfortune; my daughter seized with a fever and delirium, raving about her brother, and without one interval of reason, save to heart-alleviating circumstances. Let your feelings, Sir, suggest and plead for my inexpressible misery. A word from you, like a voice from Heaven, will save us from distraction and wretchedness. I am well informed general Washington reveres your character; say but to him you wish my son to be released, and he will restore him to his distracted family, and render him to happiness. My son's virtue and bravery will justify the deed. His honour, Sir, carried him to America. He was born to affluence, independence, and the happiest prospects. Let me again supplicate your goodness; let me respectfully implore your high influence in behalf of innocence, in the cause of justice, of humanity; that you would, Sir, dispatch a letter to general Washington, from France, and favour me with a copy of it, to be sent from hence. I am sensible of the liberty I take in making this request; but I am sensible whether you comply with it or not, you will pity the distress that suggests it; your humanity will drop a tear on the fault, and efface it. I will pray that Heaven may grant you may never want the comfort it is in your power to bestow on

ASGILL."

Nor was the humanity or liberality of general Washington less conspicuous on this joyful occasion, as appeared from the following copy of a letter from the general to Mr. Apgill, covering the resolve of congress to release him.

Head-Quarters, Nov. 13.

"SIR,

"It affords me singular pleasure to have it in my power to transmit you the inclosed copy of an act of congress of the 7th instant, by which you are released from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have so long been. Supposing you would wish to go into New-York as soon as possible, I also inclose a passport for that purpose.

"Your letter of the 18th of October, came regularly to my hands; I beg you to believe, that my not answering it sooner did not proceed from inattention to you, or a want of feeling for your situation. I daily expected a determination of your case; and I thought it better to await that, than to feed you with hopes that might in the end prove fruitless.

"I cannot take leave of you, Sir, without assuring you, that in whatever light my agency in this unpleasant affair may be received, I never was influenced through the whole of it by sanguinary motives, but by what I conceived a sense of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities which have been the subject of discussion; and that this important end is likely to be answered without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a greater relief to you, than it is to,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

and humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON."

(Signed)

Thus by the interference of the count de Vergennes, and the interposition of general Washington in consequence thereof, was the happy effect produced, and a most respectable character rescued from an undeserved fate, to the joy of his relatives in particular, and the friends of mankind in general.

Fitz-

Fitz-Herbert, on the part of the one, and by the count de Vergennes, on that of the other; as the preliminary articles between England and Spain were, on the same day by the first of those gentlemen, and by the count D'Aranda, on the part of the catholic king*.

On the 17th of February, great debates took place

* The following is a translation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty, and the most Christian King:

"IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY,

"The king of Great-Britain and the Most Christian king, equally animated with a desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between them, as necessary for the good of mankind in general, as for that of their respective kingdoms, states, and subjects, have named for this purpose, viz. on the part of his Britannic majesty Mr. Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, minister plenipotentiary of his said majesty king of Great-Britain; and on the part of his most Christian majesty, Charles Gravier, count de Vergennes, counsellor in all his councils, commander of his orders, counsellor of state, minister, and secretary of state, and of the commands and finances of his said majesty, for the department of foreign affairs; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:

"Article I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic majesty, and his most Christian majesty, their kingdoms, states, and subjects by sea and by land, in all parts of the world. Orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons, as well as to the subjects, of the two powers, to stop all hostilities, and to live in the most perfect union, forgetting what is passed, of which their sovereigns give them the order and example. And, for the execution of this article, sea-passes shall be given on each side for the ships which shall be dispatched to carry the news of it to the possessions of the said powers.

"II. His majesty the king of Great-Britain shall preserve in full right the island of Newfoundland, and the adjacent islands, in the same manner as the whole was ceded to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, save the exceptions which shall be stipulated by the fifth article of the present treaty.

"III. His most Christian majesty, in order to prevent quarrels, which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of England and France, renounces the right of fishing, which belongs to him by virtue of the said article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, situated on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in about fifty degrees of north latitude; whereby the French fishery shall commence at the said Cape St. John, shall go round by the north, and, going down the western coast of the island of Newfoundland, shall have for boundary the place called Cape Raye, situated in forty-seven degrees fifty minutes latitude.

"IV. The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery assigned them by the foregoing article, as they have a right to enjoy it by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht.

"V. His Britannic majesty will cede in full right to his most Christian majesty the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

"VI. With regard to the right of fishing in the Gulph of St. Laurence, the French shall continue to enjoy it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

"VII. The king of Great-Britain shall restore to France the island of St. Lucia, and shall cede and guarantee to her that of Tobago.

"VIII. The most Christian king shall restore to Great-Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; and the fortresses of those islands, conquered by the arms of Great-Britain and by those of France, shall be restored in the same condition in which they were when the conquest of them was made, provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from the time of the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall be granted to the respective subjects of the crowns of Great-Britain and France, who may have settled in the said islands, and in other places which shall be restored by the definitive treaty, to sell their estates, recover their debts, and to transport their effects and retire without being restrained, on account of their religion, or any other whatever, except in cases of debt or of criminal prosecutions.

"IX. The king of Great-Britain shall cede and guarantee in full right to his most Christian majesty the river of Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arquim, and Portendu. His Britannic majesty shall restore, likewise, the island of Gorée, which shall be given up in the condition in which it was when the British arms took possession of it.

"X. The most Christian king shall, on his side, guarantee

in the houses of parliament on the subject of the preliminary articles of peace. Of these debates the following is a summary account: In the upper house the leaders of the opposition considered the preliminaries as injurious to the interest and honour of Great-Britain; accused the ministry of impolicy and improvidence in marking the

to his majesty the king of Great-Britain the possession of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

"XI. In order to prevent all discussions in that part of the world, the two courts shall agree, either by the definitive treaty, or by a separate act, upon the boundaries to be fixed in their respective possessions. The gum trade shall be carried on in future as the English and French nations carried it on before the year 1755.

"XII. In regard to the rest of the coasts of Africa, the subjects of both powers shall continue to frequent them, according to the custom which has prevailed hitherto.

"XIII. The king of Great-Britain shall restore to his most Christian majesty all the establishments which belonged to him at the commencement of the present war on the coast of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagor with a ditch for draining the waters; and his Britannic majesty engages to take such measures as may be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as also on the coast of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the late French East-India company, whether it be carried on by them as individuals or a company.

"XIV. Pondicherry, as well as Karical, shall likewise be restored, and guaranteed to France; and his Britannic majesty shall procure, to serve as a dependency round Pondicherry, the two districts of Valanour and Bahour, and as a dependency round Karical, the four contiguous Magans.

"XV. France shall again enter into possession of Mahé, and of the Comptoir at Surat: and the French shall carry on commerce in this part of India conformably to the principles laid down in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

"XVI. In case France has allies in India, they shall be invited, as well as those of Great-Britain, to accede to the present pacification; and for that purpose a term of four months, to be imputed from the day on which the proposal shall be made to them, shall be allowed them to make their decision; and in case of refusal on their part, their Britannic and most Christian majesties agree not to give them any assistance, directly or indirectly, against the British or French possessions, or against the ancient possessions of their respective allies; and their said majesties shall offer them their good offices towards a mutual accommodation.

"XVII. The king of Great-Britain, desirous of giving his most Christian majesty a sincere proof of reconciliation and friendship, and of contributing to the solidity of the peace which is on the point of being re-established, will consent to the abrogation and suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, inclusive, to this time.

"XVIII. By the definitive treaty, all those which have existed till now between the two high contracting parties, and which shall not have been derogated from either by the said treaty, or by the present preliminary treaty, shall be renewed and confirmed; and the two courts shall name commissioners to enquire into the state of commerce between the two nations, in order to agree upon new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience. The said two courts shall together amicably fix a competent term for the duration of that business.

"XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be, conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, or by those of his most Christian majesty, and which are not included in the present articles, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring compensation.

"XX. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions and the evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the king of Great-Britain shall cause to be evacuated the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done; St. Lucia in the West-Indies, and Gorée in Africa, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The king of Great-Britain shall in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter again into possession of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat.

"France shall be put into possession of the towns and comptoirs, which are restored to her in the East-Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to serve as dependencies round

the boundaries between the territorial rights of Great-Britain and the United States of America; censured them for sending out an incompetent commissioner to negotiate with them, as appeared from the shameful ignorance, folly, and absurdity of the provisional articles, condemned the several concessions both in America

and the East-Indies, and concluded, from the general tenor of the preliminaries, that the ministry had acceded implicitly to whatever terms might have been proposed to them. In answer to these charges, the friends of administration observed, that the peace was as good as we had reason to expect, considering the number of
foes

round Pondicherry, and round Karical, six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done.

"France shall, at the end of the same term of six months, restore the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the English or their allies in the East-Indies.

"In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

"XXI. The prisoners made respectively by the arms of his Britannic majesty, and his most Christian majesty, by land and by sea, shall be restored reciprocally, and *bona fide*, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, without ransom, and on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity; and each crown shall respectively reimburse the sums which shall have been advanced for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic titles which shall be produced on each side.

"XXII. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signing of these preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects, which may be taken in the Channel and the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the present preliminary articles shall be restored on each side. That the term shall be one month from the Channel and North Seas, as far as the Canary islands, inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean. Two months from the said Canary islands, as far as the equinoctial line or equator: and lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any other more particular description of time and place.

"XXIII. The ratification of the present preliminary articles shall be expedited in good and due form, and exchanged in the space of one month, or sooner if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

"In witness whereof, we, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, and of his most Christian majesty, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Versailles the 20th day of January, 1783.

ALLEYNE FITZ-HERBERT. (L. S.)
GRAVIER DE VERGENNES." (L. S.)

The following is a translation of the preliminary articles of peace between his Britannic majesty, and the most Catholic king. Signed at Versailles, the 20th of January, 1783.

"IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY,

The king of Great-Britain and the king of Spain, equally animated with a desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between them, as necessary for the good of mankind in general, as for that of their respective kingdoms, states, and subjects, have named for this purpose, viz. on the part of his majesty the king of Great-Britain, Mr. Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, minister plenipotentiary of the said majesty; and on the part of his majesty the king of Spain, Don Peter Paul Abarea de Barea Ximenes d'Urna, &c. count of Aranda and Castle Florida, marquis of Torres, of Villanar and Rupit, viscount of Rueda and Yock, baron of the baronies of Gavin, Sietano, Clamofa, Enipol, Trazmoz, La Matade Castil, Viego, Antillon, La Almonda, Cortes, Jorva, St. Genis, Robovillet, Oreau, and St. Colom de Farnes, lord of the Tenance, and honour of Alcalaten, the valley of Rodellar, the castles and towns of Maella, Mesones, Tiurana, de Villaplana, Taradell, and Viladran, &c. Rico Hombre in Aragon, by birth, grandee of Spain of the first class, knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and that of the Holy Ghost, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber in employment, captain-general of his armies, and his ambassador to his most Christian majesty, who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:

"Article I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be established between his Britannic majesty and his Catholic majesty, their kingdoms, states, and subjects, by sea and by land, in all parts of the
No. LXXV,

world. Orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons, as well as to the subjects of the two powers, to stop all hostilities, and to live in the most perfect union, forgetting what has passed, of which their sovereigns give them the order and example; and for the execution of this article, sea-passes shall be given on each side for the ships which shall be dispatched to carry the news of it to the possessions of the said powers.

"II. His Catholic majesty shall keep the island of Minorca.

"III. His Britannic majesty shall cede to his Catholic majesty East Florida, and his Catholic majesty shall keep West Florida, provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from the time of the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall be granted to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, who are settled as well in the island of Minorca as in the two Floridas, to sell their estates, recover their debts, and to transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts and criminal prosecutions; and his Britannic majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him in the East Florida, whether artillery or others, to be carried away.

"IV. His Catholic majesty shall not, for the future, suffer the subjects of his Britannic majesty, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood, in a district of which the boundaries shall be fixed, and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects, in a place to be agreed upon, either in the definitive treaty, or within six months after the exchange of the ratifications; and his said Catholic majesty assures to them, by this article, the entire enjoyment of what is above stipulated; provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogatory in any respect from the rights of his sovereignty.

"V. His Catholic majesty shall restore to Great-Britain the islands of Providence and the Bahamas, without exception, in the same condition in which they were, when they were conquered by the arms of the king of Spain.

"VI. All the countries and territories which may have been, or may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, or by those of his Catholic majesty, and which are not included in our present articles, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring compensation.

"VII. By the definitive treaty, all those which have existed till now between the two high contracting parties, and which shall not be derogated from either by the said treaty, or by the present preliminary treaty, shall be renewed and confirmed; and the two courts shall name commissioners to enquire into the state of the commerce between the two nations, in order to agree upon new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience; and the two said courts shall together, amicably fix a competent term for the duration of that business.

"VIII. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, That the king of Great-Britain shall cause East Florida to be evacuated, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done.

"The king of Great-Britain shall likewise enter again into possession of the Bahama islands, without exception, in the space of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

"In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

"IX. The prisoners made respectively by the arms of his Britannic majesty, and his Catholic majesty, by sea and by land, shall, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, be reciprocally and *bona fide* restored without ransom, and on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity, and each crown shall respectively reimburse the sums which shall have been advanced for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic titles which shall be produced on each side.

"X. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute,
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foes that assailed us in Europe, in America, in the West-Indies, and in the East. They remarked with great propriety, that the ministry who transacted the important matter alluded to had come into power at the most critical moment this nation had ever experienced; that they were sensible of the distressed situation of their country, and the arduous task they were about to undertake; but that, actuated by their duty, their attachment to the constitution, and their public spirit, they rather chose to run all hazards, than suffer such destructive measures any longer to be pursued; that they had come into administration when the cry of the whole nation was, "Give us peace on any terms;" and that they had procured a peace on much better terms than could have been expected. They drew a distressed picture of the situation of this country, and inferred, from the reduced state of the finances, the impossibility of continuing a war without the hazard of a national bankruptcy. With respect to what was particularly urged as to concessions, they observed, that France had, from the beginning of the negotiations, insisted to be released from some of the restrictions to which we had bound her; that our situation in the West-Indies, Tobago excepted, was the same we held at the peace of 1763, when we were victorious in every part of the globe. As to the boundaries in America so much objected to, they urged, that they were proposed agreeable to the system of moderation that now began to prevail in the most enlightened parts of Europe; and, in a word, presumed that all circumstances considered, every dispassionate and impartial man would be convinced that the ministry had done their duty, and made as good a peace as this kingdom had a right to expect. At length the motion for an address was carried by a majority of thirteen.

The members of the lower house, who spoke on this important occasion both for and against the preliminaries, went over much the same ground in general with those of the upper: we shall, therefore, only advert to such arguments as had not been so explicitly urged by any of the noble speakers in that house. The supporters of the preliminaries observed, that at the conclusion of a glorious war it would have been difficult to persuade the public, that the terms were sufficiently adequate to their expectations, but at the period of an unfortunate war they could not be deemed humiliating: that at the close of all wars, one of the powers would most probably, have the ascendancy, and to that power concessions must necessarily be made: but to decide on the merits of the intended peace, it was essential to take a view of our national finances, and that, of taking a comparative view of the present situation of this country with that previous to the war with America, the picture would be found truly deplorable. Having particularly adverted to the national debt, it was submitted to the judgement of the house, if a continuance of the war could end in any thing less than certain ruin. The opposers of the preliminaries went into a discussion of the particulars of each treaty, reprobated the several cessions made to France, censured the cession of Minorca and East Florida to Spain, adverted to the boundaries in America, and the declaration of the United States, and concluded, from a variety of circumstances respecting the terms in general, that there was no great probability of a lasting peace. An address having been moved by one of the members who spoke first on the

part of administration, an amendment was first moved by a noble lord, and carried by a majority of sixteen against the minister.

In consequence of the preliminary articles of peace signed by the respective belligerent powers, a bill was brought into the house of commons farther to open an intercourse between Great-Britain and the United States of America. This bill passed through some stages, but was finally lost on the appointment of a new ministry, and all the arguments that were urged for and against it, were, in fact, included in the debates that followed the bringing in of another bill, introduced by Mr. Secretary Fox, in order to accomplish the same object.

About this time an unexpected coalition of the partisans of lord North and Mr. Fox took place, and the consequent censures passed in the lower house on the negotiators of the peace. Many members thought these inconveniences of such serious consequence, that, however it might seem to encroach on the royal prerogative, in which alone was the appointment of ministers, it was highly necessary, in a moment so extremely critical, to address his majesty on this occasion. Accordingly the following motion was made on the 24th of March, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to take into consideration the present calamitous condition of this country occasioned by a long and ruinous war, and that he would appoint such an administration, as would deserve the confidence of the people, and relieve them from the distractions under which they groaned." This motion could not be expected to pass without opposition, nor the famous coalition not to be severely censured on the one hand, or remain unsupported on the other. A member whose parliamentary conduct had ever been graced by independence and integrity, (Mr. Martin,) peremptorily declared, that from fixed principle he abhorred the coalition; that he had for many years heard the wisest and best men in the house exclaim against the incompetence of the noble lord (North) to sustain the vast cares of this mighty empire, that his somnolency, his blunders, his obstinacy, &c. had been the continual theme of those very men who were now elaborate in their encomiums on his character; and that therefore he should feel himself a betrayer of the interests of his country, if he gave his voice for an address to countenance such a coalition; but having an entire confidence in the wisdom and firmness of his sovereign, he should vote for it, not doubting that his majesty's choice would meet the most sanguine wishes of his people. At length the address was put, carried, and graciously received by his majesty, who said, that it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes expressed by his faithful commons.

On the 31st, the country being still without an administration, the chancellor of the exchequer announced his resignation to the house. The suspension of public business, unavoidably consequent on this state of affairs, afforded just ground for public murmur and parliamentary interference. Different forms of addresses were moved and submitted to the consideration of the house, but nothing was carried into resolution; till at length an administration was formed, and on the 2d of April many of the consequent new writs were moved for in the house.

which may arise on account of prizes which may be paid at sea after the signing of these preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed that the ships and effects which may be taken in the Channel, or in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the present preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side.

"That the term shall be one month from the Channel, and the North Seas as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean: two months from the said Canary islands as far as the equinoctial line, or equator, and, lastly, five months in all parts of the world without exception, or other more description of time and place.

"XI. The ratification of the present preliminary articles shall be expedited in good and due form, and exchanged in the space of one month, or sooner if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

"In witness whereof, we the underwritten ministers plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty and of his Catholic majesty, by virtue of our respective powers, have agreed upon and signed these preliminary articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Versailles the 20th day of January, 1783.

ALLRYNE FITZ-HERBERT, (L. S.)
LE COMTE D'ARANDA, (L. S.)

On the 17th the royal assent was given by commission to several public and private bills; likewise the bill to repeal the acts of the 16th and 17th of his present majesty which prohibited the trade and intercourse with America. The bill for punishing mutiny and desertion. The bill to obviate all doubts which have arisen or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislature and judicature, and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great-Britain.

From the time when the new administration assumed the reins of government, no other subject of moment occurred except the statement of the new loan, till the 7th of May, when Mr. Pitt opened the great business of parliamentary reform, and defended his motion with all the powers of eloquence; however, after some ingenious debates on both sides the question, there appeared a majority of one hundred and forty-four against it*.

Among the taxes proposed at the opening of the budget by lord John Cavendish, that on receipts appeared to be particularly unpopular, as it produced a general murmur among the commercial part of the community, followed by petitions from the city of London, and other parts, though without producing the desired effect.

On the 23d of June the chancellor of the exchequer delivered to the house a written message from the king, of which the following is a copy:

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty having taken into consideration the propriety of making an immediate and separate establishment for his dearly beloved son the prince of Wales, relies on the experienced zeal and affection of the house for the concurrence and support of such measures as shall be most proper to assist his majesty in this design."

After a few previous enquiries, the question was put for referring the message to the committee of supply, and carried unanimously; and on the 25th the order of the day for taking the same into consideration being read, and the house having gone into a committee of supply, lord John Cavendish said, that the committee must necessarily feel the most lively sentiments of affection to his majesty for the gracious manner in which he had determined to provide for the establishment of the prince of Wales, without calling upon his people for any additional supply to his civil list on that account. The whole of the annual expence his majesty was resolved to take upon himself, and to allow his royal highness fifty thousand pounds a year, but the committee could not be ignorant of the state of the civil list. About fifty thousand pounds had been set aside towards paying debts, which would keep the civil list down to eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds for about six years to come, and the allowance of fifty thousand pounds a year to the prince would leave his majesty's revenue so low, that it would be barely sufficient to discharge the different claims upon it. In such a situation, therefore, it was not surprizing that his majesty should call upon his faithful commons for a temporary aid to equip his son at his outlet. The question being put, was agreed to *nem. con.*

From this period no more business of moment was

discussed in either house till the 16th of July, when his majesty closed the session with a speech from the throne.

Having related the most important parliamentary transactions, we must now advert to others of a different nature. His majesty having, on the 5th of February, been pleased to order letters patents to be passed under the great seal of the kingdom of Ireland, for creating a society, or brotherhood, to be called Knights of the Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, to consist of the sovereign and fifteen knights companions, of which his majesty, his heirs and successors should perpetually be sovereigns, and his majesty's lieutenant-general, and governor-general of Ireland, or the lord-deputy or deputies, or lords justices, or other chief governors, should officiate as grand masters, fifteen knights companions of the said order were accordingly constituted by appointment of his majesty, and afterwards vested with the insignia in due form†.

The court martial which had been summoned on the trial of general Murray for the loss of Minorca met at the close of the preceding month, at the Horse Guards, to receive the decision of the court, after its revision by his majesty. Both general Murray, and Sir William Draper, who had exhibited the charges against him, being present, the judge advocate proceeded to read the decision, which was, "That twenty-seven of the charges were frivolous and groundless." Of the remaining two the court had found the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him to receive such reprehension as his majesty might think proper, which his majesty had been pleased to remit. The judge advocate then informed Sir William Draper, that it was the pleasure of the court, that he should be required to make an apology to general Murray for having instituted the present trial against him. Sir William acquiesced, and apologized accordingly. When the like requisition was made of general Murray to Sir William, for having wounded his feelings as a soldier, by his conduct to him during his command at Minorca, general Murray vehemently and peremptorily refused acquiescence, declaring that he was the protector of his own honour, and would leave that of every other man to his own vindication. He was, therefore, put under arrest; but on a meeting of the court-martial a few days after, the affair was accommodated, by changing a word in the proposed apology, and the matter terminated in such a manner as to leave no possible ground for apprehension that any future ill consequence would take place between the two generals.

In the beginning of April the agreeable news arrived from the East-Indies, that the establishment of peace with the Mahrattas was in a fair way of being accomplished, as articles of a treaty of peace and perpetual friendship, and alliance between the English and the Mahrattas had been agreed upon and executed. Some time after advices were received of the death of Hyder Ally, our most formidable opponent in that remote quarter of the globe, and that his successor Tippoo Saib appeared more pacifically inclined to the English than his father, having permitted such as were prisoners in the towns taken by him to have a free communication with the presidency at Madras, to be better supplied with necessities, and to have free egress and regress.

On the 22d of May articles were agreed upon between Mr. Oswald, his Britannic majesty's commissioner,

George de la Poor, earl of Tyrone,
Richard, earl of Shannon,
James, earl of Clanbrassil,
Richard, earl of Mornington,
James, earl of Courtown,
James, earl of Charlemont,
Thomas, earl of Beftive,
Henry, earl of Ely,
Chancellor, Archbishop of Dublin,
Register, Dean of St. Patrick's,
Secretary, Lord Delvin,
Ulster, William Hawkins, Esq.
Usher, John Freemantle, Esq.

* So strenuous were the freeholders of the county of York for the effecting a more equal parliamentary representation, that a petition was presented by them on that account, signed by ten thousand one hundred and twenty-four names.

† The following is a list of the knights companions as then instituted:

His royal highness prince Edward,
His grace William, duke of Leinster,
Henry Smyth, earl of Clanrickard,
Randal William, earl of Antrim,
Thomas, earl of Westmeath,
Morrrough, earl of Inchiquin,
Charles, earl of Drogheda,

and the commissioners of the United States of America. These articles particularly set forth the acknowledgment of the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the said states on the part of Great-Britain: pointed out their boundaries in express terms, and settled divers points relative to navigation, trade, and commerce.

Sir Roger Curtis, who had so eminently distinguished himself for his valour as an officer during the late siege of Gibraltar, renewed on the 16th of June, as deputed from our court, the treaty of peace which had subsisted between Great-Britain and the emperor of Morocco*.

On the 25th, a sumptuous edifice, designed as a ge-

* Sir Roger Curtis took with him, as presents to that African monarch, three twenty-six pounders, and one of eighteen, with four hundred balls, besides several other trifling articles.

† The following is a copy of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty, and the States General of the United Provinces:

“ IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY.

“ The king of Great-Britain and the States General of the United Provinces, animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have already authorized their respective ministers plenipotentiary to sign mutual declarations for a suspension of arms; and being willing to re-establish union and good understanding between the two nations, as necessary for the benefit of humanity in general, as for that of their respective dominions and subjects, have named for this purpose; to wit, on the part of his Britannic majesty, the most illustrious and excellent lord George, duke and earl of Manchester, viscount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, &c. his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; and on the part of their high mightinesses the States General, the most excellent lords Matthew Lestevenon de Berkenroode, and Gerard Brantsen, respectively their ambassador, and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiaries; who, after having duly communicated their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:

“ *Article I.* As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic majesty, his kingdom, dominions, and subjects, and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, their dominions and subjects of what quality or condition soever they may be, without exception, either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions and subject, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury on either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

“ *II.* With respect to the honours of the flag, and the salute at sea, by the ships of the republic towards those of his Britannic majesty, the same custom shall be respectively followed, as was practised before the commencement of the war which is just concluded.

“ *III.* All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of exchange of the ratification of these preliminary articles; each power respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes; and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this preliminary treaty.

“ *IV.* The States General of the United Provinces cede

neral bank, being completely finished in the city of Dublin, was opened for the transacting of public business.

On the 2d of September preliminary articles of peace, between his majesty the king of Great-Britain, and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces of Holland †, were signed at Paris by the plenipotentiaries of the respective powers; as was, on the 3d, the definitive treaty with France, Spain, and America ‡, and on the 6th of the following month, by virtue of his majesty's royal warrant, peace was proclaimed between Great-Britain, France, and Spain, at the usual places, and with the accustomed ceremonies.

and guaranty, in full right to his Britannic majesty, the town of Negapatnam, with the dependencies thereof; but, in consideration of the importance which the States General of the United Provinces annex to the possession of the aforesaid town, the king of Great-Britain, as a proof of his good-will towards the said states, promises, notwithstanding this cessation, to receive and treat with them for the restitution of the said town, in case the states should hereafter have an equivalent to offer to him.

“ *V.* The king of Great-Britain shall restore to the States General of the United Provinces, Trinquemale, as also all the other towns, forts, harbours, and settlements, which in the course of the present war, have been conquered, in any part of the world whatever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, or by those of the English East-India company, and of which he might be in possession; the whole in the condition in which they shall be found.

“ *VI.* The States General of the United Provinces, promise and engage not to obstruct the navigation of the British subjects in the eastern seas.

“ *VII.* Whereas differences have arisen between the English African company, and the Dutch West-India company, relative to the navigation on the coasts of Africa, as also on the subject of Cape Apollonia; for preventing all cause of complaint between the subjects of the two nations upon those coasts, it is agreed that commissaries shall be named, on each side, to make suitable arrangements on these points.

“ *VIII.* All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well as by those of the States General, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

“ *IX.* As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made, it is agreed that the king of Great-Britain shall cause Trinquemale to be evacuated, as well as all the towns, forts, and territories which have been taken by his arms, and of which he may be in possession, excepting what is ceded to his Britannic majesty by those articles, at the same periods as the restitutions and evacuations shall be made between Great-Britain and France. The States General shall restore at the same period the towns and territories which their arms may have taken from the English in the East-Indies. In consequence of which, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of these preliminary articles.

“ *X.* His Britannic majesty, and their high mightinesses the aforesaid States General, promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in this present preliminary treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present articles.

“ *XI.* The ratifications of the present preliminary articles, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of one month, or sooner, if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

“ In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, their ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, in their names, and by virtue of our full powers, the present preliminary articles, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris the 2d day of September, 1783.

“ LESTEVENON VAN BERKENROODE, (I. S.)

“ MANCHESTER. (L. S.)

“ BRANTSEN. (L. S.)

‡ As the substance of the definitive treaties is contained in the preliminary articles which were agreed to by the several belligerent powers, we think it unnecessary to insert copies of those treaties in this place.

The session of parliament was opened on the 11th of November by a speech from his majesty to both houses, in which he informed them, that definitive treaties of peace had been concluded with the courts of France and Spain, and with the United States of America; and that preliminary articles had been also ratified with the States General of the United Provinces. When his majesty had retired from the house, his royal highness the prince of Wales, who had been previously introduced with the usual ceremonies, and taken his chair on the right hand of the throne, took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and made and subscribed the declaration, and also took and subscribed the oaths of abjuration. In both houses a motion for an address was carried; and these addresses being presented to his majesty, were graciously received.

Mr. Secretary Fox brought forward on the 18th of November, his motion respecting the future regulation of the English settlements in the East-Indies, and after a number of pertinent observations, concluded his speech with the following motions: 1. That leave be given to bring in a bill for vesting the affairs of the East-India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public; 2. That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better government of the territorial acquisitions and dependencies in India. These motions, after a short debate, were severally put, and agreed to by the house. When the first bill was brought in, it was read the first time, and ordered to be printed; and after some desultory debates, a day was fixed for the second reading. Accordingly at the stated time, the point was agitated with great vehemence by the respective parties. Mr. secretary Fox vindicated the bill with his usual force and energy. He argued upon principles of humanity, and painted, in the liveliest colours, the shocking acts of barbarity committed by the Europeans on the natives of India. He represented the impropriety of supporting the servants of the company, who, in defiance of every thing sacred, could be guilty of the most atrocious acts of cruelty and wantonness: urged the grand plea, necessity: and having declared, that in bringing it into parliament he had done his duty as a minister of this country, a friend to humanity, and an enemy to oppression, therefore moved, that the bill might be committed. Lord North, in a very able manner, defended the principles of the bill, reprobated the servants of the company for engaging in the most wanton hostilities, which had nearly ruined the interests of the India company in that part of the world, and concluded with averring, that the tendency of the bill was only to diminish their political, but not by any means their real, consequence. The opponents reasoned against the bill upon general principles as dishonest, impolitic, and arbitrary. They pointed out particularly the injustice of infringing the purchased rights of the chartered company, and the dangerous tendency of establishing an influence which might end only with the existence of the constitution. After a variety of arguments produced on both sides, the house divided on a motion for adjournment, which was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and nine voices. The question, that the bill be committed, was then carried without a division, and it was ordered to be committed for the 1st of December. On that day the principal opponents again displayed their eloquence, and the bill was again committed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen. But this measure of administration met with a very different fate in the house of lords, where, after some debates, the motion for the commitment of the bill was lost by a majority of nineteen.

At twelve o'clock on Thursday night, the 18th, a special messenger announced to lord North and Mr. Fox, that his majesty had no further occasion for their services.

At the same time they were commanded to send the seals by the under secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable. The next day the right honourable William Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; earl Gower, president of the council; and earl Temple, secretary of state; the latter immediately wrote letters of dismission to the remaining members of the cabinet, the consequence of which was, a general and almost unexampled resignation of their adherents. Earl Temple did not long remain in office; for, on Monday the 22d, Mr. Grenville rose and announced the resignation of his noble relation, who, he said, had taken this step in order that he might not be supposed to shelter himself under the cover of authority against any charge that might be brought against him, but that he might meet it fairly and openly in his private capacity. A dissolution of parliament being now expected, a motion was made to address his majesty, with a view to prevent its taking place. At length the question being put, that the house agree to the motion for the address, it was carried with so great a strength of shew, that the friends of the new ministry did not think proper to try the question by a decision. When the address was presented to his majesty, he returned an answer, in which he assured the house, that he should not interrupt their meeting by any exercise of his prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution. It was then finally agreed to by the house to adjourn to the 12th of January ensuing*.

During these political distractions, dispatches arrived from his excellency major-general James Stuart, commander in chief of his majesty's and the East-India company's forces on the coast of Coromandel, containing a particular account of a very signal victory obtained over the French and Tippon Saib's auxiliaries, under his command. The same dispatches brought a letter from vice admiral Sir Edward Hughes, wherein it appeared, that he had had another action with the French squadron, under monsieur Suffrein. It began on the 20th of June, at four minutes past four P. M. when the enemy, having the advantage of the wind, hauled off. Several of his majesty's ships were much disabled in their hulls, masts, and rigging, and sickness prevailed throughout the whole fleet. The admiral on his return to Madras road received intelligence of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace, as well as the cessation of hostilities agreed to between Great-Britain and the States General of the United Provinces; and on the 27th dispatched his majesty's ship *Medea* on a flag of truce, with letters to monsieur Suffrein and the marquis de Bussy. On the 4th of July the *Medea* returned to Madras road, with answers from the French commanders in chief, in which they concurred in a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, as well as an immediate release of prisoners on both sides: and thus terminated the war in that quarter of the globe. A reconciliation was no sooner brought about with foreign enemies, than domestic faction reared its baneful head, and involved our political system in anarchy. When the house of commons met pursuant to adjournment on the 12th of January, 1784, debates were maintained by the contending parties with zeal and some degree of acrimony. A retrospect was had to the rumoured dissolution of parliament, and the talents of the late ministers were compared with those of the present. The sovereign's prerogative to appoint ministers, and dissolve parliaments, was admitted; but the propriety of such measures, at a certain crisis, was called in question by the advocates for the late administration. After a division of the house on the order of the day, upon which there appeared a majority of thirty-nine against the minister, the house went into a committee on the state of the

* Notwithstanding there appeared so much difficulty in forming a cabinet, an arrangement of ministry was completed in a few days. The duke of Rutland was appointed lord

privy seal; the marquis of Caermarthen and lord Sidney, principal secretaries of state, and lord Thurlow, lord high chancellor.

nation; and Mr. Fox moved several resolutions, of which the following were the sum and substance: That it is the opinion of this committee, that for any person or persons in his majesty's treasury, exchequer, or navy offices, or the bank of England, or employed in paying public money, to issue any for services already voted by the house of commons, unless the usual bill for appropriating the sums voted for services, should pass into a law before any dissolution or prorogation of parliament, would be a high misdemeanor, derogatory to the dignity of the house, and subversive of the constitution. That there be laid before the house an account of all sums issued for public services, from the 19th of December, 1783, to the 12th of January, 1784. That no more money be issued on the credit of a vote of the house, until the above account shall have been laid before the house, nor for three days after. That the chairman be instructed to move the house that the mutiny bill be read a second time on the 23d of February next.

Some objections having been made to the third of these resolutions, the mover said, that in order to take away every possible ground for accusing him of any intention to withhold the supplies, he would not press that resolution. The other three were then carried, after a short debate without division. Several other resolutions were moved respecting general and alarming reports, new appointments, &c. pointing upon the whole so directly against the new ministry, that their friends of course opposed them; however, they were carried by a considerable majority. The most material circumstance, in the course of the debate was, that the minister would by no means consent to give an explanation of the king's answer to the address of the house against a dissolution or prorogation of parliament; inasmuch, that after a variety of efforts in vain to produce an explicit declaration, the house, on the 19th, went into the state of the nation; and it was moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that having resolved that, in the present situation of the dominions of his majesty, it is proper there should be an administration that possessed the confidence of the house; and that certain new and extraordinary circumstances had attended the appointment of his majesty's ministers, by no means calculated to conciliate the confidence of this house, and derogatory to parliament and the constitution, their continuance in places of high trust is contrary to constitutional principles, and subversive of the public good." There appeared a majority of twenty-one against the minister on a division.

On the 23d Mr. chancellor Pitt moved, that the India bill laid by him before the house, be read a second time and committed. Mr. Fox immediately rose, and adverted to the tendency of the bill as totally insufficient to eradicate the evils complained of, or emancipate the company from that slavish dependance on its servants abroad, which deprived it of its energy, and rendered it the prostituted object of foreign cabal. After a considerable debate, the house divided on the second reading, when there appeared against the bill a majority of eight. The bill being thus rejected, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation and government of our affairs in the East-Indies; the two principal objects of which were, the rendering the system for the government of India permanent by authority of parliament; and the fixing the government at home. The other system as secondary, might be modelled to meet the inclinations and opinions of the country. He then called upon the minister to declare explicitly, whether the house was to rely on the promise made in answer to their late address. The minister, however, made no answer. He was called upon again and again; but remained silent. At length, as if urged by the pointed severity of some remarks, he declared that he would not condescend to answer interrogatories which he did not think gentlemen entitled to put to him, and concluded with assigning his reasons in a high and elevated style of expression.

The day following the members were engaged as before on the subject on the dissolution, and as undecidedly; till at length the question for adjournment was put and carried. A right honourable member, after some exordium, moved, that the house do come to this resolution, "That the house of commons expressed the firmest reliance on his majesty's most gracious assurance, that he would not interrupt their proceeding in settling the affairs of the East-India company, the state of public credit, and of the revenue; objects which appeared of the greatest magnitude to his majesty, to this house, and to the public." The minister appeared, from the tenor of his observations on this motion, to be much agitated by it at first: at length, however, he said he was not averse to declare, that he never had any intention of dissolving the parliament, that the circumstances of the public rendered it a measure which no friend to his country would advise; that he for one would not advise any such measure, nor even act with a ministry by whom it was advised.

This declaration in some degree conciliated the minds of the opposite party; and a motion was made, and passed unanimously, for adjournment to Thursday the 29th.

In this distracted state of our councils, a meeting was held for the laudable purpose of recommending an union of parties. They were between fifty and sixty in number, and, in point of property and consideration in the country, truly respectable. The following requisition, signed by several members of parliament, was presented to Mr. Grovesnor, in consequence of his proposal in the house of commons for an union among the leaders of the contending parties:

"We whose names are hereunto signed, members of the house of commons, being fully persuaded that the united efforts of those in whose integrity, abilities, and constitutional principles we have reason to confide, can alone rescue the country from its present distracted state, do join in most earnestly entreating them to communicate with each other on the arduous situation of public affairs; trusting that by a liberal and unreserved intercourse between them, every impediment may be removed, to a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters, acting on the same public principles, and entitled to the support of independent and disinterested men.

"And we depute—to present this representation and requisition to his grace the duke of Portland, the right honourable lord John Cavendish, the right honourable William Pitt, and the right honourable Charles James Fox, in our names." But all the efforts of this respectable body were frustrated; the one part making the resignation of the minister the very basis of the proposed intercourse, and the minister stating, that his personal feelings would not suffer him to resign his post for the purpose of negotiating: so that after divers meetings, and various letters had passed between the parties, the assembly carried a motion declaratory of their sentiments, and agreed to adjourn *sine die*.

The 16th of January, the lord-mayor, attended by a great number of the aldermen, went from Guildhall to St. James's, and presented an address to his majesty, expressing the satisfaction they felt at the dismissal of his majesty's late ministers, and their earnest assurances of maintaining their zeal and loyalty inviolate. An address of the like nature was also presented by the merchants of London.

On the 29th, the house of commons met pursuant to adjournment; but nothing of importance occurred till the 2d of February, when Mr. Grovesnor, the chairman of the meeting of the country gentlemen, assembled for the purpose of effecting an union of parties, after informing the house that the conciliatory efforts of that meeting were not likely to prove effectual, moved, "That in the present circumstances of this country, so arduous and pressing, it was necessary for that house to take such measures as were most conducive to procure a strong, permanent, extensive, and united administration,

tion, as should carry the full confidence of the commons and the public." The warm friends of administration opposed the motion, and reprobated the idea of an union between the parties mentioned; as a meer imitation of a recent coalition. Mr. Fox vindicated his measures and those of his adherents; asserted the dignity and privileges of the house of commons, and maintained, that to set the sense of that house at defiance, was to overturn its consequence, and with it the constitution itself, and the liberties of the subject. At length, after a few words from some other members, the question was carried without a division. Another motion was then made similar to the former, both as to substance and effect, and carried by a majority against the minister. But the present administration appeared to have had the sanction and concurrence of the upper house, in which a noble lord, on the 4th of February, made two resolutions respecting some late transactions, and then moved for an address to the throne, founded on these resolutions, expressive of their entire satisfaction with his majesty's appointment of ministers, and assuring his majesty that they would, upon all occasions, support him in the just exercise of a constitutional prerogative. The same subject of altercation which had engrossed the attention of the lower house for some time, continued to be debated from day to day, and every motion was carried against the minister, till, on the 20th, Mr. Fox moved for an address to the king, which being also carried, was prepared and reported. This address was presented on the 25th to his majesty, whose reply being read in the house, Mr. Fox rose and said, he would not then enter into the consideration of it, but would barely remark, that it appeared to him to be final on the part of his majesty, and therefore the house could not well take more than one step farther; and as this proceeding on the part of the house ought to be final also, there ought to be due time for gentlemen to turn the subject in their minds, what that measure should be. He then moved that his majesty's answer should be taken into consideration on Monday the 8th of March, which was agreed to without any debate. Accordingly, on that day Mr. Fox, after some exordium, moved a variety of resolutions, tending on the whole to testify the surprize and affliction of the house on receiving the answer which his majesty's ministers had advised, to assure his majesty, that the house neither had disputed, nor meant in any instance to dispute, much less to deny his majesty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of state such persons as to his majesty's wisdom might seem meet; at the same time again submitting to his majesty's royal wisdom, that no administration, however legally appointed, can serve his majesty and the public with effect, which does not enjoy the confidence of that house, to express a most unfeigned gratitude for his majesty's royal assurances that he does not call in question the right of the house to offer their advice to his majesty on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of royal prerogative; to declare that they had done their duty to his majesty, and their constituents, in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redress; and that therefore the blame and responsibility must now be wholly upon those who had disregarded the opinions, and neglected the admonitions of the representatives of his majesty's people, and attempted thereby to set up a new system of executive administration, which, wanting the confidence of the house, and acting in defiance to their resolution, must prove at once inadequate by its inefficiency to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous by its example to the liberties of the people.

But the opponents of administration in this instance lost considerable ground, having, on a division on Mr. Fox's motion, the majority only of an unit.

On the 10th, lord Hinchinbroke informed the house, that their representation had been laid before his majesty, and graciously received.

On the 25th, his majesty went to the house of peers, and having given the royal assent to several bills then ready, made the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"On a full consideration of the present situation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumstances which have produced it, I am induced to put an end to this session of parliament; I feel it a duty, which I owe to the constitution and to the country in such a situation, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people, by calling a new parliament.

"I trust that this measure will tend to obviate the mischiefs arising from the unhappy divisions and distractions which have lately subsisted; and that the various important objects which will require consideration may be afterwards proceeded upon with less interruption, and with happier effect.

"I can have no other object, but to preserve the true principles of our free and happy constitution, and to employ the powers entrusted to me by law, for the only end for which they were given, the good of my people."

The next day the metropolis was thrown into a very great ferment, by an incident which, from the crisis in which it happened, was deemed the more extraordinary. Some robbers having burglariously entered the lord chancellor's house in Great Ormond-street, carried off the Great Seal of England. As soon as his lordship was apprized of the robbery, information was sent to the respective offices of police, and persons were dispatched in quest of the perpetrators of so daring a villainy, but without the desired effect. The same day a very important event was announced to the public; namely, a proclamation for dissolving the then parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

On the 18th of May, the time appointed for the meeting of parliament, both houses assembled with the usual formalities, the house of commons proceeded to the choice of a speaker, when Mr. Cornwall was again placed in the chair. The day following, his majesty in a speech from the throne declared the causes of his calling the parliament. He assured them of the satisfaction he had in meeting them, after recurring in so important a motion, to the sense of his people; and of his reliance, that they were animated by the same sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the constitution, which had been so fully manifested throughout the kingdom. He then directed their attention to the maintenance of the public credit, to the support of the established revenues, and to the affairs of the East-India company: and, after warning them against adopting any measures for the regulation of these last, which might affect the constitution and our dearest interests at home, concluded with expressing his inclinations to support and maintain in their just balance the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature*. The strong expressions, inserted in the addresses, of satisfaction and gratitude to his majesty for having dissolved the late parliament, occasioned a short debate. An amendment was proposed, but was rejected by a majority of one hundred and sixty-eight.

On the 14th of June, the attention of the house was again called to this important subject by Mr. Burke, in a speech of great length, in which he examined with

* Before the motion was made for an address, Mr. Lee, in a long speech, stated to the house the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster, who had neglected making a return to the writ of election, on pretence of not having finished the scrutiny into the legality of the votes, and concluded with moving

a resolution, declaring it to be "his duty to return two citizens to serve for the said city." This motion, after a long debate, was negatived by a majority of two hundred and eighty-three to one hundred and thirty-six.

great freedom the dangerous principles upon which that act of power was both executed and defended by government.

On the 21st of June, the chancellor of the exchequer moved several resolutions, as the foundation of the act, since known by the name of the "Commutation Act." He stated to the house, that the illicit trade of the country had of late increased to so alarming a height, as to endanger almost the very existence of several branches of the revenue, and more particularly that of tea. It had appeared before the committee on smuggling, that only five millions five hundred thousand pounds weight of tea was sold annually by the East-India company, whereas the annual consumption of the kingdom was supposed, from good authority, to exceed twelve millions*, so that the illicit trade in this article was more than double the legal. The only remedy he could devise for this evil was, to lower the duties on tea to so small an amount, as to make the profit on the illicit trade not adequate to the risk. It was well known that in this trade the price of freight and insurance to the shore was about twenty-five *per cent.* and the insurance on the inland carriage about ten *per cent.* more, in all thirty-five *per cent.* The duty on tea, as it then stood, was about fifty *per cent.*; so that the smuggler had an advantage over the fair dealer of fifteen *per cent.* as the voyage from England to the continent might be easily repeated four or five times in the year: he therefore proposed to reduce the duty on tea to twelve pounds ten shillings *per cent.* As this regulation would cause a deficiency in the revenue of about six hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, he proposed to make good the same by an additional window tax. This tax, he said, would not be felt as an additional burthen, but ought to be considered as a commutation, and would in fact prove favourable to the subject: a house, for instance, of nine windows, which would be rated at ten and six-pence, might be supposed to consume seven pounds of tea; the difference between the old duties on which, and the new duty proposed, might, at an average, amount to one pound five shillings and ten-pence, so that such a family would gain by the commutation fifteen shillings and four-pence. The act, however, met with a warm opposition in both houses of parliament. It was denied to have any claim to the principle of commutation. Tea, though an article of pretty general use, was still an article of luxury; the admission of light into houses was indispensably necessary; the act therefore, in effect, compelled all persons, whether they drank tea or not, to pay a tax for it. The chief benefit from the measure would accrue to the Chinese, who, by the increasing consumption of tea, and demands for a higher-priced sort, would draw out of this country money to double the amount they had done before.

The next public measures brought forward by the minister, related to an object that required all the address and management he possessed. The first was a bill to enable the East-India company to divide eight *per cent.* interest on their capital. By the sudden dissolution of the late parliament, the committee to whom the examination of the state of the company's affairs had been referred, was prevented from making any progress in that business; and though the enquiry was resumed as early as possible in the present session, yet, before any report could be made, the house was reduced to the necessity, either of authorizing the company to make a dividend, without any information relative to their abilities so to do, or to endanger their credit, by refusing its consent. All the disgraceful and dangerous circumstances of this dilemma were strongly urged by the late ministers against their successors; and as the best and safest means of extricating the public out of the difficulty, it was proposed to make the dividend six *per cent.* instead of eight. It was admitted on all sides, that the

affairs of the company were, at least, not in the most flourishing condition; and it was fixed, not only as a mockery, but as an act of real injustice to the public, that, while the company was applying to parliament for a considerable pecuniary relief, they should take care to divide amongst themselves as much as they had divided under the most favourable circumstances; and that they should not take upon themselves any part of the distresses occasioned by their own mismanagement, but lay all upon the public. On the other side, the necessity of the case, and the probable grounds for supposing that the company might be indulged in a dividend of eight *per cent.* without any detriment to the public, were chiefly insisted on. It was also urged in favour of the company, that their distresses did not arise from their own faults, but that they had partaken in the general calamity which, in consequence of the war, had involved the whole country. The bill, as originally proposed, passed the house of commons without a division; and after a warm debate in the house of lords, passed, on a division of twenty-eight to nine. The second act was to allow the company a further respite of duties due to the exchequer; to enable them to accept of bills beyond the amount prescribed by former acts of parliament; and to establish their future dividends. These propositions gave rise to frequent debates. The partiality of the minister towards the India company was allowed to be highly and justly merited; and the proofs he gave them of his gratitude in the commutation act, the dividend act, and the present bill, kept pace with his sense of the obligation he owed them. At length after several divisions, the bill passed both houses, and was followed by an act "for the better government of the affairs of the East-India company," &c.

On the 30th of June Mr. Pitt opened the national accounts for the year, or what is generally termed the Budget. After having recapitulated the supplies which had been granted by parliament, and the ways and means for raising them, he stated, that the ways and means fell just within six million pounds of the sum voted for the supplies; and this last sum he proposed to raise by a loan. With respect to the unfunded debt, which amounted to upwards of twelve millions in navy bills, and one million in ordnance debentures, though he intended to fund only seven millions of this debt, still, as most of the navy bills actually bore interest, and as the interest on that part which he did not mean to fund this year, would amount to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, he proposed to lay on taxes this year for the interest of the whole, notwithstanding only half of it would be funded.

The session closed with a motion brought forward by Mr. Dundas, for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland in the rebellion of 1745. As this measure had for its object the relief of individuals, whose unequivocal attachment and loyalty to his present majesty and his family, could not be supposed, even in a less liberal and less enlightened age than the present, to be tainted or affected by the crimes of their ancestors, it met with the perfect approbation of the commons. In the house of lords, however, it was opposed by the lord chancellor, both on grounds of its impolicy and its partiality. It was impolitic, he said, as far as it rendered nugatory the settled maxim of the British constitution, that treason was a crime of so deep a dye, that nothing was adequate to its punishment but the total eradication of the person, the name, or the family, out of the society which he had attempted to hurt. This was the wisdom, he said, of former times. But if a more enlightened age chose to relax from the established severity, he thought it ought to be done with gravity and deliberation. It was, he said, partial, because the estates forfeited in 1715, and which were forfeited upon the same grounds and principles as those in 1745, were

* The whole quantity of tea imported from China is about nineteen millions of pounds, of which it is conjectured

that not more than seven is consumed in the other countries of Europe.

passed over in silence, whilst even a person who had forfeited in 1690 was included in the provision. The bill nevertheless passed the lords, and received the royal assent.

On the 20th of August the king put an end to the session, by a speech from the throne; in which, after expressing his approbation of their proceedings, and his concerns for the additional burthens which they had been obliged to lay upon the public, he adverted to the important objects, with respect to trade and commerce, yet to be provided for; and he trusted, that such regulations would be framed, upon a full investigation, as might be calculated to promote the wealth and prosperity of every part of the British empire.

On the 25th of January, 1785, the house met according to appointment. In his majesty's speech, the object particularly recommended to the attention of both houses, was the final adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great-Britain and Ireland. The success that had attended the measures taken last session, for the suppression of smuggling, was next mentioned; as an encouragement to apply, with continued assiduity, to that important object. And finally the reports of the commissioners of accounts, and such further regulations as might appear necessary in the different offices of the kingdom, were submitted as matters worthy of their early consideration. The address, which, as usual, was an echo to the speech, passed in the house of lords without either comment or any sort of opposition. In the house of commons, the earl of Surrey made a few remarks, on what he looked upon as important deficiencies in the speech. At length after some debates, the question of the amendment was put, and negatived without a division; and the address passed *nem. con.*

The most prominent feature of the present session of parliament, whether we consider its real importance as a constitutional question, or the warmth and energy with which it was discussed, was the Westminster scrutiny. At the late general election, lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and Sir Cecil Wray, offered themselves as candidates to represent that city in parliament. The first of these gentlemen was elected by a very great majority; the struggle betwixt the two last was long and obstinate: after continuing the contest for upwards of six weeks, it was finally concluded on the 17th of May, 1784, leaving a majority of two hundred and thirty-five voters in favour of Mr. Fox. The high bailiff, at the requisition of Sir Cecil Wray, the unsuccessful candidate, granted a scrutiny into the poll which he had taken, on the day on which it closed, and which was the day previous to the return of his writ. This mode of proceeding was on the spot formally protested against by Mr. Fox, and also by several of the electors. Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament, the conduct of the high bailiff in granting the scrutiny, under the circumstances above-mentioned, was warmly taken up by opposition, and as warmly defended by the minister and his friends. After the subject had been debated, as well by council at the bar of the house, as by the members themselves, in every shape, and as often as it could be brought before them, both by petitions from Mr. Fox, and the electors, the proceeding of the high bailiff was justified; and it was resolved, by a very considerable majority, on

a motion of lord Mulgrave's, "That the high bailiff of Westminster do proceed in the scrutiny for the said city, with all practicable dispatch." Agreeable to this resolution of the house, the high bailiff proceeded with the scrutiny during the remainder of the session, and during the recess. Not quite two parishes out of the seven, into which Westminster is divided, were finished when the parliament met the second time, and yet the scrutiny had then continued for eight months. It was calculated that the business already gone through was not more than an eighth of the whole*.

The Westminster scrutiny was brought again before the house, by a petition of several of the electors, on the 8th of February, when the high bailiff and his counsel, Mr. Hargrave and Mr. Murphy, underwent a long examination at the bar of the house, touching the practicability of carrying on the scrutiny, and the difficulties and delays attending the same. The high bailiff gave in evidence, that, calculating from what had been already done, it would take certainly not less, but probably a much longer time, than two years, to finish the scrutiny. The day following, Mr. Welbore Ellis moved, "That Thomas Corbett, Esq. high bailiff of the city of Westminster, having finally closed the poll for members to represent the said city, do forthwith obey the said writ, and make a return of the precept directed to him for that purpose." This motion brought the merits of the whole question again before the house, and was long and ably debated, during several days, by lord Mulgrave, the master of the rolls, the attorney and solicitor-general, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Hardinge, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt, on the one side; and on the other, by Mr. Lee, Sir Thomas Davenport, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Adam, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Powis, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Montagu, lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox†. Towards the close of the debate, the high bailiff was called to the bar, and informed by the speaker of a resolution made by the house, whereby it appeared that the prosecution of the scrutiny was not defended by any thing like so numerous a majority as during the preceding session. Colonel Fitzpatrick moved, "That it appearing to this house, that Thomas Corbett, Esq. high bailiff, having received a precept from the sheriff of Middlesex, for electing two citizens to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster, and having taken and finally closed the poll on the 17th of May last, being the day next before the day of return of the said writ, he be now directed forthwith to make a return of his precept of members chosen in pursuance thereof." This motion was rejected by a majority of nine only. The same motion was again brought forward on the 3d of March, by alderman Sawbridge, and the question of adjournment was moved on it by the chancellor of the exchequer, which passed in the negative. The main question was then put, and carried without a division. Thus, after a struggle in parliament for two sessions, terminated the Westminster scrutiny, and the high bailiff the day following made a return of lord Hood and Mr. Fox. Having gone through the business of the session, the house was adjourned, on the 2d of August, till the 27th of October; but in the mean time a proclamation was issued, by which it was prorogued to the 1st of December‡.

On

* Of the votes on the side of Mr. Fox, seventy-one had been objected to in the first parish, and the objections made good only against twenty-five: in the same parish, out of thirty-two of the voters for Sir Cecil Wray, which were objected to, twenty-seven were declared illegal. In the second parish, out of two hundred objected to, Mr. Fox lost eighty; Sir Cecil Wray out of seventy-five, at that time objected to, had sixty struck off.

† In the course of the debate on this subject, Mr. Fox said, "He saw plainly, that it was a pecuniary struggle, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expence of the contest. The scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than thirty thousand pounds a year. This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might be easily got at, as he was

poor; but still, little as he had, he would spend to the last shilling. If, in the end, he should lose his election, it would not be, he well knew, for want of a legal majority, but for want of money! and thus would he perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the treasury."

‡ The following are the heads of the principal acts of parliament passed in 1785. For confining, for a limited time, the trade between the ports of the United States of America, and his majesty's subjects in the island of Newfoundland, to bread, flour, and live stock, to be imported in none but British-built ships, actually belonging to British subjects, and navigated according to law, clearing out from the ports of his

On the 5th of February, the committee appointed to wait on Mr. Pitt with the freedom of the city of London, proceeded from Guildhall to Mr. Pitt's house, in Downing-street, Westminster, where they presented the freedom in form.

The parliament met again on the 24th of January, 1786, when his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he called the attention of the commons to the establishment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt, a measure which he trusted the flourishing state of the revenue would be sufficient to effect, with little addition to the public burthens. He concluded with saying, that the vigour and resources of the country, so fully manifested in its present situation, would encourage his parliament to give their utmost attention to every object of national concern; particularly to the consideration of such measures as might be necessary, in order to give further security to the revenue, and to promote and extend, as far as possible, the trade and industry of his subjects. Addresses, as usual, were presented by both houses.

The first object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament in the present session, came on the 27th of February, and was a measure which originated with the duke of Richmond, the master-general of the ordnance. It was a plan for fortifying the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. The house of commons had in the preceding session expressed their unwillingness to apply any part of the public money for this purpose, before they were made acquainted with the opinions of such persons as were best able to decide concerning the utility and propriety of such a measure. In consequence of this intimation, a board of military and naval officers was appointed by the king, with the master-general of the ordnance as their president; and the proposed plan of fortifications was referred to them for their opinions and advice. After they had investigated the subject, and had made their report thereon, the plans recommended were laid before a board of engineers to make an estimate of the expences necessary to carry them into execution*. It was originally intended by Mr. Pitt that it should be debated and decided upon, together with the ordnance estimates, as a mere collateral question. Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, who was one of the board of officers that made the report, expressed his desire, that before the business was further proceeded upon, so much both of the report itself and of the instructions upon which it was founded, as could be made public with safety to the state, should be laid upon the table of the house of commons. The reason alledged by him was, that the house might otherwise unwarily be led to think that the report sanctioned the plan of fortifications proposed, more than it really did. In support of this mode of proceeding, Mr. Sheridan, on the 16th of February, moved "for a copy of the appointment of the board of naval and military officers, and of such parts of their instructions, and of their report, as his majesty's discretion might deem proper to be made public, with perfect consistency to the safety of the state;" but as the board in question had been constituted by circular letters from the king, without any official commission or appointment, Mr. Pitt substituted another motion, the same in effect as the foregoing, but more conformable to the fact, which passed unanimously.

These papers being laid before the house, Mr. Pitt, on the 27th of the same month, introduced the measure in the form of a general resolution, to the following effect: "That it appears to this house, that to provide effectually for securing his majesty's dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, by a permanent system of fortification, founded on the most æconomical principles, and requiring the smallest number of troops possible to answer the purpose of such security, is an essential object for the safety of the state, intimately connected with the general defence of the kingdom, and necessary for enabling the fleet to act with full vigour and effect for the protection of commerce, the support of our distant possessions, and the prosecution of offensive operations, in any war in which the nation may hereafter be engaged." This mode of debating and disposing of the question, he said he had devised, as best calculated, in his opinion, to afford an opportunity of discussing, in their fullest extent, every principle which could possibly be involved in the proceeding, as well those in opposition to it, as those in its favour. It was also, he thought, more consistent with the great importance of the subject to bring it immediately before the house separately, and in the form of a specific resolution, than to send it to the committee involved with the rest of the ordnance estimates. In support of the resolution, Mr. Pitt undertook to prove the following positions: First, that the fortifying the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, was a measure of absolute necessity; secondly, that the plan of fortifications proposed by the duke of Richmond was the best possible plan for that purpose; thirdly, that these fortifications would be the means of giving a greater scope and effect to the operations of our fleets; and, lastly, that they would diminish the standing army. After a long discussion of the subject, the house divided on the original motion.

In March an alteration introduced into the mutiny bill, for the purpose of subjecting officers who held commissions by brevet to military law, was strongly opposed in both houses of parliament. It appears that the earliest mutiny bills included every officer "mustered or in the pay of an officer, or on half-pay." The inclusion of the last description of officers occasioned in those times some jealousy and uneasiness without doors, as an unnecessary extension of the military law, and was the subject of frequent debates in both houses of parliament; and, in the year 1748, that part of the clause was omitted, and has been left out of the mutiny bill ever since. In the present bill, instead of the word "mustered" the word "commissioned" was inserted, by which alteration all those officers who had commissions by brevet, although out of the service, were made subject to the regulations of the act. The general ground on which this alteration was supported, was, that though such officers received no pay from the crown, yet as they might possibly be invested with command, it was necessary they should be made subject to be tried by courts-martial, in case of misbehaviour while in command; and that there were also many other military officers who were not mustered, such as governors, lieutenant-governors, &c. who might eventually exercise command; and that it was highly reasonable that they should, on that account, become amenable to military law; and, lastly, two particular instances, which

majesty's European dominions, and furnished with a licence according to a form thereunto annexed.

For appointing commissioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are, or have been lately received in the several public offices therein mentioned; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and to report such observations as shall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices.

For the better regulating the office of the treasurer of his majesty's navy.

For the better examining and auditing the public accounts of this kingdom.

For appointing commissioners further to enquire into the

losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty, and attachment to the British government.

To limit the duration of polls and scrutinies, and for making other regulations, touching the election of members to serve in parliament for places within England and Wales, and for Berwick upon Tweed, and also for removing difficulties which may arise for want of returns being made of members to serve in parliaments.

* This estimate, which amounted to seven hundred and sixty thousand and ninety-seven pounds, Mr. Pitt laid before the house on the 10th of February, 1786, the day on which the rest of the ordnance estimates were brought forward.

had

had lately occurred, were alledged as proofs of the expediency of the measure proposed *. In reply to these observations, it was urged, that the whole system of martial law, as it infringed upon the natural and constitutional rights of the subject, was only defensible upon the strict ground of necessity, and ought, therefore, in times of peace more especially, to be narrowed if possible, instead of being extended. That the general principle, as recognized both in the theory and practice of our constitution, was, that military law should be confined to actual military service alone. That in ancient times when every man bore arms, and was liable to be called forth, military law was exercised upon every man while he was in actual service, but no longer. Thus those princes who had little power in their dominions, in respect to civil government, enjoyed and exercised almost an unlimited authority when at the head of their subjects, collected and embodied as an army, which again always ceased with the occasion that made it necessary. That in our times the militia were under military law when embodied as a militia, but were freed from it after they returned into the mass of the people, and the character of the soldier was sunk in that of the citizen. That the officers on half-pay, though at first included in the mutiny act, had been exempted from its operation by the deliberate voice of both houses of parliament: circumstances which clearly proved, that the prevalent idea in all ages had been to confine military law to actual military service. In the house of lords, the bill was opposed in two subsequent debates, with great eloquence and ability, by the earl of Carlisle, lord Stormont, and lord Loughborough; the first of whom proposed, in order to obviate the difficulty of a brevet officer's succeeding to command without being amenable to military law, that a clause should be added, enacting, that brevet officers should not take command but by virtue of a letter of service, or some special commission from his majesty. This proposal being accepted, lord Stormont moved, that instead of the word "commissioned," these words should be inserted, "mustered or called by proper authority into service;" this amendment, he conceived, would do away the objections entertained against the proposed innovation, and would surely comprehend all that the executive government could possibly desire. The clause, as originally framed, was defended by the lord chancellor, chiefly on the ground that all the king's forces, however constituted, ought to be subject to the same laws; that the distinction between an officer in actual service, was an unfair distinction with respect to the latter. If gentlemen chose to have the advantage of military rank, they ought to hold it on the condition of being subject to military law; and if they disliked that condition, they might ease themselves of the grievance by resigning their commissions. This argument introduced another topic of discussion. It was asked, whether an officer might not in actual service, give up his commission whenever he pleased? It was answered by lord Loughborough, that such a resignation was subject to his majesty's acceptance; and in this opinion the lord chancellor concurred, but added, no minister under the circumstances described, could advise his majesty not to accept such a resignation. On the division, there appeared for the original clause forty-two, against it twenty.

Early in this session Mr. Pitt took notice of that part

* The first related to colonel Stuart, a major-general by brevet in the East-Indies, who had in that quality taken upon him the command of the army in the settlement in which he was upon service, and had nevertheless not been deemed liable to be tried by a court martial, had any part of his conduct required that he should be tried. The second instance was that of general Ross, in which, upon a reference to the judges, they were unanimously of opinion, that officers holding commissions by brevet were not liable to be tried by a court-martial.

† The following is the substance of this famous treaty:

of his majesty's speech which related to the necessity of providing for the diminution of the national debt; he had at the same time given the house to understand, that such was the present flourishing condition of the revenue, that the annual national income would not only equal the annual national disbursements, but would leave a surplus of considerable magnitude; this surplus, he said, he meant to form into a permanent fund, to be constantly and invariably applied to the liquidation of the public debt. In pursuance of this information to the house, and in order to ascertain the amount of the surplus in question, Mr. Pitt, previous to his entering into the state of the finances, or ways and means for the present year, moved, "That the several accounts and other papers presented that session, relating to the public income and expenditure, he referred to the consideration of a select committee, and that the said committee be directed to examine and report to the house, what might be expected to be the annual amount of the income and expenditure in future." This motion was unanimously agreed to, and the select committee having framed their report, laid it before the house on the 21st of March: Mr. Pitt on the 29th, brought the consideration of the national debt, and his proposition for the diminution of it, formally before the house. In the course of the debate Mr. Pitt observed, that the accumulated compound interest on a million yearly, together with the annuities that would fall into that fund, would in twenty-eight years, amount to such a sum as would leave a surplus of four millions annually, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state. Some additional clauses being added to this bill, it was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the lords, where it also passed without meeting with any material opposition, and afterwards received the royal assent.

On the 22d of May, Mr. Pitt presented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the customs to the excise. This was one of the plans he had in view for encreasing the revenue, and which he had before given the house notice of, when he proposed the sinking fund of a million annually. The bill, however, was objected to upon two grounds: first, on the difficulty of applying the excise laws to such a commodity as wine; and, secondly, on the impolicy of ever extending those laws beyond their present limits. Notwithstanding the objections made to the bill by several members, it was read the third time on the 29th of June, and was carried without any material alterations.

On the 17th of February this year, Mr. Burke charged in the house of commons, Warren Hastings, Esq. with high crimes and misdemeanors, committed by that gentleman during his administration in the East-Indies, in the capacity of governor-general of Bengal. In consequence of the charges made against Mr. Hastings, a prosecution was commenced; but as it could give little or no entertainment to our readers to enter into a detail of the minutiae of this famous trial, which has continued for several years, and is not yet closed, we shall content ourselves with just observing that numberless and complicated scenes of villainy were made known to the public in the course of this trial.

On the 26th of September a treaty of commerce and navigation, between the king of Great-Britain and Louis XVI. king of France, was signed at Versailles †. We shall forbear making any other remark upon this

new

Article I. That there be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party, in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories, subject to their majesties in Europe, for all and singular kinds of goods.

II. For the future security of commerce and friendship between the subjects of their said majesties, it is concluded and agreed, that it, at any time, there should arise any misunderstanding, breach of friendship, or rupture between the crowns of their majesties, which God forbid! the subjects of each of the two parties residing in the dominions of the other, shall have

new and important event, than that it appears to have caused much alarm and apprehension amongst the manufacturing part of the French nation: its expediency and policy, with respect to this country, was amply discussed in the proceedings of the British parliament.

During the recess of parliament, the right honour-

able Charles Jenkinson was advanced to the dignity of a peer of Great-Britain, and made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and president of the board of trade, and, though not admitted in form to a seat in his majesty's cabinet councils, was supposed to be confidentially consulted upon all affairs of importance; the earl of Gower

was

have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without disturbance, so long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence against the laws; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, twelve months shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove, with their effects and property, whether entrusted to individuals, or to the state.

IV. The subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns shall have liberty, freely and securely, without licence or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, or any other way, to enter into the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, islands, cities, villages, towns, walled or unwalled, fortified or unfortified, ports, or territories whatsoever, of either sovereign, situated in Europe, and to return from thence, to remain there, or to pass through the same, and therein to buy and purchase, as they please, all things necessary for their subsistence and use; and they shall mutually be treated with all kindness and favour.

V. The subjects of each of their said majesties may have leave to come with their ships, as also with the merchandizes and goods on board the same, the trade and importation whereof are not prohibited by the laws of either kingdom, and to enter into the countries, dominions, cities, ports, places, and rivers of either party, situated in Europe, to resort thereto, and to remain and reside there, without any limitation of time; also to hire houses, or to lodge with other persons, and to buy all lawful kinds of merchandizes, where they think fit, either from the first maker or the seller, or in any other manner, whether in the public market for the sale of merchandizes, or in fairs, or wherever such merchandizes are manufactured or sold. They may likewise deposit and keep in their magazines and warehouses the merchandizes brought from other parts, and afterwards expose the same to sale, without being in any wise obliged, unless willingly and of their own accord, to bring the said merchandizes to the marts and fairs.

VI. The two high contracting parties have thought proper to settle the duties on certain goods and merchandizes, in order to fix invariably the footing on which the trade therein shall be established between the two nations. In consequence of which they have agreed upon the following tariff, viz. 1st. The wines of France, imported directly from France into Great-Britain, shall, in no case, pay any higher duties than those which the wines of Portugal now pay. The wines of France, imported directly from France into Ireland, shall pay no higher duties than those which they now pay. 2. The vinegars of France, instead of sixty-seven pounds five shillings and three pence and twelve-twentieths of a penny sterling, per ton, which they now pay, shall not for the future pay, in Great-Britain, any higher duties than thirty-two pounds eighteen shillings and ten-pence and sixteen-twentieths of a penny sterling, per ton. 3. The brandies of France, instead of nine shillings and six-pence and twelve-twentieths of a penny sterling, shall for the future pay, in Great-Britain, only seven shillings sterling per gallon, making four quarts, English measure. 4. Oil of olives, coming directly from France, shall, for the future, pay no higher duties than are now paid for the same from the most favoured nations. 5. Beer shall pay reciprocally a duty of thirty *per cent. ad valorem*. 6. The duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet-ware, and turnery, and also all works, both heavy and light, of iron, steel, copper, and brass, shall be classed; and the highest duty shall not exceed ten *per cent. ad valorem*. 7. All sorts of cotton manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, and also woollens, whether knit or wove, including hosiery, shall pay, in both countries, an import duty of twelve *per cent. ad valorem*; all manufactures of cotton or wool, mixed with silk excepted, which shall remain prohibited on both sides. 8. Cambricks and lawns shall pay, in both countries, an import duty of five shillings, or six livres Tournois, per demi-piece of seven yards and three quarters, English measure, and linens made of flax or hemp, manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe shall pay no higher duties, either in Great-Britain or France, than linens manufactured in Holland or Flanders, imported into Great-Britain, now pay. And linen, made of flax or hemp, manufactured in Ireland or France, shall reciprocally pay no higher duties than linens manufactured in Holland, imported into Ireland, now pay. 9. Sadlery shall reciprocally pay an import duty of fifteen *per cent. ad valorem*. 10. Gauzes of all sorts shall reciprocally pay ten *per cent. ad valorem*. 11. Millinery made of muslin, lawn, cambrick, or

gauze of every kind, or of any other article admitted under the present tariff, shall pay reciprocally a duty of twelve *per cent. ad valorem*; and if any articles shall be used therein, which are not specified in the tariff, they shall pay no higher duties than those paid for the same articles by the most favoured nations. 12. Porcelain, earthen-ware, and pottery, shall pay reciprocally twelve *per cent. ad valorem*. 13. Plate-glass and glass-ware in general shall be admitted, on each side, paying a duty of twelve *per cent. ad valorem*. If it shall hereafter appear, that any mistakes have inadvertently been made in the above tariff, contrary to the principles on which it is founded, the two sovereigns will concert with good faith upon the means of rectifying them.

VIII. No merchandize exported from the countries respectively under the dominion of their majesties, shall hereafter be subject to be inspected or confiscated, under any pretence of fraud or defect in making or working them, or of any other imperfection whatsoever; but absolute freedom shall be allowed to the buyer and seller to bargain and fix the price for the same, as they shall see good; any law, statute, edict, proclamation, privilege, grant, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

XII. And so far as a certain usage, not authorized by any law, has formerly obtained in divers parts of Great-Britain and France, by which French subjects have paid in England a kind of capitation tax, called in the language of that country head-money; and English subjects a like duty in France, called the *argent du chef*; it is agreed that the said impost shall not be demanded for the future, on either side, neither under the ancient name, nor under any other name whatsoever.

XVIII. It is further agreed and concluded, that all merchants, commanders of ships, and others, the subjects of the king of Great-Britain, in all the dominions of his most Christian majesty in Europe, shall have full liberty to manage their own affairs themselves, or to commit them to the management of whomsoever they please; nor shall they be obliged to employ any interpreter or broker, nor to pay them any salary, unless they shall choose to employ them. Moreover, masters of ships shall not be obliged in loading or unloading their ships, to make use of those persons who may be appointed by public authority for that purpose, either at Bourdeaux or elsewhere; but it shall be entirely free for them to load or unload their ships by themselves, or to make use of such persons in loading or unloading the same, as they shall think fit, without the payment of any reward to any other whomsoever; neither shall they be forced to unload into other ships, or to receive into their own, any merchandize whatever, or to wait for their landing any longer than they please. And all the subjects of the most Christian king shall reciprocally have and enjoy the same privileges and liberties, in all the dominions of his Britannic majesty in Europe.

XXI. The liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandizes, excepting those only which are specified in the following article, and which are described under the name of contraband.

XXII. Under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, cannon, harquebusses, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, faucilles, carcasses, carriages for cannon, musket-rests, bandoleers, gun-powder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head-pieces, helmets, cutlasses, halberds, javelins, holsters, belts, hortes, and harness, and all other like kinds of arms and warlike implements fit for the use of troops.

XXIII. These merchandizes which follow shall not be reckoned among contraband goods, that is to say; all sorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials; all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are usually made, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, brass, coals, as also wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn, and pulse, tobacco, and all kinds of spices, salted and smoked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oil, wines, sugar, all sorts of salt, and of provisions which serve for sustenance and food to mankind; also all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, sails, sailcloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar, and rosin, anchors and any part of anchors, ship masts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships. Nor shall any other goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of an instrument, or furniture for warlike use, by land or by sea, be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any

was made marquis of Stafford, and lord Camden an earl; and the duke of Athol, earl of Abercorn; duke of Montague, (with remainder to the second son of the duke of Buccleugh,) the duke of Queensberry, earl of Tyrone, earl of Shannon, lord Delaval, Sir Harbord Harbord, and Sir Guy Carleton, were created peers of Great-Britain.

On the 23d of January, 1787, his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which, after mentioning the friendly disposition of foreign powers towards this country, he informed the two houses, that he had concluded a treaty of commerce with the French king, and had ordered a copy of it to be laid before them. He recommended, as the first object of their deliberations, the necessary measures for carrying it into effect; and expressed his trust, that they would find the provisions contained in it to be calculated for the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries; and, by promoting a beneficial intercourse between their respective inhabitants, likely to give additional permanency to the blessings of peace.

Addresses as usual were moved and seconded in both houses. As they contained nothing but matters of mere compliment to the king, they passed without opposition, but in the house of commons Mr. Fox thought himself bound to take notice of some general principles which had been laid down by the proposers of the address, apparently as the ground upon which it was intended to defend the treaty, that had lately been concluded with the court of Versailles.

On the 5th of February Mr. Pitt moved, "That the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Monday following, to take into consideration that part of his majesty's speech on opening the session, which related to the treaty of commerce and navigation formed with his most Christian majesty." This was strongly objected to by opposition, as leaving too short a time for deliberation; and accordingly lord George Cavendish moved, that "Monday se'nnight" should be substituted in the room of "Monday next," and that in the mean time a call of the house should be ordered. After some altercation the house divided, when there appeared for the amendment eighty-nine, against it two hundred and thirteen.

On the 9th of the same month Mr. Fox endeavoured to bring the consideration of the negotiations with Portugal before the house, previous to their coming to a decision upon the French treaty. The probable state of our future trade with Portugal was, he said, extremely essential for the house to advert to. The most proper period of treating with Portugal would have been before the conclusion of the treaty with France; it would have manifested a fairness and a decency on our part to an old ally, and convinced the world, that whilst we were seeking for new friends and new connections, we had no intentions of sacrificing the old. This motion was opposed by Mr. Pitt upon several grounds; and was soon after rejected without a division.

On the 12th following, before the house resolved itself into a committee upon the treaty of commerce and navigation with France, a petition was presented by Mr. Alderman Newnham from certain manufacturers, assembled in their chamber of commerce, praying that the house would not that day come to any decisive reso-

lution upon the commercial treaty with France; as the petitioners had not had leisure to understand the treaty, and consequently were not yet aware to what degree their interests, and the interests of other manufacturers, were likely to be affected by it. Upon this petition Mr. Pitt remarked, that its contents, and the moment of presenting it, were somewhat singular. The French treaty had been published between four and five months; during which time the petitioners it seems had not chosen to find leisure to examine and understand it; and now, on the day upon which the house had agreed to take it into consideration, without pointing out one specific objection to it, they had the modesty to request parliament would delay for an indefinite time all further proceeding upon it. This, he said, he thought the house ought by no means to consent to. The order of the day was accordingly loudly called for; and the house being resolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt rose again, and in a speech of three hours, entered into a full explanation and defence of the treaty. Mr. Fox answered Mr. Pitt in a speech of nearly the same length, in which he objected to several of that gentleman's principles, as too narrow and partial for the great subject they were discussing, and to the conclusions he had drawn from them in favour of the treaty, in its three great points of view, policy, commerce, and finance, as fallacious and unwarranted.

On the 15th, Mr. Pitt at a late hour proposed, that the committee should again be formed for the consideration of the commercial treaty. This was strongly opposed, as taking the house by surprise; but, upon a division, Mr. Pitt's motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and forty-five to fifty-nine. The house being accordingly resolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt read, without any preface, his second resolution: "That the wines of France be imported into this country upon as low duties, as the present duties paid on the importation of Portugal wines." Some debates now ensued, and before the question was put, Mr. Fox moved, by way of amendment, that the following words be added to it: "That the duties on the importation of Portugal wines should at the same time be lowered one-third." This, Mr. Fox observed, would be an effectual means of preserving the Methuen treaty in full force, so far as related to our part of the obligation, and would enable government more advantageously to negotiate the pending treaty with Portugal. This motion was negatived without farther discussion, by ninety-one to seventy-six; and the original resolution put and carried.

The report of the committee upon the commercial treaty, was brought up on the 19th, and on the usual motion being made, that the house do agree to the same, notice was taken of the omission of the mention of Ireland both in the treaty and the tariff; and it was asked, whether or no she was understood to be included in it? To this question Mr. Pitt replied, that Ireland was undoubtedly entitled to all the benefits of the French treaty; but it was entirely at her own option, whether she should choose to avail herself of those advantages; for it was only to be done by her passing such laws as should put the tariff on the same footing in that country, as it was stipulated should be done in this. Had the adoption of the treaty by Ireland been a stipulation necessary to be performed before it could be finally concluded on by this country, then this country would have been de-

any other purpose. All which things shall be deemed goods not contraband, as likewise all others which are not comprehended and particularly described in the preceding articles; so that they may be freely carried by the subjects of both kingdoms, even to places belonging to an enemy, excepting only such places as are besieged, blocked up, or invested.

XXXI. All commanders of privateers, before they receive their patents or special commissions, shall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, sufficient security by good bail, who are responsible men, and have no interest in the said ship, each of whom shall be bound in the whole for the sum of thirty-six thousand livres Tournois, or fifteen hundred pounds

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sterling; or if such ship be provided with above one hundred and fifty seamen or soldiers, for the sum of seventy-two thousand livres Tournois, or three thousand pounds sterling, that they will make entire satisfaction for all damages and injuries whatsoever, which they, or their officers, or others, for their service, may commit during their cruize, contrary to the tenor of this present treaty, or the edicts made in consequence thereof by their most serene majesties, under penalty likewise of having their patents and special commissions revoked and annulled.

(Signed)

WILLIAM EDEN, (L. S.)
GERARD DE RAYNEVAL, (L. S.)

prived of all the benefits resulting from it in the event of Ireland's refusal. The report was finally agreed to, upon a division, by a great majority.

On the 21st, came on the last debate which the commercial treaty gave rise to, in the house of commons. It was upon an address moved by Mr. Blackburne, member for Lancashire, "to thank his majesty for the solicitude he had been graciously pleased to evince, in forming a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France; assuring him, that the house conceived that the most happy effects would result from it to his faithful subjects, and that they would take every necessary step to render the negotiation effectual." In support of the address, he said, that he had received letters from his constituents, informing him, that a numerous meeting of the cotton manufacturers had been held at Manchester, in consequence of a kind of a remonstrance which they had seen in the public prints against the commercial treaty, from the chamber of manufactures; and that, after a serious deliberation, and a full discussion of the subject, they considered the treaty as highly beneficial to this country in general, and to the cotton manufacture in particular. They desired him also to inform the house, that they neither approved of the chamber of commerce, nor had delegated any person to represent them in that body, when the petition, praying for time to consider the subject, was carried.

The honourable captain Berkeley, (member for Gloucestershire,) seconded the motion; and said, that the treaty had met the approbation of many bodies of woollen manufactures amongst his constituents. It was in France only that it was condemned, as being too advantageous to England, and likely to ruin the French manufactures. The people of Abbeville in particular had already declared, that if the treaty should be carried into effect, they must be inevitably undone. These arguments were strenuously opposed by several speakers and politicians. The debate continued till near three in the morning, when the previous question which was moved by Mr. Ellis, being put, was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and thirty-six to one hundred and sixty, and the address was afterwards agreed to without a division.

On the 23d, the address was communicated, at a conference, to the lords, and their concurrence requested; and the 1st of March was appointed by them for taking the subject into their consideration. Whilst the commons were engaged in the discussion of the commercial treaty, the attention of the house of lords was called, by the viscount Stormont, to a question in which the constitution of that branch of the legislature, together with the rights of the Scottish peerage, were essentially concerned. It arose out of a circumstance, which took place during the late prorogation of parliament, the creation of two of the sixteen peers of Scotland to be peers of Great Britain; and it was simply this, whether or not, after such creation, they could continue to sit as representatives of the peerage of Scotland? The Act of Union was silent upon the subject; the only precedent that existed, that of the duke of Athol, upon whom, in 1736, being then one of the sixteen peers, the English barony of Strange devolved by inheritance, was for the affirmative; and it was well known that the lord chancellor's opinion was in favour of the same side of the question. On the other hand, the negative appeared to lord Stormont so strongly supported by every principle of equity, analogy and fair construction, as to induce him to bring the question, in the face of all those difficulties, to a public decision. Accordingly, on the 13th of February, the lords having been previously summoned, the house resolved itself into a com-

mittee of privileges, for the purpose of their taking it into their consideration*. In support of the motion, he observed, that the question appeared to him to lie in a narrow compass, and was to be decided upon a few plain obvious principles, which he stated to the committee. After some debating on the subject, the motion was carried by a majority of fifty-eight to thirty-eight, and was followed by another motion of the same kind respecting the duke of Queensberry created baron Douglas.

On the 19th of March, a message from his majesty was delivered by the chancellor of the exchequer to the house of commons, in which he acquaints them, "of his being desirous of his conferring a mark of his royal favour upon Sir John Skynner, late lord chief baron of the exchequer, in consideration of his diligent and meritorious services, and of his faithful and upright conduct in the execution of that office; and recommends them to consider of enabling him to grant an annuity, clear of all deduction, of two thousand pounds *per annum*, during the term of his natural life, to be paid out of the civil list revenues." On the 21st Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the purposes above mentioned, and was seconded by Mr. Burke, who said, that having frequently interfered in matters of supply, he could not avoid expressing on the present occasion his conviction, that there never came a proposal for a grant on better grounds than the one before them; never was an office so exalted filled with more diligence and integrity, and resigned with more dignity. The motion and the bill passed both houses unanimously.

On the 28th of the same month, Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, at the request of the deputies of the dissenting congregations in and about London, made a motion for taking into consideration the repeal of the corporation and test acts. The points which Mr. Beaufoy endeavoured in a long and able speech to prove, were chiefly three. First, that the test act, which constitutes the most extensive grievance of which the dissenters complain, was not originally levelled against them; and that the causes which dictated the corporation act have ceased to operate. The former act, which passed in the year 1672, at a moment when the first minister of state and the presumptive heir to the crown were professed papists, and the king himself generally believed to be one in secret, bears the express title of *an act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants*. The minister, lord Clifford, who was a catholic, attempted to persuade the dissenters to oppose the bill, as subjecting them to penalties, who confessedly were not in any respect the objects of the law. The dissenters, on the contrary, through the mouth of alderman Love, member for the city, declared, that in a time of public danger, when delay might be fatal, they would not impede the progress of a bill, which was thought essential to the safety of the kingdom, but would trust to the good faith, the justice, and humanity of parliament, that a bill for the relief of the dissenters should afterwards be passed. The lords and commons admitted, without hesitation, the equity of the claims, and accordingly passed a bill soon after for their relief; but its success was defeated by a sudden prorogation of parliament. A second bill was brought in, in the year 1685, and passed both houses; but while it lay ready for the royal assent, king Charles the Second, who was much exasperated with the dissenters for refusing to support the catholics, prevailed upon the clerk to steal the bill. With respect to the corporation act, which passed in the year 1661, when the kingdom was still agitated with the effects of those storms that had so lately overwhelmed it, it was allowed to have borne a

* The motion made by lord Stormont, was as follows: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the earl of Abercorn, who was chosen to be of the number of the sixteen peers, who by the treaty of Union are to represent the

peerage of Scotland in parliament, having been created viscount Hamilton by letters patent under the Great-seal of Great Britain, doth thereby cease to sit in the house as a representative of the peerage of Scotland."

conspicuous part in the preceding troubles, for its object. But the dissenters of the present day were not responsible for them, and were as well affected and peaceable subjects as those of any other description. The second point which Mr. Beaufoy endeavoured to prove was, that every man having an undoubted right to judge for himself in matters of religion, he ought not, on account of the exercise of that right, to incur any punishment, or to be branded with a mark of infamy; but that the exclusion from military service and civil trusts was both a punishment and an opprobrious distinction. To prove that it was in strictness a punishment, he observed that it was in fact that punishment which the laws inflicted upon some of the greatest crimes. Has an officer, he said, in the civil line of the public service been detected in a flagrant breach of the duties of his trust? Has he violated his oath wilfully and corruptly? What punishment does the law inflict upon his deliberate perjury? It declares him incapable of serving his majesty in any office of honour, emolument, or trust, and imposes upon him the same species of disability which it inflicts upon the dissenters. Thus the punishment which is annexed by the law to one of the greatest crimes, the punishment of perjury, is inflicted upon a large proportion of his majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects, not for any crime committed, not for any charge or suspicion of guilt, but for opinions merely; for opinions that have no relation to civil interest; for opinions that weaken none of the obligations which bind the individuals to the state; for opinions that diminish none of the motives which urge him as a citizen to a faithful discharge of his duty, but for opinions purely religious. The only question he observed that remained to be considered was, whether the public good required that the dissenters should be subjected to those penalties and stigmas. He allowed that a regard to the general good ought to control all other considerations. But then considerations of general good can never justify any invasion of civil rights that is not essential to that good; and therefore the third point he undertook to prove was, the continuance of the acts which invade the rights of the dissenters were not necessary to the general good of the kingdom, nor to the security of the established form of government, or of the established national church. Mr. Beaufoy took this occasion of vindicating the dissenters from the charge of the republicanism, by referring to the known principles of the Scotch nation, and to the conduct of the English dissenters ever since the revolution. And with respect to the established church, he said, that her establishment consisted in the exclusive enjoyment of her revenues, and not of civil or military offices; and that the dissenters had never claimed, nor never wished to claim, a participation in the former. On the other hand, he believed that the abolition of the penal law would give additional security to the church, by removing the only ground that existed of their resentment against it, and the only bond of union by which they were induced, in their various denominations, to make a common cause, and support each other. Having cleared up these points, Mr. Beaufoy proceeded to observe, that he should be asked, what test he meant to establish in the room of the sacramental? He answered, those only which by the present act would still remain, the oath of abjuration and supremacy, and the declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. The former being sworn to upon the faith of Christians, would exclude all the Jews and Infidels, the latter would exclude the Roman Catholics. Lastly, he dwelt much upon the impropriety and scandal of prophaning a most sacred and awful sacrament, by uniting it with concerns that were merely temporal; and noted the distressing situation in which it placed the clergy, who were under the necessity of giving it to all who offered themselves for the purpose of qualification, or of subjecting themselves to grievous prosecutions. He concluded with moving, that a committee of the

whole house should take into their consideration so much of the acts referred to, as requires persons, before they are admitted into any office or place in corporations, or having accepted any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rights of the church of England.

Mr. Beaufoy was answered by lord North, who had lately had the misfortune of losing his eye-sight, and came down upon this occasion, for the first time in the session. He began with begging, that none would draw any unfair conclusions from his opposition to the present motion, or believe upon that account that he was any enemy to toleration of opinion upon religious subjects. In the year 1778, when he had the honour of serving his majesty in an high office, he thought that a finishing stroke had been put to the penal restriction upon religious opinions; and that as general toleration had been granted as was consistent with the security of the established form of government. If, said he, there remains any thing that can operate as a burthen upon any man's conscience, in God's name let it be done away; but let not the admitting of persons of particular denominations into the offices of the state be confounded with liberty of conscience. It had been said, that by the corporation and test acts, every man who refuses to submit thereto, is subject to the same punishment with those who may be convicted of great and heinous crimes. That was not the fact. No man, because he does not choose to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the church of England, is, subjected to any punishment whatever. The act holds out punishment to those who fill offices; and they are punished for wilfully flying in the face of an act of the legislature. Nor was any indignity offered to the dissenters, by not admitting them to offices, unless they are qualified by the test act. Have not the country resolved that no king or queen shall sit on the throne of the British empire, who refused to comply with the test act? If the throne was offered to any prince who would not comply from motives of conscience, the refusal of the throne would be offering him no indignity, no insult. He remarked on the arguments respecting the clergy of the church, who were forced to give the sacrament to all who desired it. He said, so far from its being the wish of the clergy of England to gain a repeal of the test act, they were all alarmed at the intention of proposing the repeal, and were determined to oppose it with the greatest strength. Every minister is bound by his holy office to refuse the communion to any unworthy person; if he refuses according to law, by law he will be justified; the fear of an action should not prevent a man from doing his duty. If the sacrament, in many instances, was taken unworthily, he feared many false oaths were also taken; but could not operate as a reason for the abolition of oaths, which, in many cases, are absolutely necessary? The legislature is not to be answerable for the consequences of the sacrament being taken unworthily, any more than for false oaths. He concluded by warning the house of the danger there might be in breaking down the barrier which had heretofore guarded the constitution. They all knew the perilous nature of the cry, "The church is in danger;" and an incendiary watching his opportunity, might do as much mischief by that cry, as by the cry of "No Popery."

Mr. Fox in a long and able speech, supported the motion for a committee, and went over all the arguments which, on the former occasions, he had urged in support of the repeal. He concluded with remarking, that on the present occasion he should be suspected of being biased by any improper partiality towards the dissenters. Their conduct in a late political revolution was well known; but he was willing to let them see, that though they lost sight of the principles of the constitution upon that occasion, he should not upon any occasion lose sight of his principles of toleration. The motion

motion was also supported by Sir Harry Houghton, Mr. Smith, and Sir James Johnstone; and opposed by Sir William Dolben; who in proof of dangerous designs entertained by the dissenters, read a passage from a book written by a distinguished minister of their body, in which he observes, "That their silent propagation of the truth would in the end prove efficacious. They were wisely placing, as it were, grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which a match would one day be laid to blow up the fabric of error, which could never be again raised upon the same foundation." The question being put, it passed in the negative: ayes one hundred; noes one hundred and seventy-eight.

On the 20th of April, a subject was brought forward in the house of commons by Mr. Alderman Newnham, which had for some time before strongly engaged the attention and feelings of the public, namely, the embarrassed state of the finances of the prince of Wales. Our readers will be pleased to recollect, that the establishment of his royal highness's household took place upon his coming of age, in the year 1783, during the administration of the duke of Portland. It is well known that a great difference of opinion subsisted at that time between the great personage, with whom the final settlement of the affair rested, and the persons, whose duty it was to give him their advice upon the subject, respecting the sums to be allowed for that purpose. Upon a full consideration of what was thought becoming the credit of the nation, and the exalted rank of the heir apparent to the throne, the great increase in the value of every article of expenditure, and the economy of such a liberal provision as might totally supercede the necessity of incurring debt, the ministers of that day are said to have proposed, that an annual income should be settled upon him by parliament of one hundred thousand pounds. This proposition is said to have been not only entirely disapproved of by the king, but rejected with expressions of such marked resentment, as to make the immediate resignation of those ministers more than probable. In this emergency the prince of Wales, who had early manifested a favourable opinion of that party, interposed, and gave the world, upon this his first step in public life, a striking proof both of filial duty and public spirit. He signified his desire, that the whole business should be left to the king; and declared his readiness to accept of whatever provision the king in his wisdom and goodness might think most fit; and, at the same time, he expressed his earnest wishes, that no misunderstanding should arise between the king and his then ministers, on account of any arrangement, in which his personal interest only was concerned. In consequence of this interference the affair appears to have been accommodated, and an allowance of fifty thousand pounds a year, payable out of the civil list revenue, was settled upon his royal highness. A very few years experience made it but too manifest, that this provision was inadequate to the purpose for which it was designed. In the year 1786 the prince was found to have contracted a debt to the amount of about one hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of fifty thousand pounds and upwards expended on Carlton-house. His royal highness upon becoming acquainted with the state of his affairs, thought it necessary to take some effectual measures for the relief of his creditors. His first application was to the king his father, upon whose affection alone he wished to rely, and to whose judgement he declared his readiness to submit his past, and to conform his future conduct. By his majesty's directions, a full account of the prince's affairs were laid before him; but, whether it was from any dissatisfaction with those accounts, or with any other part of the prince's conduct, or from some other cause, has not transpired, a direct refusal to afford him any relief was conveyed to his royal highness through one of his principal officers of state. In consequence of this refusal, the prince of Wales appears to have conceived himself bound in honour and justice to have recourse to the only expedient. His determination was prompt and manly. The day after he received the

message from the king, he dismissed the officers of his court, and reduced the establishment of his household to that of a private gentleman; he ordered his horses to be sold, the works at Carlton-house to be stopped, and such parts, as were not necessary for his personal use, to be shut up. From these savings an annual sum of forty thousand pounds was set apart, and vested in the hands of trustees for the payment of his debts. This conduct, however laudable it may appear, did not escape censure, as it appeared by an event which happened soon after; we mean the danger to which his majesty's life was exposed in the month of August, 1786, when Margaret Nicholson, a lunatic, under pretence of presenting a petition to his majesty, made an effort to deprive him of life, by endeavouring to stab him in the body. Upon that occasion no notice whatever of the accident was conveyed to the prince of Wales by the court. He learned it at Brighthelmston from the information of a private correspondent. He immediately flew to Windsor. He was received there by the queen, but the king did not see him.

In the distressed state of the prince's affairs, the expedient was suggested to his royal highness, by several respectable members of the house of commons, of appealing to the justice and generosity of the nation in parliament. To this measure the prince appears to have assented, not more from a natural wish to free himself from his pecuniary embarrassments, than from a desire to do away any bad impression, that the misfortune of having incurred the royal displeasure, and the consequent refusal of affording him any relief, might have left upon the minds of the public. Accordingly on the day already mentioned Mr. Alderman Newnham demanded, in his place, of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to bring forward any proposition for rescuing the prince of Wales from his present embarrassed and distressed situation? For though his conduct, under the difficulties, with which he laboured, reflected the highest honour upon his character, yet he thought it would bring indelible disgrace upon the nation, if it were suffered to remain any longer in his present reduced circumstances. To this question Mr. Pitt replied, that it was not his duty to bring forward a subject of the nature that had been mentioned, except by the command of his majesty. It was not necessary, therefore, that he should say more, in answer to the question put to him, than that he had not been honoured with such a command. Upon this Mr. Newnham gave notice of his intentions to bring the subject regularly by a motion before the house on the 4th of May. In the mean time the friends of the prince of Wales were indefatigable in their endeavours to procure the support of the independent members of parliament to the proposed motion; and at several meetings, which were held for that purpose, their numbers were so considerable as to give cause of serious alarm to the minister. On the 24th of the same month, Mr. Pitt, after requesting that Mr. Newnham would inform the house more particularly of the nature of the motion he intended to make, adverted to the extreme delicacy of the subject; and declared, that the knowledge he possessed of many circumstances relating to it made him extremely anxious to persuade the house, if possible, to prevent the discussion of it. Should, however, the honourable member persist in his determination to bring it forward, it would be absolutely necessary to lay those circumstances before the public; and however distressing it might prove to him as an individual, from the profound respect he had for every part of the royal family, he should discharge his duty to the public, and enter fully into the subject. What the circumstances so solemnly adverted to by Mr. Pitt in this conversation were, the house was left, for the present, to conjecture. On the 27th, Mr. Newnham, in compliance with the request that had been made, signified to the house, that the motion he intended to make, would be to the following effect, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying him to take into his

his royal consideration the present state of the affairs of the prince of Wales, and to grant him such relief as his royal wisdom should think fit, and that the house would make good the same." Some debates ensued on the above motion, and on the 30th, Mr. Newnham rose again, to make a few observations upon what had passed during those debates.

A violent altercation now ensued, and on the day following, May 1, overtures were made to his royal highness to bring the business to a private accommodation. On the 3d, Mr. Pitt had an audience at Carlton-house, and the same night the prince was informed by his majesty's command, in general terms, that if the motion intended to be made the next day in the house of commons should be withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his royal highness's satisfaction. Accordingly on the 4th, Mr. Newnham being in his place in the house, in which upwards of four hundred members were assembled, rose and said, he felt the highest satisfaction in being able to inform the house, that his intended motion was no longer necessary. Several members joined in expressing in the warmest terms the great satisfaction this information gave them *.

In the year 1785, a tax had been imposed upon retail shop-keepers which was strongly opposed at the time by the inhabitants of London and Westminster, as partial and unjust in its principle, and peculiarly oppressive in its operation upon those two cities. The following year their members were instructed to move for its repeal; and though the motion was rejected by a great majority, they continued, with unremitted perseverance, to take the most active and vigorous measures for securing success upon some future occasion. Meetings were held, associations formed, committees appointed, and a correspondence carried on with all the considerable towns and corporations of the kingdom; many of which, being proportionably sufferers, readily joined the capital in another application to parliament for relief. The business was this year committed to Mr. Fox, who on the 24th of April moved the house for the repeal. He said, he had never been forward in opposing taxes, because he thought it the duty, in general, of members of parliament to support government in the arduous and

invidious measures of finance: but at the same time he thought there were limits to this duty, and that they were bound to insist upon the abolition of any tax, which upon a fair trial was found to be oppressive and unjust. Such a trial the tax in question had undergone, and it was found by experience to be, what he had originally declared it would prove, a partial tax upon house-keepers, whose houses had shops annexed to them; it was, to all intents and purposes, a personal tax, unjustly levied upon a particular description of men. To persist in saying that the consumer paid the tax, when the shop-keepers knew and were ready to declare on oath, that they paid it themselves, and could not lay any part of it on their customers, was the most ridiculous obstinacy. If the shop-keepers came to the bar, and said, "We pay the tax, and as it affects us solely, we beg to be relieved from it," would the house say, "No, you do not pay the tax, we pay it, though you do not know it; and we choose to continue to pay it?" The partiality of the tax, he said, was in the highest degree glaring. The whole sum assessed for the shop-tax amounted to fifty-nine thousand pounds, of which the cities of London and Westminster, and the adjacent parishes, paid forty-three thousand pounds. In some parts of the kingdom not above one hundred pounds was assessed for a whole county, and not above fifty for a few. If, according to the opinions of some politicians, every place should send such a number of representatives to parliament as was proportionable to their payment of taxes, the inhabitants of London and Westminster would send not less than three hundred and fifty. These facts, Mr. Fox contended, proved the tax to be so partial and unjust in its operation and pressure, that he could not see how the minister could resist the application for its repeal with any colour of reason or candour. Upon a division there appeared for the repeal one hundred and forty-seven, against it one hundred and eighty-three.

On the 30th of May, the king went in the usual state to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for, the speaker, as soon as he came to the bar, addressed his majesty, and stated that he had brought up two bills, by which the house of commons had granted to his majesty an additional supply; and he expressed the satis-

* In consequence of this accommodation, the accounts of his royal highness were submitted to the inspection of commissioners named by the king, and on the 21st of May the following message from his majesty was delivered to both houses of parliament: "It is with the greatest concern his majesty acquaints the house of commons, that from the accounts which have been laid before his majesty by the prince of Wales, it appears that the prince has incurred a debt to a large amount, which if left to be discharged out of his annual income, would render it impossible for him to support an establishment suited to his rank and station. Painful as it is at all times to his majesty to propose an addition to the heavy expences necessarily borne by his people, his majesty is induced, from his paternal affection to the prince of Wales, to recur to the liberality and attachment of his faithful commons, for their assistance on an occasion so interesting to his majesty's feelings, and to the ease and honour of so distinguished a branch of his royal family. His majesty could not, however, expect or desire the assistance of this house, but on a well-grounded expectation that the prince will avoid contracting any debts in future. With a view to this object for an anxious desire to remove any possible doubt of the sufficiency of the prince's income to support amply the dignity of his situation, his majesty has directed a sum of ten thousand pounds *per annum*, to be paid out of the civil list, in addition to the allowance which his majesty has hitherto given him; and his majesty has the satisfaction to inform the house, that the prince of Wales has given his majesty the fullest assurance of his determination to confine the future expences within the income, and has also settled a plan for arranging those expences in the several departments, and for fixing an order for payment under such regulations as his majesty's trusts will effectually secure the due execution of the prince's intentions. His majesty will direct an estimate to be laid before this house, of the sum wanting to complete, in a proper manner, the work which has been undertaken at Carlton-house, as soon as the same can be prepared with sufficient accuracy, and recommends it to his faithful commons to

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consider of making some provision for that purpose.

"G. R."

In pursuance of the above message the following account of the debts and of the expenditure of the prince of Wales were laid before the house, on the 23d.

DEBTS.					
Bonds	-	-	-	-	13,000
Purchase of houses	-	-	-	-	4,000
Expences of Carlton-house	-	-	-	-	53,305
Tradesmen's bills	-	-	-	-	90,804
					161,109

Expenditure from July 1782 to July 1786.

Household	-	-	-	-	29,277
Privy purse	-	-	-	-	16,050
Payments made by colonel Hotham, particulars delivered to his majesty	-	-	-	-	37,203
Other extraordinaries	-	-	-	-	11,406
					93,936

Salaries	-	-	-	-	54,734
Stables	-	-	-	-	37,919
Mr. Robinson's extraordinaries	-	-	-	-	7,059
					99,712

193,648

The day following an humble address was ordered to be presented to the king, in which, after the usual thanks to his majesty, they humbly desire, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to direct the sum of one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds to be issued out of his majesty's civil list for that purpose, and the sum of twenty thousand pounds on account of the works at Carlton-house, as soon as an estimate shall be formed with sufficient accuracy of the whole expence for completing the same in a proper manner, and assure his majesty, that his faithful commons will make good the same.

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faction they felt in having been able to provide for the services of the year without having recourse to any new loan. He then enumerated the principal transactions of the session, as they related to the several objects that had been recommended to their attention at the opening of the session. The royal assent being then given to the bills, the king made a speech from the throne, in which he commended their zeal and assiduity, and thanked them for the proofs they had given to him, his family, and government. He expressed his satisfaction with the several public measures they had carried into effect, and recommended to them to pursue, in their several counties, the same salutary objects. The lord chancellor then, by his majesty's command, prorogued the parliament*.

A war for some time had raged with the utmost fury between the empress of Russia and the Porte. The empress had sought the alliance of most of the European courts; but the disposition of the maritime powers of England and Holland were not yet fully known. The empress intended to send a fleet into the Mediterranean; and the assistance of England was now become necessary. In full confidence of English succour, pilot-boats were engaged in England, to wait in proper stations for the arrival of the Russian fleet; to guide them into those ports, which, being the station of the royal naval arsenals, could the more expeditiously supply them with all manner of stores and provisions, and, at the same time, most effectually facilitate their equipment for the Mediterranean service. These objects being attained, the pilots were to conduct them through the Channel, and then to be replaced by a new set, equally versed in the navigation of the more distant seas which they were to encounter. In the meantime, some merchants in London, as agents to the court of Peterburgh, had agreed for the hire of eighteen large ships, of four hundred tons, or upwards, to serve as tenders to the Russian fleet, in the conveyance of provisions, stores, arms, artillery, and ammunition. In this promising train seemed the state of preparation for the expedition, when a proclamation in the London Gazette, prohibiting British seamen from entering into any foreign service, threw a fatal damp upon the design: this was attended with a notice to the contractors for the tenders, that the engagement for supplying them must be renounced; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed: and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality during the war, with respect to all the hostile powers, and consequently should afford no aid whatever to any of them. In the hope of

remedying in some degree this grievous disappointment, or at least of putting the better countenance upon the business, and affecting not to regard it, Russia applied directly to the republic of Holland for the hire of a number of large transports to answer the same purpose; but here the disappointment was renewed, that government not only absolutely refusing a compliance with the request, but declaring its fixed determination to observe the strictest neutrality through the course of the war. As this rejection was contributed solely to the influence of Great-Britain at the Hague, so it was added to the black catalogue of her political sins, and stored up for future remembrance.

The interval between the prorogation of parliament, on the 30th of May, 1787, and its subsequent meeting on the 27th of November following, was not distinguished by any remarkable domestic occurrences. The speech from the throne contained a very full and explicit declaration of the reasons which induced the king to assemble the two houses at so early a period. He informed them, that the disputes which subsisted in the republic of the United Provinces had become so critical as to endanger their constitution and independence, and thereby likely in their consequences to affect the interests of his dominions. That, upon this account, he had endeavoured by his good offices to maintain the lawful government in those countries, and had thought it necessary to explain his intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France: that, in conformity to this principle, when his Most Christian Majesty, in consequence of an application for assistance against the king of Prussia, made by the party which had usurped the government of Holland, had notified to him his intention of granting their request, he had declared that he should not remain a quiet spectator, and had given immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land; and that, in the course of these transactions, he had thought proper to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. That the rapid success of the Prussian troops having soon after enabled the provinces to re-establish their lawful government, and all subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation took place between him and the most Christian king, and both parties had engaged to disarm, and to place their naval establishments on the same footing as at the beginning of the year. His majesty next acquainted them with the friendly assurances he continued to receive from all foreign powers, and with the war that had unfortunately broken out between Russia and the Porte. He further

* The following are the heads of the principal acts of parliament passed in the year 1787. An act to render more effectual the laws now in being for the suppression of unlawful lotteries. An act to enable his majesty to establish a court of criminal judicature on the eastern coast of New South Wales, and for the regulation of his majesty's marine forces while on shore there. An act to continue the laws now in force for regulating the trade between the subjects of his majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants of the territories belonging to the United States of America, and to render the provisions thereof more effectual. An act for repealing the several duties of customs and excise, and granting other duties in lieu thereof, and applying the said duties, together with other duties composing the public revenue; for permitting the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, the produce or manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, into this kingdom; and for applying certain unreclaimed monies, remaining in the exchequer, for the payment of annuities on lives, and to the reduction of the national debt. An act to enable the lord high treasurer, or commissioners of the treasury, for the time being, to let to farm the duties granted by an act, made in the twenty-fifth year of the present reign, on horses let to hire for travelling post, and by time, to such persons as should be willing to contract for the same. An act for allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, in the ports of Kingston, Savannah la Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucea, in the island of Jamaica; in the port of St. George, in the island of Grenada; in the port of Roseau, in the island of Dominica; and in the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, one of the

Bahama islands, under certain regulations and restrictions. An act for laying additional duties upon licences to be taken out by persons dealing by retail in spirituous liquors. An act for making further provisions in regard to such vessels as are particularly described in an act, made in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his present majesty, for the more effectual prevention of smuggling in this kingdom, and for extending the same act to other vessels and boats not particularly described therein; for taking off the duties on flasks in which wine or oil is imported; for laying an additional duty on foreign geneva imported; for taking off the duty on ebony, the growth of Africa, imported into this kingdom; and for amending several laws relative to the revenue of customs. An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are, or have been lately, received in the several public offices therein mentioned; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and to report such observations as shall occur to them, for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices. An act for further regulating the trade and business of pawn-brokers. An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty, and attachment to the British government. An act for allowing further time for inrolment of deeds and wills made by papists, and for the relief of purchasers. An act to prevent frivolous and vexatious suits in ecclesiastical courts.